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

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Omburg," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERRY.

CHAP. II.

The Professor and the Captain.

Captain Ferdinand Ling accompanied his uncle home.

"My night's rest is already broken," said the Professor, "therefore we can have a little conversation before retiring."

The Captain's countenance expressed no great desire to coincide with this opinion; but his voice contained no trace of his disinclination, as he cheerfully replied—

"Certainly, dear uncle."

Fortunately it was dark, and therefore the Professor could hear only—not see. They alighted before a small house, and entered a small apartment, whose furniture was so ancient in appearance, that it appeared to belong to an age long gone by. An old woman, who had been the Professor's housekeeper for many years, entered the room, half asleep, and in her nightgown, with a candle, and commenced arranging a small table, placing thereon a bottle of small beer, a decanter of brandy, pipes, and a box of tobacco; then giving the Professor his dressing-gown and slippers, she obeyed his signal, and withdrew. The old gentleman quickly cast off his irksome boots and tight dress coat, and having thrust his feet into the soft slippers, and wrapped himself in his comfortable gown, he fill back into his easy chair with a sigh of relief. While at the same time, the Captain was standing at the window, gazing forth into the moonlight night. His gaze fondly lingered on a house at the corner of a cross street. It had been the abiding place of Hilda Rosenstolpe during her school days. Ferdinand sighed deeply, and pressed his burning brow against the frosty window-panes.

"What! sighing still?" said the Professor, spreading out his hands to catch the genial warmth of the cheerful fire. "Think not of the past, but of the future, my boy; a wound contracted in the field of Mars, is no disgrace. Come, let us have a little talk about your affairs."

The Captain seated himself opposite his uncle, at the table, and with much apparent impatience awaited the commencement of the conversation.

The Professor filled and lighted his pipe, and took one long whiff after another.

"Well," said he, finally, "Rosa is a charming creature."

"Yes; but cold. Her heart is ice."

"Why did she consent to your betrothal with her?"

"Because I gained her good will and esteem, and because she feels that nothing more is necessary to a happy married life than that I should esteem and respect her in return."

"In that case," said the Professor, "she does no more than I expect from a sensible girl. She respects and esteems you. Good; that I think ought to satisfy your conscience, and prevent you from saying things that are false. You know you love Hilda, and yet you act as if what use is it to talk such nonsense as you did, when I entered Wisdom's house this evening? What is the use of sighing for huge which you know are only skin deep?"

"You are really mistaken, uncle. Rosa is to me"—

"Nothing," interrupted the Professor; "that is, she is nothing to your heart. Did you not entreat me this very morning to give my consent to your marriage with Miss Hilda? Of course I consented to your request, but I did not agree to support you and your wife. Had I agreed to do so, you would soon have broken your conscience with lies, like a pitcher. Ferdinand, is unmanly. You wish to marry Rosa, because you expect to receive with her enough property to enable you to maintain that rank which you consider your birth gives you; horse-racing, and hunting, which the scanty pocket money that I allow you, and your still more scanty pay will not permit you to indulge in, talk to me about your feelings for the poor child. Rosa is a jewel. Would to God you were as worthy of her as you are unworthy."

"Hay," said the Captain, "I know I am sure you that I do not play the hypocrite. There have been moments when I felt that Rosa might become dear to me as Hilda was, and, alas! is still; but her invincible coldness, or—what shall I term it?—her friendly indifference, chills my heart. Then, uncle, I have another reason for marrying the young Hilda. It is, that I voluntarily renounced all claim to Hilda's love, when you—pardon my frankness—withdrew your aid. Hilda and I could not live upon air alone; or that I could support her, if I contenanced my marriage with her, and therefore I abandoned Hilda, whom I loved, and endeavored to win Rosa's affections, with the intention to do my best to render her happy. I cannot deny that my motives were interested; but what could I do? My uncle had decided against me, I could not consent to plunge Hilda into poverty; yet I could not tear her image from my heart, or quit her loved presence, so I made my choice from other fetters. Believe me, uncle, my reason and my heart struggled fearfully, before I could arouse sufficient courage to part from her forever. I went to Hilda, and told her my fate, she accepted; and, half bewildered, I went—a betrothed man—to Hilda. She was not aware of my intentions. She had heard a vague rumor of my fortune, and of the wealthy merchant's house, but, confiding in my honor, she believed them not. Ah, uncle, that was a bitter hour! I told her all, that we must part forever. The scornful look still penetrates my heart. She did not speak; but she was pale, O, how pale! A few moments elapsed in agonizing silence, then she rose, and coldly bade me farewell. She coldly wished me joy, and left the room. Oh, how gladly would I have unsaid—undone all. I left Hilda in desperation. I wrote her a letter, imploring an interview. She returned my letter unopened, entreated you to become reconciled to Aunt Borgenskold. You were relentless. Nothing was left me but to submit to my fate patiently. If Rosa will only love me now, as Hilda loved me once, and if her dowry will be as large as I expect, then—then I shall endeavor to forget my childish dreams."

The Professor replied to this lengthy and elaborate speech of the Captain with a simple "Hem," and a dubious shake of his head.

"You do not coincide with my views," said Ferdinand.

"To speak frankly, my dear nephew, I do not. They are somewhat elastic, and you seem able to stretch them just as far as you please. And, aside from that, you have a great excuse for entertaining them; and that is the desire to maintain a position in fashionable society, which is greatly at variance with your income, at all events. Hear me, Ferdinand. I am undeceived, I think there is a more urgent call on your finances than you have confessed. You would never plunge yourself into matrimony, unless some direful trouble menaced you. Well, perhaps you have acted prudently, for you well know I shall not advance you a stiver beyond the sum necessary to purchase your commission. But I do hope you have not made a mistake in the matter. I did think I perceive that the wealthy merchant, Widen, should consent to his daughter's marriage with a poor captain, without any other income than his pay. Hem! hem! I have seen many changes in my life. I have known many heavier merchants than Widen to fail. The old woman, too! why did she constantly talk about the establishment of the young people? Now, Ferdinand, you may rest assured that you will not receive one dollar from me, beyond the amount which I have already given, to pay for your commission; and, by my faith, I think that was a pretty round sum, too!"

Ferdinand turned very pale, alternately, as his uncle made these remarks, for in several cases they had struck home; but that which troubled him the most was the old man's allusion to the possibility of Widen's failure—a subject on which he had not allowed his mind to dwell. That would indeed be terrible.

"Do you suppose, uncle," inquired Ferdinand, in a faltering tone, "that"—

"I have no real grounds for any supposition," interrupted the Professor, reading Ferdinand's thoughts, "I only think there is a storm brewing. I may be mistaken; but I have had a good deal of experience in such matters in my life. Had you consulted me, when you thought proper to form and make your proposals to Miss Widen, I should have dissuaded you; but it is unmanly to despair, when one has been so long betrothed. I think it probable that Miss Widen may at least save enough to afford his daughter a handsome dowry. Keep a good lookout. Your betrothal does not bind you to if you were married. I should advise you, perhaps the evil exists only in my own imagination. I have always been accustomed to look at things in an unfavorable light. It is a case for both, Ferdinand; so good night."

Ferdinand shook his uncle's hand, and bade him good night in a half-choked voice. He left the Professor's apartment, and threw himself upon a sofa in no enviable state of mind. Suddenly he arose, and paced the room with rapid strides, and at length sat down to his writing desk, and proceeded to indite the following letter to one of his friends:

"MY DEAR T——: My mind is so much excited about this accursed affair, that I am a fit subject for a lunatic asylum. I fear I have made an awkward step, in endeavoring to clear myself of my difficulties. Listen, my dear Gustavus, and may you be my joy, if you choose to do so; but I think condolence would be more fitting. But do as you please. This has been an unhappy night for me. First, this evening, I betrothed with Rosa Widen, the rich heiress, was celebrated by a brilliant party. Second, with a heart full of Hilda, I left the house of the betrothed, and the miserly old Jew who has me in his power, I played the part of an ardent lover to my Rosa, who was as cold as an iceberg. Third, I had the folly to be candid with her, and she treated me with the contempt which I feel I deserve. And fourth, after arriving home, I was compelled to listen to a long lecture from my uncle, covered wearisome, yet much-beloved uncle, who, after almost driving me frantic with his pointed sarcasm, finally completed my misery by advancing the supposition that Widen may be my future father-in-law's financial basis. What do you think of these four miseries? Well, here I am, writing to you, to ease my mind, in a temperature; but my heart burns, and my brain whirls. Thus far, at least in outward appearance, I have kept my reputation, as a man of honor, untarnished. But not a day this inestimable jewel will be wrested from me. Supposing this grasping miser should cause my arrest, could I ever look an honest man in the face, or feel independent of my liberty? What would my uncle, my betrothed, my future father-in-law, and, lastly, my lost Hilda, say and think of me? They would unanimously cry in one voice. No, no; this must not happen, it cannot, it *shall* not happen.

"But what follies am I writing! I had forgotten that I intended to write a long letter to you, instead of posting it; and that, therefore, you are unacquainted with anything regarding me, except what you know from my last letter, that I am a reckless, frivolous man, who, under a flimsy mask of refinement and gentility, concealed many a blot which I dared not bring to light in the presence of my uncle. Gustavus, Gustavus, have a little patience, and I will relate to you why I am changed from a pleasant and agreeable companion, to an anxious and sickly being, whose cheerfulness is merely an effort of dissimulation.

"Two months ago, I received from my uncle the same intelligence which I communicated to you and I promised, solemnly, that so long as I lived, I would never trouble him with requests for money, great or small. My income was sufficient to maintain respectably, and to enable me gradually to pay off all debts that I had contracted. I assured him that I would not contract any more, and that I would live within my means, an honor to himself and his money. And when I made these promises, I intended to keep them, for my heart was full of Hilda, and little pictures of the domestic peace and happiness that we should enjoy together. But, Gustavus, there are few men indeed who can prove true to such promises, when circumstances change, and temptations assail unexpectedly. I went to Stockholm to arrange the purchase of my commission; and here let me say that I possessed no money, and never had, by my business expenses to the city, and my hotel bills after I had arrived there. On the evening of my arrival, several officers with whom I was acquainted, politely invited me to a wine party at Hickler's Hotel. I accepted gratefully. We drank freely, I was young; and after we had become very, very, merry, a game of hazard were proposed. A false sense of honor forbade me from refusing to join them, though I was well aware that high stakes were contemplated. I had never indulged in gaming, money was a pestness

in the lurid light of wrath and massacre. The Kansas emigrant is of a different cast.

"Nor will the great California and Australian colonization bear comparison for an instant with those of Kansas and Nebraska. They were merely desperate scrambles for gold upon a gigantic scale. Their immediate results were very striking. They were rapid, vehement, overflowing with dramatic life, and with a fearful, crazy force. But their absence of profound moral purpose strips them of all grandeur. Their dead level of eager and grovelling selfishness disgusts and revolts. It is only relieved here and there by a wild thirst for adventure. The Californian and Australian emigrant is a being far beneath the crusader, and beneath the followers of Cortes and Pizarro. He occupies the lowest rank in the scale of colonization. Of course, there are noble individual exceptions. I speak of the mass.

[TO BE CONCLUDED IN OUR NEXT.]

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1855.

☞ Our edition of "*Facts for the People*" published two years ago is entirely exhausted.

EUROPEAN AGENCY FOR THE ERA.

L. A. Chamerovzow, Esq., 27 New Broad street, London, England, has kindly consented to act as agent for the *National Era* in Great Britain and Europe.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.—The September number of this cheap monthly publication has been mailed to subscribers, and will be found a very valuable number for general circulation. The following is the table of contents:

Slavery in the District of Columbia.
Virginia Democracy.
Southern Demands.
The Case Stated.
Legislation in Kansas.
Texas Politics.
The Republican Movement—The True Policy.
Pennsylvania and Kansas—Judge Kane.
The Election of the next President.
Slavery in Maryland.
Senator Benjamin repudiates Know Nothingism and Whigery.

We desire to call the particular attention of our friends to the importance of giving, at this important crisis in our political affairs, a very wide and general circulation to this monthly compilation of valuable political and statistical matter. The very low price at which it is published puts it within the reach of every Anti-Slavery man in the country to aid in its circulation. Back numbers can be supplied. We hereunto annex the terms:

Six copies to one address	$1.00
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"*To one address*," whenever possible; where subscribers cannot be obtained in this way, we waive the rule, and send to individuals.

THE WHITE MOUNTAINS—OUR SUMMER HOME.

The season has not been the most favorable for a sojourn in the mountains. A little more warmth, and fewer rainy days, would have been acceptable. But, on leaving this, our summer home, we can think only of the bright days and glorious sunsets. Pleasant friends, too, we have had in abundance, so that when it was dreary outside, within doors there was blessed sunshine.

We still cling to the Flume House, as a place of permanent resort, preferable to the other mountain hotels. The prospect down the valley of the Pemigewasset is unsurpassed, and the mountains here assume their most beautiful forms. The proprietors, Messrs. Tyler & Rives, are polite, the entertainment most excellent, and the company all that heart could wish.

The Profile House, six miles above, standing in the Franconia Notch, is a much handsomer and better-built house, and the proprietors, Gilman & Hauntress, know well how to make hotel life agreeable; and there are some who prefer its locality to this.

Of the scenery here—Echo Lake, the Old Man of the Mountain, the Basin, the Pool, the Flume—it is not necessary to speak. Sketches and descriptions of them abound in New England—but new scenery has lately been brought to light, which, in picturesque beauty and rugged grandeur, exceeds them all. One, whose initials are not unknown to the readers of the *Era*, furnishes, in the following extract, the first description of what may be called

FRANCONIA FALLS.

I must give you a glimpse of our mountain life. The day is one of surpassing loveliness. The bright, warm sunshine on the mountain tops contrasts gloriously with the cool shadows of the birch and maple and beach trees, that skirt the road along the valley. The air, that creeps silently through the bristling tops of the hemlock, spruce, and fir, on the mountain side, comes with a soft, rustling sound, through the tender leaves of the maple and birch, and acts them dancing to its gentle music. Gay asters fringe the roadside, and crimson clusters of moose berries gleam from every thicket.

Now, I dare say you have already pictured to yourself an idle party strolling along the valley at sunset, "each on his separate thought intent;" C—— "doing homage to nature," in "high sentimental" or "vague metaphysical" mood; M—— exalted and devotional; while B——'s low, mocking laugh, and quiet satire, come like "discord in divinest melody."

Never were you more mistaken. At an early hour of the morning, behold us marshalled in grotesque array, for what is here most unpoetically called a "scramble." Ladies with broad hats, short skirts, and high boots; and timid ladies, with uncertain step, made more insecure by trailing garments; gentlemen in boots with high, iron-shod heels, admirably adapted to secure a firm footing on the smooth granite rocks up which we are to clamber; and last, but not least, noisy children—for what would such an excursion be, without the music of their merry voices and their untiring fun? Off we start, some in wagons, some on foot, to our rendezvous at "the Basin." Here we cross the Pemigewasset river, and at a single bound, for the river rushes from the Basin through a deep, narrow fissure, between two ledges of granite. A gallant gentleman stops boldly across to lead the way, finds the passage easy, and returns to the near or shelving side, that he may assist the ladies. Firmly he plants himself, striking with his iron-shod heel upon the smooth, hard rock, to secure a better foothold. Alas, the slippery steel betrays his feet, and down he goes in the narrow channel, and into four feet of water! Such shouts of laughter and clapping of hands, in which the victim joins rather ruefully, as he stands helplessly waiting to be pulled out. Everybody laughs, for everybody expects to be in the same "fix" before the day is over. The path now leads across the woods for a few hundred yards, and then we descend a steep bank, to the stream of "*The Cascades*."

Ah, you have never heard of the Cascades before! "The Pool," and "The Flume," and "The Basin," and "The Old Man of the Mountain," and "Echo Lake," have all been chronicled and sketched for years. They are an old story, but the Cascades are as new to the public as was the New World to the adventurous mariner. Now and then, a woodman, or a trout fisher, have gone "prospecting" along its banks, but with no eye for anything but timber and trout; and so the beautiful stream has dashed on, in solitude and silence, unbroken save by its own music, and the cry of wild beasts, or the whoop of the Indian, the voice of the mountain wind, and the song of birds.

Everywhere in these mountains are abundant proofs of their solid granite formation. The surface is only covered with a thin vegetable mould, intermingled with loose rocks and trunks of fallen trees. In this loose mould the trees take root, and, if haply they can secure a firmer hold in some crevice in the rock, they may stand for centuries; but often they have no deeper root than earth and moss afford, and so are easily blown or washed down. And thus happen those terrible "slides," when earth, trees, and rocks, descend in a fearful avalanche, burying all beneath them in ruin, and leaving the bare granite ribs of the mountain to bleach in the winter snows and summer suns.

So the stream has washed for itself a granite bed along the side of the mountain. For the first half mile it flows in every variety of form—now sweeping in a broad, smooth stream, with arrowy swiftness, down the steep, polished granite; now, broken into smaller streams, it whirls in beautiful miniature cascades and dashing rapids, leaping over ledges into little basins, that seem hollowed out of the solid rock, "not by the sport of nature, but of man." Here are picturesque rocks jutting out into bold ledges, where, from crevices in one warm, sunny nook, grow harebells. Exquisitely beautiful they were, contrasted with the rugged grandeur around. Their slight, delicate bells, hanging out from so small a crevice, they seemed to blossom from the heart of the solid rock. From this point is an exquisite view of the valley below and mountains beyond. But the eye is entranced by the water. Up and down the long reach commanded by this point, is seen at one view all its loveliest forms, as it comes, dashing, gliding, whirling, foaming, sparkling, glancing, down the mountain side. The fringey trees bend from above, their bright leaves quivering in the light breeze and glad sunshine; and so we reach the first cascade.

Here the water falls in a narrow stream, between two masses of rock, that rise high above on either side. It has a perpendicular fall of between forty and fifty feet, and the basin into which it descends is as beautiful as can be imagined. Our point of view is from a rock in the centre of the stream that flows from the pool. Before us is the silver waterfall, with huge rocks rising far above, and, on either side, steep banks and overhanging trees. All along, up the rocks and down to the water's edge, grow tangled wild vines, mingled with the brilliant berries of Solomon's Seal, and the feathery foliage of the mountain sumach. Everywhere, on rock, and root, and fallen tree, luxuriant mosses spread a soft carpet.

We cannot go up the rocks at this fall, so we must go around through the woods. It is exceedingly amusing to see delicate ladies "scrambling" up these rough ways. What a contrast to their city life! Here, a foot is carefully insinuated into a crevice of the steep rock, and a friendly hand from above hoists you up one stage, when very likely you are left holding with might and main to some over-hanging tree, whose roots cling to the bare rock, like vagrants to society, without any "visible means of support." Hold fast! swing round carefully, and one bold jump puts you through safely, if it does not land you on a treacherous moss bed, where rock and chasm and tangled roots are all overspread with a smooth velvet covering, through which your foot sinks down through roots, stones, and loose earth, until you wonder where you are going to stop. Fortunately, dangerous reptiles are rare in these mountains—scarcely ever, even in the valleys, an innocent water snake; so we are safe on that score. On go the merry mountaineers, tumbling over rocks and fallen timber, clambering from dizzy heights adown again to the bed of the stream; and hence, from the high rock above the falls, we see our party! Few have courage to climb the dizzy height, for we came over the rock by ways that none but people who do not mind trifles will dare. Some, who climb the rock for the view, can go no farther; and of all that gallant band, only six are left to thread the mazes of the mountain torrent. We had heard from the "old settlers" that this stream has its source in a lake, which is seen from Mount Lafayette. This lake lies on the east side of the ridge, and just behind Mount Cannon, in the direction and on the same range along which the stream of the cascades flows. So, six of the party determined to explore the stream to its source.

It is now half-past eleven o'clock, and we set out in good earnest in our pursuit. Provided with a light luncheon, and a box of matches, we feel quite equal to any encounter. For another mile, the stream is still beautiful as ever, and our path lies, now on this side, now on that, now in the middle, with the ever-recurring excitements of leaping over chasms, or from rock to rock, or swinging over deep pools by the overhanging trees, or by the same means steadying our steps along the shelving rocks on the brink. At half-past twelve, we are at the forks of the brook, for it is now nothing more; and, according to our directions, following the right fork, we have another hour of rather heavy clambering. The stream grows smaller, and is frequently choked up with fallen timber. One of the party climbs the height beyond, to see what can be seen, but finds nothing. There is no lake in sight. And so we go up, up, to where the stream seems to come out of the mountain, and the very rocks that lie piled above us are covered thickly with soft green moss, and the water, in a little silvery stream, comes trickling gently down. Once over this steep place, (and it is bad climbing on these mossy rocks,) we go on for another quarter of an hour.

It is now two o'clock, five hours since we set out, and quite time for dinner. How pleasant is the great, glowing fire, made of dry brush and drift wood! A flat rock is our table, and never was sweeter bread eaten than that we share on the mountain top. Just tired enough to feel the pleasure of rest, with the chill mountain air and our damp feet making the fire a real luxury, we might linger around it for hours, but the homeward path is long, and the sun is already sinking westward of the heights above; and so, after an hour's refreshing rest, we conclude to abandon the search, or, rather, we have settled the question. There is no lake at the head of the stream; it drains part of the long ridge extending from the Notch, southward, to Mount Pemigewasset, and has its source in mountain springs.

This question disposed of, we close our deliberations, scatter our council fire, and begin our downward march. However easy it may be to go down hill under ordinary circumstances, let no one go up this mountain stream, trusting in the old adage. Whether the "hinges of the knee" will crook both ways with equal ease, I cannot say; but certainly we did not walk so briskly for the first half hour, nor indeed at any time with as much ease, on coming down, as we did in going up. It was quite delightful to get on level ground again; but long before we reached there, the sun had gone behind the mountain, and its long shadows were stretching over the valley, and climbing upward to the opposite summit of Mount Tom.

Our good cheer on the mountain gave us fresh spirits; and never did a merrier party turn their faces homeward, at the end of a five hours' walk. Losing as little time as possible in sight-seeing, we come rapidly down, pass the forks of the stream, and so to the three cascades. A little expert sliding and dropping down carries us over ledges that took somewhat more time and strength to climb up, and some of our party found that it was much easier to slip on the smooth rocks, coming down, than going up. But we must take our chance, and on we push with desperate energy. Some of us come down dryshod, and some slip in over and over again. These little disasters are the best part of the sport. There goes our tall friend, knee-deep into the water, taking with him one who hoped, by his aid, to keep out. What a picture they make, as, gathering themselves up, she wrings the water from the hem of her skirts on one side, and he, his face quivering with half-suppressed fun, performs the same useful office for her on the other side. That bright manly boy face will not soon be forgotten. Farther on, we come to a deep, still pool, that lies under the side of a shelving rock; we are to pass over this pool, on a rather "shaky" decayed log; but as it had carried the large party in the morning safely over, we do not think of fear. All have passed safely but the two last: the gentleman, a veteran editor and well-known politician in New Hampshire, steps boldly on; and when more than half way over, calls the lady to "come on." She suspects the "plank," and says, decidedly, "No, it will not bear both!" "Yes, it will," replies the fearless man of experiments, "see! and, suiting the action to the word, out he springs to the middle of the log, and down it goes with a crash and plunge, planting our friend, still on his feet, waist-deep in the middle of the pool, where he stands for a moment, looking up with such a deprecating face, that says plainly, though not in words, "Don't laugh!" But we do laugh; and all the more, when, on telling the story, we find it is not the first time he has ventured on a "shaky plank," and tried to get his friends on, too.

Cut in the smooth granite, as with mallet and chisel, out of the solid rock, is the "Captain's Basin." It is about five feet across, and two deep. Our sturdy veteran, Captain W., who has trod the deck when the ship was nearly on her beam ends, with a firm foot and steady eye, is not quite so much at home on fresh as salt water—on the mountain cascade, as the wide ocean; a slight trip on the rocky brim lays him "broadside" in the cool water. So his bath is named after the Captain's Basin. There were scattered reports that the highest functionary of the State, who was one of our party, had measured his length and *breadth* in that mountain stream; but, malice, like death, "loves a shining mark!" So we pass that by.

Right glad were we to find a carriage waiting for us at the road side. A short drive brought us safely to our hotel at seven o'clock, after nine hours' steady walking up and down the mountain torrent.

In the evening, most of our party danced until after ten o'clock, and the next morning were not much "the worse for wear."

Come and try this mountain life. It is charming. M. L. B.

BLACK-BALLED BY THE BLACK REPUBLICANS.

The *National Era* publishes an article from this paper, in which we speak our minds very freely about the disunionists, who have banded together and stolen the respectable name of Republicans. It adds:

"The *American Organ* is a candidate for the House printing. Let every member, who wishes to be called a Republican, remember that interesting fact in connection with this flattering article."

We apprehend that it scarcely needed that the *Era* should impress the fact of our hostility, as a reason why the Blackies should not patronize us, even if we were so recreant to every sense of propriety as to ask their suffrages. We imagine the colored organ itself has sent circulars to the "returned members," and it is in pleasant anticipation of projecting the Federal shekels.—*American Organ.*

It would be beneath the dignity, and foreign to the practice of the *National Era*, to retaliate the coarse and vulgar epithets of the *Organ*; but it is proper to state that the editor, publisher, and proprietor, of this paper, Dr. Bailey, is not, and will not be, a candidate for the public printing. G.

A FALLACY OF MR. BENTON.

An extract is going the rounds of the Southern press, "from advance sheets of the second volume of Benton's Thirty Years' View," which shows that great minds are not exempt from great errors. The following extract will show that Mr. Benton has fallen into the trap which Ellwood Fisher laid some years ago, for the purpose of catching the ear of the South, in regard to the commercial condition of that section prior to the Revolution:

"To show the working of the Federal Government is the design of this View—show how things are done under it, and their effects—that the good may be approved and pursued, the evil condemned and avoided, and the machine of Government be made to work equally for the benefit of the whole Union, according to the wise and beneficent intent of its founders. It thus becomes necessary to show its working in the two great Atlantic sections, originally sole parties to the Union—the North and the South—complained of for many years—on one part as unequal and oppressive, and made so by a course of Federal legislation at variance with the object of the Confederation, and contrary to the intent or the words of the Constitution.

"The writer of this View sympathized with that complaint—believed it to be, to much extent, well founded—saw with concern the corroding effect it had on the feelings of patriotic men of the South; and often had to lament that a sense of duty to his own constituents required him to vote against measures which his judgment disapproved and his feelings condemned. This complaint existed when he came into the Senate; it had in fact commenced in the first years of the Federal Government, at the time of the assumption of the United States, the incorporation of the first national bank, and the adoption of the funding system—all of which drew capital from the South to the North. It continued to increase; and, at the period to which this chapter relates, it had reached the stage of an organized sectional expression, in a voluntary convention of the Southern States. It had often been expressed in Congress and in the State Legislatures, and habitually in the discussion of the people; but now it took the more serious form of joint action, and exhibited the spectacle of a part of the States assembling sectionally to complain formally of the unequal, and to them injurious, operation of the common Government, established by common consent for the common good; and now frustrating its object by departing from the purposes of its creation. The convention was called commercial, and properly, as the grievance complained of was in its root commercial, and a commercial remedy was proposed.

"It met at Augusta, Georgia, and afterwards at Charleston, South Carolina; and the evil complained of, and the remedy proposed, were strongly set forth in the proceedings of the body, in the memorials from the Atlantic, Gulf, and Southwestern States. The changed relative condition of the two sections of the country, before and since the Union, was shown in their general relative depression of prosperity since that event, and especially in the reversed condition of their respective foreign import trade. In the colonial condition, the comparison was wholly in favor of the South; under the Union, wholly against it. Thus in the year 1760—some fifty years before the Declaration of Independence—the foreign imports into Virginia were £880,000 sterling, and into South Carolina £555,000; while in New York there were only £189,000; into Pennsylvania, £190,000; and into all the New England colonies, collectively, only £561,000.

"These figures exhibit an immense superiority of commercial prosperity on the side of the South in its colonial state, sadly contrasting with another set of figures exhibited by the Convention to show its relative condition within a few years after the Union. Thus, in the year 1821, the imports into New York had risen to $23,000,000, being about seventy times its colonial import at about an equal period before the adoption of the Constitution; and those of South Carolina stood at $2,000,000—which, for all practical purposes, may be considered the same that they were in 1760.

"Such was the difference—the reversed conditions—of the two sections worked between them in the brief space of two generations—within the actual lifetime of some who had seen their colonial conditions. The proceedings of the Convention did not stop there, but brought down the comparison (under this commercial impulse) to near the period of its own sitting—to the actual period of the highest manifestation of discontent in 1832, when it produced the enactment of the South Carolina nullifying ordinance. At that time, all the disproportions between the commercial condition of the two sections had inordinately increased. The New York imports (since 1821) had more than doubled; the Virginia had fallen off one half; South Carolina, two-thirds. The actual figures stood: New York, fifty-seven millions—Virginia, half a million—South Carolina, one million and a quarter.

"This was a disheartening view, and rendered more grievous by the certainty of its continuation, the prospect of its aggravation, and the conviction that the South (in its great staples) furnished the basis for these imports, of which it received so small a share." * * *

"This is what the dry and naked figures show. To the memory and imagination it is worse; for it is a tradition of the Colonies, that the South had been the seat of wealth and happiness, of power and opulence; that a rich population covered the land, dispensing a liberal hospitality, and diffusing the felicity which themselves enjoyed; that all was life, and joy, and affluence, then. And this tradition was not without similitude to the reality, as this writer can testify, for he was old enough to have seen the last of the colonists, who had survived the state of Southern colonial manners, when no traveller was allowed to go to a tavern, but was handed over from family to family, through entire States; when holydays were prepared for, and celebrated by master and slave with music and feasting, and great concourse of friends and relatives; when the gold was kept in desks or chests, (after the dowfall of paper,) and well-filled purses lent to neighbors for short terms, without note, interest, witness, or security, and on bond and land security for long years and lawful usance, and when petty litigation was at so low an ebb that it required a fine of a pound of tobacco to make a man serve as constable.

"The reverse of all this was now seen and felt, not to the whole extent which fancy or policy painted, but to extent enough to constitute a reality, and to make a contrast, and to excite the regrets which the memory of past joys never fails to awaken."

Prior to the Revolution, the people of the Colonies, North and South, and particularly the latter, were almost exclusively engaged in agriculture. Manufacturing, as the term is popularly understood, as well as the mechanic arts, were discouraged by the mother country. The manufacture of many articles was prohibited by law; and if these restrictions were being gradually removed, their effect was still felt in the habits of dependence upon England which they produced.

In consequence of this state of things, nearly every article of manufacture consumed in the South was imported from England, not by Southern merchants, but by those of London. The exports and imports were often made from and to the plantations in Virginia, as is attested by General Washington's account books. Small vessels came out, freighted "to order," for the large planters on the Potomac or the James river, as well as the small traders of Norfolk, Alexandria, and Baltimore, which were then villages of two or three thousand inhabitants. These towns had not then a tenth of the trade which they now possess—Baltimore not a hundredth part—but the trade was across the Atlantic. It was direct, whereas now nine-tenths of it is coastwise or internal, and consequently loses in dignity what is gained in amount.

The South, in its colonial condition, was more thoroughly agricultural than it is at present, and was therefore more dependent upon the mother country for manufactures than she now is upon the North. She, for this reason, was furnished with considerable supplies from that quarter, by English merchants; and the fact is used by Mr. Benton, with an absence of reflection which is surprising in a man of his intelligence, as the exponent of the commercial prosperity of the South in colonial times. The truth is, she had at that time almost no commerce at all. She possessed no shipping, no sailors, no merchants, no cities—if otherwise, where were they, what became of them, where are the ruins, even?

New England, New York, and Pennsylvania, prior to the Revolution, were poor colonies. They produced no tropical plants or products of any sort, such as enriched the Southern planters. The early settlers were for the most part poor men, who came to America to enjoy the freedom of conscience in matters of religion; they lived chiefly by the cultivation of the necessaries of life, such as are grown in England, and of course they had little to export. The absence of articles of export forced them to live within themselves. They found it necessary to cultivate the rude mechanic arts, often in contravention of English prohibitory laws, and thus commenced that multiplicity of pursuits which is so essential to the growth of towns and cities, and which is no less necessary to the development of the various faculties of the mind. They resorted to the sea, and became distinguished as mariners all over the world, by their enterprise in fishing on the coasts of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, or in catching whales in the South Seas. The product of these fisheries was the principal element of Northern commerce with Europe, to which they added so much of the trade of their Southern neighbors as was allowed them by the selfishness of the English merchants. Still, their imports were less than those *made into the South by England*, while their commerce was at least twenty times as great.

The Revolution stripped England of her monopoly in Southern trade, and, as a matter of course, it fell into the hands of the Yankees, under a system of fair competition with Southern merchants.

Mr. Benton will not pretend that the objectionable policy of the Federal Government, which he alleges has prostrated Southern commerce, makes, or has ever made, any discrimination between Northern and Southern merchants. No bounties are given to the North—no exclusive privileges. How, then, has the policy of the Federal Government been ruinous to the commerce of the South?

For the first quarter of a century after the Constitution was adopted, the duties on imports were so light that no free trader, who is not ready to abolish the custom-houses, and resort to direct taxes, would now think of approximating the same rates. The year 1816 was the beginning of the protective policy. We say nothing of the fact that it was inaugurated by the South for the purpose of building up Southern manufactures, perhaps as a rival interest to Northern commerce—but certain it is that protection met with stern opposition from New England, from Boston, and from Mr. Webster. But let that pass. Allow it to be the policy of the North, and we will show that prior to its commencement—prior to 1816—the commerce of the North was as much superior to that of the South as it is at this day.

The population of the towns is an unerring criterion of their commercial importance; and the last Census Report furnishes us with a table of the population of cities in the Union at different periods, which enables us to make the comparison. From it we gather the following facts:

Boston in the year 1722 contained 10,567 inhabitants; in 1790, 18,038; in 1800, 24,937; in 1810, 33,250. Salem contained 4,427 inhabitants in 1765; in 1790, 7,921; in 1810, 12,613. New York in 1731 had a population of 8,628; in 1773, 21,876; in 1790, 33,131; in 1810, 96,373. Philadelphia contained, in 1731, 12,000 inhabitants; in 1790, 42,520; in 1810, 91,874.

We find no returns of population of Southern cities prior to 1790, except Mobile, which in 1788 had 1,468 inhabitants, including the "settlement;" in 1820, the town contained 1,500. New Orleans and St. Louis were not parts of the Union until 1803. The former contained 5,331 inhabitants in 1788, and in 1810, 17,242. The latter in 1788 contained 1,197 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,600. Savannah, in Georgia, contained a population of 5,166 in 1800, and 5,215 in 1810. Charleston, S. C., contained, in 1790, 16,359 inhabitants; in 1800, 20,473; and in 1810, 24,711. Richmond, Virginia, in 1790, contained 3,761; in 1810, 9,735. Norfolk in 1800 contained 6,926; in 1810, 9,193.

These facts are sufficient to show that the commercial superiority of the South never existed, until it was hatched in the brain of Ellwood Fisher; and the endorsement of the myth by Mr. Benton cannot give it reality. But another test of the commercial character of a city is the amount of tonnage owned by its citizens. The following statistics of the tonnage of the States are compiled from *McGregor's Progress of America*. They show the relative commercial condition of the North and South during the Administrations of Washington, John Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. Mr. Benton will not complain of the operation of the Federal Government while it was in the control of the Father of his Country, or in that of the fathers of Democracy, Jefferson and Madison. If it was detrimental to the South in their hands, it should never have been formed, and should cease to exist:

REGISTERED OF FOREIGN TONNAGE.

	1790.	1800.	1810.
North	237,574	481,450	749,312
South	125,877	197,967	230,243

It will be seen that during the period of greatest commercial prosperity which the country has known—that is to say, when the United States had the carrying trade of all Europe—the tonnage of the North increased more than three-fold in nineteen years, while that of the South was not quite doubled. This was the period of low duties. From the commencement of the Government to the year 1816, the imposts never exceeded an average of from five up to ten or twelve per cent. At that period, the necessity of paying the public debt, and the gradual habituation of the people to the payment of indirect taxes, enabled the Republican Administration of Mr. Madison, backed by such Republican leaders as Dallas, Calhoun, and Clay, to impose additional duties, for protection as well as revenue, amounting altogether to an average of twenty-five per cent. The Federalists made strong opposition to this measure, but to no purpose. They were overborne by the very party to which Mr. Benton then belonged, but which no longer exists, except in name.

We had no purpose of arraigning Mr. Benton before the bar of public opinion, and we have nothing to allege against his consistency. He came on the public stage subsequent to the change of policy of the Republican or Democratic party on this question, and we doubt not that his career presents a record free from the inconsistencies which chequer that of Mr. Calhoun on the one side, and of Mr. Webster on the other. It is the logic of Mr. Benton that we find fault with—not his personal merits.

Mr. Benton contrasts the wealth and splendor of the South, which he witnessed in his youth, with the present condition of things; but it will puzzle him to point out any vestiges of the ancient greatness of the South, which he so highly celebrates. That must have been a mushroom splendor, which was vanished in a generation, without leaving any ruins to attest its existence. We happen to be familiar with the country of Mr. B.'s nativity—in fact, it is ours also, and yet we have never been able to trace a monument or memorial, however insignificant, of a primeval splendor in our native State, which at all eclipsed the existing state of things. So far from it, we are glad to believe that the people of North Carolina have greatly improved in intelligence and virtue, in arts and agriculture, within thirty or forty years, notwithstanding the degeneracy of public sentiment on the subject of Slavery. The population has doubled, the towns have increased three-fold, farms long worn out have been reclaimed, railroads have been built, common schools established, and the use of the printing press has been augmented ten-fold. Great improvement has taken place in the style of building houses, in town and country, as every one can see; and it is universally allowed that the slaves are better housed and fed, and more regard is paid to their social rights than was accorded to them by our ancestors. The opinions of politicians have undergone deterioration, but the progress of civilization is onward. The masses have become more intelligent, and therefore more humane. The slave is less ignorant and degraded, and therefore less despised. We must hence conclude that Mr. Benton, like the majority of men, is prone to cherish an undue reverence for the past, and to exaggerate the virtues and endowments of our ancestors, at the expense of the present generation. G.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

NEW YORK POLITICS.—The New York Know Nothings met in Council at Binghamton on the 28th ultimo, and continued in session two or three days. Great efforts were made by the leading men of the Order to prevent the expression of a sentiment on the subject of Slavery, which might be distasteful to the South. It is said that a number of leading Southern politicians were present, who were backed by the Silver Grays and Hard Shells in the effort to procure the ratification of the Philadelphia Platform without alteration. It seems that this ultra pro-slavery movement was defeated; but, to all practical intents, the public platform will answer even a better purpose than that of ratifying the Philadelphia Platform, since it may delude a few soft-headed friends of Freedom into its support, without giving the least guaranty of effective action against Slavery. We present the platform and resolutions entire. It will be seen that the feeble promise of hostility to Slavery extension is not admitted to the dignity of a plank in the platform; while the second, third, and fourth "planks," or sections of the platform, have an "awful squinting" at the old-fashioned Hunker abhorrence of "agitation." There can be no doubt that these anti-"sectional" planks will always interpose impassable bars to anything like effective counteraction of Slavery aggression, while it is hoped that the "resolutions" will amuse and pacify the honest opponents of Slavery.

"PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

"*First*—Americans to rule America.

"*Second*—The maintenance of the Union, and the Compromises of the Constitution faithfully fulfilled.

"*Third*—The absolute exclusion from the creed of the American Party of all sectional doctrines that are against the sense of any portion of the American Union, and the disuse of the name, influence, or organization, of the American Party, to advance any measure against the constitutional rights of the States, or the intention or effect of which shall be to endanger the perpetuity of the Union.

"*Fourth*—No sectional interference in our Legislature, and no proscription of persons on account of religious opinions.

"*Fifth*—Hostility to the assumptions of the Papal power, through the bishops, prelates, priests, or ministers, of the Roman Catholic Church, as anti-republican in principle, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"*Sixth*—Thorough reformation in the naturalization laws of the Federal Government.

"*Seventh*—The enactment of laws for the protection of the purity of the ballot-box by the States.

"*Eighth*—Free and reliable institutions for the education of all classes of the people, with the Bible as a text-book of our common schools.

"RESOLUTIONS ON PRINCIPLES.

"*Resolved*, That the National Administration, by its general corrupt and official conduct, together with an attempt to destroy the repose, harmony, and fraternal relations of the country, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the encouragement of aggressions upon the government in Nebraska and Kansas, deserves and should receive the united condemnation of the American people, and the institution of Slavery should derive no extension from such repeal.

"*Resolved*, That in the organization of the American Order, the institution of involuntary servitude was and now is regarded as local and not national in its character—a subject for the toleration of a difference of opinion by the citizens of the different States of the Union; and,, and which, has no rightful place in the platform of the National American Party."

None but the most unsophisticated can fail to see that this resolution is designed to deceive—that it has been thrown out as a "tub to the popular whale," by which the cunning and unprincipled demagogues who framed it expect to divide the forces of the Republicans, without losing any of their own ranks. We doubt not that there are honest Anti-Slavery men among the New York Know Nothings; but if they fail to see that they have been "sold" to the Silver Grays by the State Council, after reading this platform, they must be as blind as they are bigoted.

The *Softs*, or Administration party, met at Syracuse on the 29th ult., and went through a farce similar to that which was enacted at Binghamton. The committee on resolutions brought in a series, "cut and dried" for the occasion by the office-holders and expectants. They are silent as to Slavery and the Nebraska bill, and failed to give satisfaction to the delegates from "the rural districts," who are tinctured with strong Free Soil proclivities. The committee's resolutions were amended by the Convention, but in such a way as to present the same double face which is observable in those adopted by the Know Nothings at Binghamton. The first three resolutions of the committee, which were adopted, refer to State affairs; the fourth is a condemnation of Know Nothingism; the fifth congratulates the Democracy of the Union upon the signal triumphs of "their political brethren" in Virginia, (Wise, the *Enquirer*, and *Examiner*, fierce and fiery advocates of the African slave trade and negro breeding,) North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, (bloodhounds,) and Texas. The sixth deprecates "fusion;" the seventh refers to local organization; the eighth is as follows, being a qualified endorsement of the Administration, with reference to certain measures:

"*Resolved*, That the National Administration has our hearty concurrence and commendation in its management of the public finances, in its careful scrutiny of the power to protect the Treasury from being made the spoil of speculators, and to arrest improvident and corrupt expenditure; that the system of rigid accountability to which disbursing officers have been held, the scrutiny with which defalcations have been detected, and the attitude assumed in support of the American name abroad, as well as the important treaties with foreign Governments, extending the system of commercial intercourse, and giving to our flag marks of an honest and faithful Administration."

The following, which were not in the "bills," as arranged by the office-holders of the Custom House and Post Office, were forced down the throats of those worthy gentlemen, much against their wills, by the "unterrified" of the "rural districts:"

"*Resolved*, That we regard the organization of bands of armed borderers, and their intrusion into the Territory of Kansas, not as *bona fide* settlers, but for the forcible subversion of the rights of its legal electors, not only as a violation of the peace of the Union and the rights of the community assailed, but as distinctly subversive of the intent of Congress, as declared in the bill organizing the said Territories, to leave the people perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States; and that all the power of the Federal and Territorial Governments should be exerted to redress these outrages, and to vindicate the rights of the people thereof.

"*Resolved*, That the Democracy of this State will faithfully adhere to all the compromises of the Constitution, and maintain all the reserved rights of the States. They deem this an appropriate occasion to express their fidelity to the extension of Slavery in free territory."

After all the rejoicings of the soft-headed Softs, these resolutions practically mean nothing—they pledge no resistance to the admission of slave States, say nothing of Slavery in this District, and not a word of the Fugitive Slave Law. While faint suggestions are beginning to come, even from the South, of the necessity of repealing the Fugitive Bill, and restoring Freedom to Kansas, as an indispensable means of pacification, these brave Free Soil Softs and Know Nothings of New York are too modest to insist on such "fanatical" measures. We far more respect the Hards, in their open opposition to Freedom, than these beggarly timeservers, who, in their endeavor to serve two masters, God and Mammon, incur the merited contempt of all parties.

The slippery policy of these Know Nothing and Soft Shell leaders, in bidding as they have done for Free Soil votes, attests the overwhelming strength of the Anti-Slavery sentiment in New York. They bow to that sentiment, in order to cheat the people out of the realization of their purposes. Hypocrisy is said to be the homage which vice pays to virtue; but it is by no means disinterested. A valuable consideration is always expected at least, and is too often realized, we are sorry to say. It remains to be seen whether the people of New York will suffer themselves to be cheated out of a fair expression of their abhorrence of Slavery aggression by these cunning demagogues. The idea of an honest enemy of Slavery voting with the party of Franklin Pierce—the signer of the Nebraska bill, and the sider and abettor of Atchison and Stringfellow, in the perpetration of the Kansas frauds and violence—voting to put his minions into office, who have just lauded him and his Administration—is too preposterous to be entertained for a moment. Every true friend of Freedom will abandon these time-serving demagogues, and enter heartily into the support of the Republican Party.

THE WHEELER SLAVE CASE.—The colored men who assisted in rescuing Jane, the colored woman, from the hands of Colonel Wheeler, were brought up for trial in the Pennsylvania Court of Quarter Sessions, on Wednesday last, in Philadelphia. The trial has proven highly interesting, and has brought to light important facts bearing upon the case of Passmore Williamson. It is at length made clear that freedom was not forced upon the woman against her own wishes, but that she had planned her escape, as well as she knew how, before leaving Washington. The testimony of Wheeler was positive as to the forcible abduction of the woman; and that of his witnesses, as far as it went, seemed to bear him out in it. Among them was a New York merchant, who, meeting Wheeler, after the occurrence, on the Hudson, introduced himself as an eye-witness of his misfortunes, and volunteered to go to Philadelphia as a witness. He states that he has considerable dealings with the West—not much with the South—a good reason why he should desire to extend his operations in that quarter. This willing witness glories in the name of Samuel Smith. He makes a pretty good case for the Ambassador, but has the grace to admit that the woman expressed a desire to be free. After Wheeler had given his positive testimony that Jane was torn away from him—indeed, it seems to have become necessary, as one witness alleges that he attempted to put his arms around her, (his love for the property must have been very great, to overcome his high-horn Southern scruples)—after the most triumphant statement of his case, he was taken all aback by the sudden apparition of Jane herself, who testified to her desire for freedom; that before leaving Washington she had prepared a dress to disguise herself, on reaching New York, and that she had availed herself of the advice and assistance tendered her in Philadelphia, and that she left the company of Wheeler freely, in order to obtain freedom. She stated that she has two children in Virginia, whom she is loth to lose. This fact, taken in connection with the fear of the power of her master, which slaves have too much reason to feel in this enlightened Republic, will sufficiently explain her timidity and hesitation about leaving Wheeler, to which the witnesses testify.

Jane has acted like a true woman in coming forward voluntarily, at her peril, to give in her testimony in behalf of those who had befriended her. Her testimony is most important to them, and, from the nature of the case, its truth cannot be doubted. The very fact that she chooses to remain free, proves that she wished to become so; and that the story of her being forcibly torn from her master, against her will, is a palpable absurdity. With all our reverence for "dignities," we must confess that in this issue of veracity between Ambassador Wheeler and his slave woman, Jane Johnson, we unhesitatingly give it as our opinion that the testimony of the latter is the more ponderable substance, and that his Excellency kicks the beam.

After Jane had given her evidence, an effort was made by the bloodhounds of Gen. Pierce to have her arrested as "a fugitive from service;" but it was no go. Judge Kelly and acting Attorney General Mann, of the State court, are said to have acted with great firmness and dignity. They told the United States District Attorney and Marshal that they would touch the woman at their peril—a hint which those harpies thought proper to avail themselves of. The laws and the honor of Pennsylvania were vindicated, and Jane was sent beyond the reach of Federal tyranny, guarded by a file of soldiers. It is said that

from Syracuse, New York, and we have since heard of several from this city, Sisters of Charity and others, who have followed her noble example. Among the heroic number we only remember the name of Mr. Jackson, a student of medicine. G.

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

We stated last week that both the Editors of the *Intelligencer*, "we believe—certainly McGales—have petitioned Congress" for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia. The impression had long been on our minds, but it seems we were mistaken. We have examined the list of some twelve hundred respectable petitioners, but find neither of the names of those gentlemen on it. We promptly make the correction. We have, however, no occasion to correct our statement that they are unfriendly to Slavery and to Slavery Extension, as their columns abundantly prove. G.

"THEY WILL NOT BE COMFORTED."

Our neighbors of the *Sentinel* are hard to please. Every now and then, in chorus with the Washington *Union* and the *Organ*, they complain that the Union is imperilled—that Free Soil and Abolition have swept the entire North, from Maine to Minnesota—they deal in the most startling figures of rhetoric, such as "portentous," ominous," "threatening," clouds and darkness—they declare the old parties prostrate and lifeless—that Abolition is rampant—that Seward, and Greeley, and Garrison, rule everything. They regard the future as charged with mighty events, which a month or a year may bring upon the devoted South. And yet, in the next breath, when we attempt to calm down their fears, by showing that the triumph of Freedom will produce none of the direful consequences which their excited fancies have conjured up—that the Union will not be dissolved, nor the rights of the States invaded—they wheel about, and laugh us to scorn, for the bare suggestion that the party of Freedom will triumph in the coming Presidential election! How strange! They tell their readers that Free Soil is triumphant; and if we join them in exclaiming, they fly at us with the charge of "delusion," "dreams of fanaticism," and other equally complimentary phrases. Well, gentlemen, have it your own way until the election, and then the people will have it theirs. G.

The Review.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE, Social and Individual. By PETER BAYNE, M.A. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1855.

Here is a new writer, whose name we do not recollect to have met with before. But he is a man of no mean power, and grapples with his subject as one who is conscious of his strength. We think Messrs. Gould & Lincoln for introducing him so well to the American reading public. His aim is to meet the pantheistic philosophy of Carlyle, and the atheistic materialism of Comte. Perhaps there is little danger in general from the latter, since comparatively few, we believe, will be disposed to toil through the heavy volumes of the French philosopher in the original, or even the large single one of Miss Martineau's abridgment. But the writings of Carlyle are more to be dreaded, as they come to us invested with such a strange power of style and thought, and thus insinuate their poison when hardly apprehended. Mankind so love to hear of the nobleness and dignity of human nature, to deify as it were themselves—at least, hero-worship and its kindred adorations are so grateful to the weakness and depravity of the human heart, that the pantheism which seems to give both a form and an essence to such visions of perfectibility is to be apprehended. We find, accordingly, these views diffused in many a latent shape through the literature of the present day. Mr. Bayne, professing himself a great admirer of Carlyle as an artist in what he puts his hand to by way of literary effort, manfully, however, comes forth to break his lance with him, and, in our view, has successfully carried down by his bold thrust this champion of a new form of infidelity. He admits that Carlyle's biographies of Burns and others are master pieces of skill, especially that of Burns; and has endeavored, by a similar mode of illustration, to present the influence of Christian Life. The biographies he has given us are three, under the heading, Christianity the Basis of Social Life, viz: those of Howard; and the Rise of Philanthropy, Wilberforce; and the Development of Philanthropy, and Bridgett the Christian. Freeman; also, three others—those of John Foster, Thomas Arnold, and Thomas Chalmers, under the heading of Christianity the Basis of Individual Character. They are preceded by some very clear statements of principles and exhibitions of the defectiveness of the pantheistic theory in relation to life, social and individual; and followed by a shorter exposition of Comte's philosophy, with its bald atheistic hypothesis. Mr. Bayne's volume has met with high commendation in Great Britain, where it was first published, and we think deservedly so. It is a book that must make its way among all lovers of that which is solid and useful, combined with what too is attractive and interesting. His biographies are fine specimens of his powers as a writer in this branch of literature; his style is clear, graphic, and forcible; many of his illustrations beautifully set forth the truths they are designed to convey, and the characters depicted cannot but impress the mind of his reader with the correctness of his judgment in selecting them as examples to place in the rich frames of his portrait gallery. One of them and not the least in point of interest, Bridgett, is a new one to us. But he was indeed worthy to stand alongside of Howard and Wilberforce, humble though he was in his origin, and his sphere of action was different in its nature. We should like to make some extracts from this volume, if we had room; but we have not, and, too, would rather say to our readers, examine the work yourselves, and you will feel that a few passages culled here and there would fail to do justice to the whole blended power of its interest, as it lies within the compass of some five hundred or more pages. The type and paper are such as we love to see a good book presented in. S.

MODERN MYSTERIES Explained and Exposed. In four Parts. I. Clairvoyant Revelations of A. J. Davis. II. Phenomena of Spiritualism Explained and Exposed. III. Evidence that the Bible is given by Inspiration of the Spirit of God, as compared with the Evidence that these Manifestations are from the Spirits of Men. IV. Clairvoyant Revelations of Emanuel Swedenborg. By Rev. A. Mahan, first President of Cleveland University. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1855.

Among all the various works which have been called forth by the spiritualists, as they are termed, of the present day, none that we have seen has entered on the purpose of exploding their high pretensions, and placing them on a correct, well-defined basis, with so much logical precision and careful induction as this of President Mahan's. Whether or not it will succeed in opening the eyes of any of the votaries of this new species of revelation, we cannot say; but on the candid reader his arguments seem likely to have effect. He admits the facts of various sorts adduced—that extraordinary exhibitions take place, of the moving tables, and similar developments of physical force. He admits, too, the frequency of rappings, the correctness of answers to questions of all kinds proposed up to a certain limit, and numerous effects strangely fitted to deceive those who do not carefully investigate, and who are prepared to be thus deluded. He admits the perfect honesty, too, of many by whom such statements are made and the experiments tried. Some he has himself witnessed; others are too well attested to allow of doubts. But he claims that there is no spiritual supernatural agency in any or all of these things. He affirms that they are the result in part of the mesmeric power, and the transfer of the inquirer's thoughts by the mesmeric sympathy to the medium, and in part of the new force called by Reichenbach (and by him claimed to have been demonstrated) the *Odylic* force—something distinct from, and yet in some respects similar to, magnetism and electricity. He takes his stand on the ground that the effects are nothing but mundane ones; that the pretended revelations are only wrought out in the mind of the medium, under the influence of his questioner; and that in every case where there has been a test, such as, if met, might have proved real spiritual agency, there has been an utter failure. He cites numerous facts of such trials, and, for aught we can see, allowing his facts, has established his position. He says the effects follow in the cases where the spirits are challenged to prevent them, by those who discredit their influence, as much as where they are invoked by those who give their belief; that the same pretended spirit can be made to contradict himself, back and forth, most absurdly; and yet more—that in numerous cases, spirits are said to have been summoned, given full accounts of their death, &c., while the supposed persons were actually living or *never* had an existence. All these things, and many more like them, the author claims, warrants him to say there is no such real spiritual existence. The knowledge already in the mind of the querist is only reflected back to him by the medium; and he can so control the revelation as to make it the most contradictory or absurd, if he chooses to do it. The volume is written with much care; it is cool and deliberate in its reasoning; the statements wear the air of candid investigation; names are given, and facts, with dates, &c., all evidently proceeds from a mind that has reflected much on the subject, and we should say, also, from one who has felt that there are difficulties in it, but who, after patient investigation, has reached a conclusion satisfactory to himself and to others to whom he has communicated his thoughts. It is worth reading, and probably the best and clearest exposition of the false pretensions of spiritualism yet given to the public. What answer will be made to it we know not, but whoever essays the task must meet President Mahan with an equal array of reasoning; for such a book cannot be set aside by mere denial, loud assertion, or vituperation. The first part is devoted to the exposure of the noted Andrew Jackson Davis, who is proved to be ignorant, and something worse—utterly unworthy of regard as to his pretensions to science, and still more so as to his candor or love of truth. President Mahan backs up his statements by some curious facts about this infidel prophet, who claims for his own revelations an authority which he denies to that of his God. The wonder to us has always been, how any man of common sense could have the patience to read through such a tissue of absurdities as his Great Harmonia, except for some such purpose as that of President Mahan; and he, we suspect, if he did it, found it no easy task.

Another portion of his work is a powerful demonstration of the claim of the Bible to be a revelation of God. The only unpleasant thing about this, to our mind, is its seeming admission of the necessity of defending God's Book, as opposed by the wild vagaries of spiritualists. It looks too much like admitting for the moment the possibility of any resemblance between them. But the argument is perfectly conclusive; and, perhaps, even as Moses was willing to let the rod of God's power lie down beside those of Jaunes and Jambres, the Egyptian magicians, so President Mahan felt as to the Word of God, in relation to these pretended revelations, especially as the true Word utterly condemns the false.

Our author's work is seasonable, and we wish it may exert the influence he designed to secure in writing it; but many are much slower to believe truth than error, if this latter wear the guise of the strange and wonderful. S.

FROM CALIFORNIA.

SACRAMENTO, CAL., *July* 30, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

As the political world, on this Pacific coast, is now in full motion, I thought I would send you a few lines, to let you know where we stand.

You will remember that last year the Democratic Party in this State divided, nominally, into a Northern and Southern faction—the former under the lead of Mr. Broderick, and the latter under that of Senator Gwin. These two bodies, through the efforts of their central committees, met this spring, in calling a Convention, to nominate candidates for the State offices. This Convention met, and, to the astonishment of everybody, the North prevailed, and succeeded in nominating a ticket most distasteful to the Southern wing. The most ultra doughface *resolutions* were adopted, in hopes of retaining their support. In this, however, there is a signal failure. The Chivalry want offices, not resolutions. They have enjoyed almost a monopoly of official income ever since the organization of the State, until they began to think that they had acquired a sort of divine right to them. But the Tammany Democracy here are keen a relish for office as they—and thus it happens that the Chivalry, in the great race for the spoils, Tammany for once succeeds, and the result is, their ticket is received with coldness by some, and spurned with indignity by others, constituting a very large body in the party, who are now quickly looking around to see where they shall go.

On the other hand, the Whig party is completely merged in the Know Nothings. It has no existence, except in name, in this State. There was considerable Northern feeling prevailing among them, but it was pretty well kept under by a few active Southern leaders. But the Whigs were always in a hopeless minority, and their leaders seized upon the Know Nothing institution as a society with avidity, hoping by its means to obtain a share of the loaves and fishes. These, united with many sound Democrats, who have been compelled to leave their party by its course in putting forward, as candidates for office, men of the most corrupt and immoral character, have given the secret Order great strength. They have proclaimed their intention of building up a new party, free from the control of the political leaders, who have by plundering the State, and who make politics a trade. They have in this way drawn in hundreds, who have united with them for no other purpose than to effect a political reform of this kind. And such a reform is truly needed here, for there is not probably a State in the Union cursed with such a corrupt band of politicians as the State of California. They have thus rapidly grown into a powerful political party, composed mainly of the intelligent and virtuous of the community, and, in order to insure success in the coming contest, they are now negotiating with the disaffected Chivalry Democrats, to bring them into the support of a ticket with which to defeat the Democratic Party. To accomplish this, they are willing to make the Order as Southern as they desire, and give them a full share of the offices. But then, again, this plan does not meet with favor from a very large and influential portion of the Know Nothings, who are from the Southern States, and who deem it most ruinous to the Order to become identified in any way with these corrupt factions. What the result of these things may be, can only be known when their State Convention meets, which it is understood will be in about a week.

In the mean time, Governor Foote of Mississippi, of hanging notoriety, has emerged from his private position, and has taken the field as the special advocate of the secret Order. He is now perambulating the State, making speeches wherever he can get an audience. Slavery and the dangers to the Union from the Abolitionists, are of course his great themes. He argues very ingeniously to prove that the Democratic Party cannot be relied on to sustain Slavery, or to avert a dissolution of the Union, and that the American Party are the men. He is in ecstacies over the result of the Philadelphia Convention. He is especially bitter against President Pierce and his old friend Jefferson Davis. What a pity Pierce did not make Foote a Cabinet officer, instead of Davis! His great object evidently is, to bring the Order into close affiliation with the Chivalry Democrats, and at the same time pave the way for his return to the United States Senate. It would be a rich scene to see Hale of New Hampshire, and Foote of California, meet again on the floor of the Senate, and embrace each other as loving political brothers, members of the same party. But I am afraid the Governor will be disappointed in these hopes, for his course is wrenching the Northern feeling in the Order, and they begin to speak out quite strongly against his course.

As to the Anti-Slavery cause, it has quite a number of friends in the State, but their influence, thus far, has been but little felt, for want of organization and concert of action. The expense of political meetings is very heavy in this State; and as most Anti-Slavery men are in very humble pecuniary circumstances, they are not able to devote much time or money to the cause. But we are watching anxiously the course of events East, and it is with joy we hail the prospect of a speedy deliverance of the North from Southern domination. It is difficult to get the mass of the people to take much interest in the Anti-Slavery question. It is looked upon as a thing so far off, and as having so little bearing upon our immediate interests, that it is laid aside in the eager pursuit of wealth. It seems as though there was a great gulf separating us from the rest of the States, and we are looking anxiously for a railroad, to span that gulf, as a means of bringing us practically within the Union; and until then, the People will not feel any great interest in national politics. The result is, our political papers are filled with praise of their friends, and abuse of opposing candidates for office. Our politics is a mere scramble for office, and our best citizens are heartily disgusted with the whole thing. I have some hopes that the friends of Freedom will be able to organize a party soon, that will be founded on sound principles, and do something to regenerate our State. But it will require a good deal of courage to prosecute the work.

I have often thought that a series of letters, descriptive of the climate, scenery, soil, climate, commerce, agricultural and mineral productions, and the inducements it presents to settlers to come among us and here establish a home, might be interesting to your numerous readers; and that will be found on sound principles, and do something to regenerate our State. But it will require a good deal of courage to prosecute the work.

I have often thought that a series of letters, descriptive of the climate, scenery, soil, climate, commerce, agricultural and mineral productions, and the inducements it presents to settlers to come among us and here establish a home, might be interesting to your numerous readers; and that will be found on sound principles, I will endeavor to write you a few upon those subjects, if you think they will be acceptable. Of one thing our Eastern friends may rest assured—California can never be made a slave State. Yours, BRYANT.

From the St. Louis Intelligencer.

THE BITTER FRUITS—THE SUICIDE OF SLAVERY.

Our news from Western Missouri is of ominous and most discouraging character. That region is suffering from mildew and blight. Its glory is dimmed, its spirits abated, and its hope fading.

The emigration to Kansas has been almost entirely checked. Emigrants from the Northern or free States have ceased to go to Kansas, because they know that a new State is there not cursed by mob law, nor ruled by non-resident bullies. Emigrants from the Southern States do not go to Kansas, because they will not put their slave property in peril, by taking it into a Territory where there is a strong Free Soil element threatening the security of slaves.

Any man of sense might have foreseen this result. Alabama and Georgia may hold public meetings, and resolve to sustain the slaveholders in Missouri in making Kansas a slave State. But their resolutions comprised all their aid—which is not "material" enough for the crisis. When slaveholders of Alabama and Georgia emigrate, they go to Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas. They do not come with their slaves to Missouri or to Kansas. Call they that backing their friends?

Thus the matter stands: The Northern emigrants shun Missouri and Kansas as plague spots of the nation. The Southern emigrants shun Missouri and Kansas, because here is the battle ground between Slavery and Free Soil.

The result is, Kansas, the fairest land under the sun, is neglected and idle; occupied by a few honest and earnest but disheartened pioneers, and lorded over by a dozen or two feudal tyrants of Missouri, who curse by their presence the land they have desolated.

Such is Kansas—poor, neglected, and despised—and Western Missouri stands infected by the horrible contagion of outlawry, and dwindles away under the moral leprosy of its mobocratic leaders. We are assured by two gentlemen of high position in western Missouri, but totally differing in political sentiments—one upholding the oligarchy that controls the affairs and tramples upon the people's sovereignty in Kansas, the other deploring the accursed madness of the day—that matters are desperate enough in western Missouri. Business in dull. Commerce is stagnant. Money is exceedingly scarce, and a panic pervades the people. The fifty thousand emigrants that ought this season to have poured over into Kansas are not there. The prairie sod remains unbroken. The sound of the axe and the whoop of the husbandman is not heard. Western Missouri towns are not thronged with settlers, buying their outfits and their equipments of husbandry. The farmers find no market for their horses, mules, oxen, and cows. There is no new and large trade springing up in Kansas. The much-vaunted Kansas towns lie neglected—a mockery to their owners, a laughing stock for their foes. "Dead—dead!"—it may be written on all the country—so deep and disastrous has been the fall from the high and fond hopes of the next year.

In May last, the editor of the *Intelligencer* visited Lexington, Mo., and found it one of the most respectable and wealthy farmers of that State, such as form so large a portion of the population of Missouri, who inquired earnestly about the condition of things in Kansas and in western Missouri. He told us that many of them they had of removing to Kansas or western Missouri; but said they had abandoned it utterly, for the reason that they would never think of taking their families to a region where law was not respected, where murder and men driven from the country by irresponsible and unknown bands of regulators. They preferred the rule of law to anarchy. In a recent trip through several Northwestern States, we found that the same inquiries had been made in Indiana and Illinois, and that to direct emigration to those States, and to prejudice Missouri and Kansas with every class of people. The most aggravating stories of insults and outrages committed by Missourians were those of emigrants from the Old World or from the free States, who are found ascending the Missouri river, are circulated in the newspapers all through the free States; and it is impossible to conceive of the deep hatred thus generated towards our whole State in the Northern half of the Union.

Between these two fires, Missouri is leading on her languid existence. St. Louis is retarded in a most woful way. We build no railroads, no small's ponds. We build no miles while other Western States build one hundred. In every department of life, we feel the paralysis. Instead of bounding forward, buoyant, strong, and rejoicing, we sit with dull eyes and heavy spirits, and listen to the tick of a dead-watch.

These are the bitter fruits of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—a wicked and wrongful deed—that will yet bring a hell of bitter self-reproaches to its authors. Missouri did not demand this repeal. The South never asked it. Atchison solicited it—and in a moment of political insanity the South consented to the wrong, and made the wrong her own. *This was the suicide of Slavery.*

Every step since taken has deepened the wrong and enhanced the danger. The free States organized Aid Societies, and sent their men to make Kansas free. It had been Free Soil, by solemn compact, for thirty-five years; and they resolved that it should not be in its character changed. The South would have been far more indignant if a slave Territory had been thus, by unexpected act of Congress, converted into Free Soil.

The free States had a right to be indignant that a life-long compromise had been repealed—and they had a right to try to keep Kansas free, as it had been, by peaceable colonization. They attempted nothing else. But a portion of the citizens of Missouri, headed by Atchison and Stringfellow, denounced the Northern emigrants as "paupers and hirelings," because they were sent west by the money of a society; and so they held county meetings in Missouri, and *raised money* and sent Missourians to Kansas to make Kansas a slave Territory! Were these Missourians "hirelings" too? And did these two party men have a right?

Atchison and Stringfellow, with their Missouri followers, overwhelmed the settlers in Kansas, browbeat and bullied them, and took the Government from their hands. Missouri votes elected the present body of men, who insult public intelligence and popular rights by styling themselves "the Legislature of Kansas." This body of men are helping themselves to fat speculations by locating "the seat of Government" and putting town lots for their votes. They are passing laws disfranchising all the citizens of Kansas who do not believe Negro Slavery to be a Christian institution and a national blessing. They are proposing to punish with imprisonment the utterance of views inconsistent with their own. And they are trying to perpetuate their preposterous and infernal tyranny by appointing for a term of years creatures of their own, as commissioners, in every county, who will so manage the polls as that the laws they are passing are faithfully executed. Has this age anything to compare with these acts of audacity?

The Free State men of Kansas have resolved not to submit to this daring usurpation of a non-resident oligarchy. They have called a convention of the people of Kansas, to meet in September next, and frame a Constitution for their government. This movement will be supported by thousands in Kansas; and it will rally and bring to their aid the Northern States, that have been for the time staggered and confused by the untoward events in Kansas.

The Southern Oligarchy of Missouri then stands before them—a free State Constitution presented by one portion of the people of Kansas, and the Pro-Slavery territorial laws of the present fraudulent Legislature. The House of Representatives of the next Congress will be largely Free Soil or Anti-Nebraska. The Pro-Slavery law of the *bogus* Legislature will be rejected, and without Congressional sanction they are not valid—and the contest will then be on accepting the Free State Constitution presented by the State people. The Free State Constitution may pass the House, but not the Senate. But the effect will be as disastrous to Missouri and the South. Kansas will be left to anarchy. The Slavery that is there will flee from it—perhaps even the slave property of western Missouri give way under the panic, and seek safety in the cotton fields and sugar plantations of Texas.

It has been the common opinion with thoughtless persons and thick-headed bullies of the West, that the Northern and Eastern men will not fight. Never was a greater mistake. The sons of New England and of the Middle States do not *like* to fight. They would rather work—plough—build towns, railroads—make money, and raise families, than fight. But fight they will, if need be. Remember, the sons of New England shed the first blood in the American Revolution; they were the last to furl their flags in that terrible struggle. They never disgraced their country by cowardice, and they will not. They are Americans, with spirit, courage, endurance, and deep love of liberty, to animate them. The Free State men in Kansas will fight here—they will be disfranchised and trampled on. Mark the word.

Here comes, then, the suicide of Slavery. The outrages committed by Atchison and his fellows in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and by Stringfellow and his fellows in subjugating Kansas to non-resident rule, will bring on a collision, first in Congress, and *then in Kansas*—and who shall tell the end?

Slavery will never sustain itself in a border State by the sword. It may conquer in some respects; but it can never "conquer a peace." Never! never! Once light the fires of internecine war in defence of Slavery, and it will perish while you defend it. Slaveholders will not stay to meet the last of it. Property is insecure, slaves will be sent to Texas, to be in "a safe place" while the fight lasts; and as soon as the slaves are gone, it will be found that Missouri has nothing to fight about, and the fight will end "before it begins!"

Thus the Slavery propagandists, who repealed the Missouri Compromise to make Kansas a slave State, will make Missouri free; and in endeavoring to expel abolition from Kansas, they will fill both Kansas and Missouri with an entire free white population—worth more to the two States than all the negroes in America.

Is not the Kansas outrage the suicide of Slavery? Have not the people of Missouri, interested in the preservation of Slavery in the State, brought themselves into a desperate predicament by following the insane counsels of Atchison and Stringfellow?

APPALLING DISASTER ON THE CAMDEN AND AMBOY RAILROAD.

From the Philadelphia Ledger of August 30.

The train of cars which left Philadelphia at ten o'clock on Wednesday morning, consisting of five passenger cars, baggage car, and locomotive, had reached Burlington just before eleven o'clock. It then stopped, waiting for the arrival of the train which left New York early from Jersey city, which passes at this place. After waiting for from five to ten minutes, and the New York train not appearing, the Philadelphia train went forward slowly, watching for the approach of the downward train. It had gone forward about a mile and a quarter, when the New York train came in sight. The whistle for the breaks and to reverse the engine was blown, and the Philadelphia train commenced backing, and was under proper regulation for Burlington again. In this reverse movement, the passenger cars, usually placed behind, and coming after the locomotive, were now in front, and pushed forward by the locomotive.

The passenger train, with the locomotive, of course had not the advantage of seeing what was ahead of the backward-going train. He had run but a quarter of a mile, and a mile from Burlington, when the first passenger car came in contact with a light pleasure wagon, driven by Dr. Hannegan, of Columbus, New Jersey, who attempted to cross the track in front of the cars. The wagon contained Dr. Hannegan, his wife, and two children. The instant it is said, that the locomotive struck, in this infirmity caused an accident nearly similar, but not so fatal, near Beverly, about a year ago. The Doctor had seen the cars pass as he was driving down the road, and, supposing all safe, neglected to look up the track.

The first passenger car struck the two horses in the wagon just as they were crossing the track, killed them instantly, and threw one thirty feet on one side of the track, and the other forty feet on the other side. The wagon was turned round and upset, none of its inmates being injured except in slight bruises. The front car, (A,) after striking the horses, ran forward and off the track about one hundred yards, and over a small embankment. The second car (B) was thrown directly across the track; the third car (C) went through car B, and stopped diagonally across the road; the fourth car (D) followed, and ran into car C. The fifth passenger car and the baggage car stopped without leaving the track. The two latter were not injured, but three of the other passenger cars were knocked to pieces, and many of their occupants were killed, wounded, and maimed.

It is impossible to describe the scene that ensued. The cars were piled upon each other, and numbers of human beings were lying among the ruins—some dead, some dying, some shrieking from pain. Those saved in the train, and the passengers on the Jersey train, joined by citizens of Burlington, who were quickly informed of the terrible accident, went to work to rescue the wounded and dying from the ruins. As soon as taken out, they were conveyed to Burlington, where many private houses, as well as Agnew's and Kelly's taverns, were thrown open to the admission of the wounded, while the Lyceum was appropriated for the reception of the dead. Some had been crushed to death, and were so disfigured as to be scarcely recognise them by; some had been torn limb from limb by the splinters, benches, and floors, and their remains scattered in every direction; many were suffering from crushed limbs, broken backs, and injured and lacerated bodies.

The scene was a heart-sickening one; but, amid amid all its terrors, there were noble instances of resignation, a self-sacrificing spirit from the sufferers, which honored human nature. One gentleman, the Hon. William McClay, ex-member of Congress from New York, who was severely injured, begged those who came to his aid to give their attention to others more dangerously wounded. One individual, with his foot crushed, refused to receive the aid of the doctors till they had relieved the sufferings of others who seemed more to require medical assistance.

It was nearly an hour before all the dead and wounded were extricated, and placed in the hands of persons ready to aid them. Eleven dead bodies were taken out of the ruins, and others were so badly injured that they died as soon as they got to the hotel at Burlington. It is supposed that from fifty to sixty persons have been wounded, some seriously and others only slightly.

The cause of this terrible calamity will no doubt be investigated, to fix the responsibility where it properly belongs. Whether the conductors of the respective trains were running according to regulations, both being on the same track at the same time, and running towards each other, we do not know; but it placed the Philadelphia train in a very dangerous position. *If the engineer had seen the wagon, and had stopped his engine, the probabilities are that the New York train, following close behind, would have run into him.* Unless a company has two tracks to run upon, a train delayed beyond its time should invariably wait until the other has passed; and, with so short a distance between Burlington and Bordentown, *neither should have moved before telegraphing the other.* A train that is compelled to back ought to have a person to give notice by signals at the end opposite to the engineer, and the whistles ought to be kept all the time blowing. Above all, persons riding in the vicinity of railroads should exercise more than ordinary care and discretion, and never presume they are safe till they are so far from the track that they are out of the reach of danger.

CORONER'S INVESTIGATION.

Coroner Samuel W. Earl, on Wednesday evening, had all the bodies of the dead collected together, and conveyed to the Lyceum Hall, where they were arranged in a row around the room, each one labelled with the name of the deceased, presenting a sad and imposing spectacle. The bodies that were identified were headed over to their friends; the remainder retained until they were called for.

After the jurors had been sworn, John Rodgers, Esq., foreman, asked permission of the jurors that the examination be conducted by the Prosecuting Attorney, Garrett S. Cannon, Esq., The jurors gave their assent to such arrangement.

At this stage of the proceedings, the bodies were examined, and the inquest adjourned over until nine o'clock, Thursday morning.

DR. HANNEGAN'S STATEMENT.

A St. Louis paper of the 18th says that Gortschakoff has received orders to sink the Russian fleet if Sebastopol falls.

General Simpson, commander of the British forces in the Crimea, telegraphs that the bombardment of Sebastopol would be re-opened on the morning of the 17th.

The Secret Expedition.—The London *Morning Post*, the Ministerial paper, says that it has reason to expect stirring, and, hitherto, unknown news from the Crimea. This is supposed to refer to the great secret expedition.

From Asia.—The latest accounts from Asia Minor say that Kars has been completely invested by the Russians, and the first parallel opened. Kars is all cut off from communication with Erzeroum has been stopped.

Turkey is sending reinforcements to the aid of Kars.

Denmark.—It is reported that the Danish Admiral, Monrier, has gone to Paris to get the advice and assistance of the Emperor, touching the differences existing between Denmark and the United States, concerning the sound duties. Denmark fears that the United States will compel the Danes to relinquish possession of the Danish West India Islands.

France.—Wednesday, the 15th, being the *fete* of Napoleon, was a holyday on the Bourse. The festival was celebrated at the theatres, and the anniversary was made the commutation of the sentences of 2,000 prisoners.

Immense preparations were made for the reception of Queen Victoria, whom the Emperor went to meet at Boulogne on Tuesday. The Emperor intends to propose a toast at the reception.

Ex-President Fillmore was introduced to the Emperor by Minister Mason.

Italy.—Something has been said of a Congress of statesmen to meet at Vienna, to settle the affairs of Italy, but this is not likely to be carried into effect at present.

The statement that a concordat between France and the Holy See existed is contradicted.

The Italian Government is offering every obstacle to the sending of the British Italian legion.

Russia.—It is reported that the commissariat of the southern Russian Provinces has declared that it is impossible to provision more men than are now in the Crimea; consequently, no further reinforcements will be sent there at present.

India.—The overland mail from India has arrived, with dates as late as July 4th.

It was reported that Persia was still intriguing with Russia, and that the British force in India will be sent to the Persian Gulf.

Affairs in India were tranquil.

Turkey.—A ministerial crisis is threatened at Constantinople.

The revolted Bedouins at Tripoli are still unsubdued.

Austria.—Negotiations continue between London, Paris, and Vienna, respecting Austria's continued neutrality, and the conditions.

The London papers say that the negotiations have arrived at the point of a triple treaty, binding France, England, and Austria, not to conclude an arrangement separately with Russia.

England.—Her Majesty Queen Victoria, escorted by six ships of war, crossed the British channel to Boulogne on the 17th, on her long-contemplated visit to France.

James Walker & Co., manufacturers at Leeds, have failed.

Consols advanced a quarter, and French funds 25 centimes, on the receipt of the news from Sweaborg.

THE MARKETS.

From Dennison & Co.'s Circular.

Liverpool, Friday, August 17.—Cotton. The market opened with an active speculative demand, and prices advanced ½ (@ ¼, but during the latter part of the week the demand slack. The market closes steady. Sales of the week 80,000 bales, including 24,000 bales to speculators and 4,500 bales for export. The quotations are—New Orleans fair 7¾; middling 6 7-16; Upland 6 ⅞; middling 6 ½. The receipts of American cotton amounts to 585,000 bales.

From Brown & Shipley's Circular.

Breadstuffs: Flour is dull, at a decline of 6d. per barrel. Sales of Western Canal at 39s. @ 40s.; Ohio 42s. @ 44s.; Baltimore and Philadelphia 40s. @ 42s. Wheat is a little lower, with but a small speculative demand. Corn is dull, at a decline of 12s. 6d.; quotations nominal. White corn 43s. @ 44s.; yellow 37s. @ 37s. 6d. The weather has been favorable, and the accounts from the agricultural districts encouraging.

Produce market.—Rice is active, and prices unchanged. Naval stores are steady, at about the same prices as last advices. Bark: Philadelphia sing at 8s. 6d. Spirits of turpentine steady at 32s. Linseed oil is quiet. Coffee is steady, and prices unchanged.

From Richardson, Spence, & Co.'s Circular.

Provisions are generally unchanged. Pork has been in active speculative demand from the United States, and the demand is nearly exhausted; holders demand an advance. Bacon is steady, and prices are unchanged. Lard has advanced to 54s. 6d. Tallow: Prices stiffer, but not quotably higher.

Rice is active, and prices unchanged.

Liverpool, August 17.—Freights: The market is steady, and prices are without change.

London, August 17.—Money and Stocks: American stocks are generally quiet. The money market is easier. The demand for money leave off at 91 @ 91¼. The bullion in the Bank of England has increased £43,000.

American railroad shares are easier, but not quotably so. The stock quotations are: Maryland 5's 93; Pennsylvania 5's 78 @ 84; New Creek Coal Co. 90½ @ 91½; Illinois Central Railroad 79 @ 80.

Baltimore, August 17.—Baring, Brothers, & Co., quote: Sugar is firm, and prices have slightly advanced.

Breadstuffs have declined, and the market is dull.

Iron: The market is unsettled. Exports north of Dunkirk or east of Malta have been prohibited. Welsh bars and rails are quoted as unchanged. For pig iron, prices have slightly advanced—sales at 81s. 6d.

The advices from Manchester are more favorable.

MARYLAND AND DELAWARE RAILROAD.—The *Easton Gazette* states that the corps of engineers for the Maryland and Delaware railroad has been made up, and the surveys would be commenced at Oxford yesterday.

IOWA ELECTION.—The Iowa *Republican* says of the recent election for county officers in that State:

"There can be no doubt that the Democracy throughout the State have been defeated worse than ever before; and had there been a State officer to elect, the returns would have shown it most clearly. In such counties as Jackson, Davis, and some others, where Bates had a majority, there is now a majority of several hundred the other way, and that in counties which had been considered hopelessly and irredeemably Democratic; while in Jefferson, Scott, and some few where the Democrats have gained, their gains have been comparatively small. According to the above estimate, the aggregate majority against them in the State will be three thousand five hundred."

GOING BACK TO EUROPE.—There seems to be a steady stream of emigration from the United States to Europe. The packet ship Tonawanda sailed from Philadelphia for Liverpool on Saturday, with 10 cabin and 267 steerage passengers.

PREPARATIONS FOR SLAVE TRADING IN CUBA.—It is stated that contracts have been made for the introduction this year into the island of Cuba of 7,000 Portuguese slaves. One house in party alone has contracted for the supply of 7,000. Portuguese agents, it is said, are now in New York, making arrangements.

KANSAS.—The Legislature of this Territory, in arranging the machinery of popular elections, has established the *viva voce* system of voting, and allowed but one precinct in each county. The effect of these provisions is said to be as large as the whole State of Kentucky.

WASHINGTON ITEMS.—*Washington, Sept.* 3.—There was a full meeting of the Cabinet today, and a considerable amount of business which had accumulated during the President's absence was considered.

Almonte, the Mexican Minister, does not fear a revolt in Carmen, the Provisional President, who is his personal friend.

The President has under consideration the report of the Navy Retiring Board, which will be published shortly.

THE WHEELER SLAVE CASE.—*Philadelphia, Sept.* 3.—The jury in the Wheeler slave rescue case returned a verdict this morning of not guilty on the first count, charging riot; and not guilty against all the defendants, on the second count, (assault and battery,) except in the cases of Ballard and Custis, who are pronounced guilty.

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, September 4, 1855.

Flour, Howard Street	$7.75 @ 0.00
Flour, City Mills	7.75 @ 0.00
Flour, Ohio	7.00 @ 0.00
Corn Meal	4.25 @ 0.00
Wheat, white	1.50 @ 1.60
Wheat, red	1.45 @ 1.55
Corn, white	86 @ 90
Corn, yellow	86 @ 90
Rye, Pennsylvania	1.04 @ 1.05
Rye, Virginia	93 @ 96
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	35 @ 38
Oats, Pennsylvania	40 @ 00
Clover Seed	7.00 @ 0.00
Timothy Seed	4.00 @ 4.31
Hay, Timothy	26.00 @26.00
Hops	20 @ 00
Potatoes, Mercer	1.20 @ 1.60
Bacon, Shoulders	8½ @ 9
Bacon, Sides	12 @ 12½
Bacon, Hams	00 @ 12½
Pork, Mess	21.50 @00.00
Pork, Prime	19.00 @19.50
Beef, Mess	12.00 @00.00
Lard, in barrels	11 @ 00
Lard, in kegs	12½ @ 13
Wool, Unwashed	18 @ 20
Wool, Washed	27 @ 30
Wool, Pulled	28 @ 30
Wool, Fleece, common	28 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	40 @ 50
Wool, Choice Merino	30 @ 40
Butter, Western, in kegs	13 @ 15,
Butter, Roll	14 @ 18
Cheese	9½ @ 10
Coffee, Rio	12 @ 12½
Coffee, Java	14½ @ 15

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, September 4, 1855.

Flour, State brands	$6.87 @ 7.25
Flour, State brands, extra	9.50 @12.00
Flour, Western	7.75 @ 8.25
Flour, Southern	7.75 @ 8.62
Rye Flour	6.00 @ 8.00
Corn Meal	4.75 @ 4.87
Wheat, white	1.80 @ 1.90
Wheat, red	1.70 @ 1.80
Corn, white	87 @ 88
Corn, yellow	84 @ 86
Rye	1.10 @ 1.12
Oats	54 @ 60
Clover Seed	11.00 @ 0.00
Timothy Seed	4.25 @ 0.00
Hay	1.00 @ 00
Hops	14 @ 18
Bacon, Shoulders	8½ @ 9
Bacon, Sides	6¾ @ 7
Bacon, Hams	11 @ 11½
Pork, Mess	22.31 @22.37
Pork, Prime	19.75 @19.87
Beef	11.75 @13.00
Lard, in barrels	11½ @ 11½
Lard, in kegs	11 @ 11½
Butter, Ohio	14 @ 18
Butter, State	18 @ 21
Cheese	9 @

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE PROSPECT—THE FIGURES.

The following table shows the number of electoral votes to which each State will be entitled at the Presidential election in 1856. It is not probable that any new State will be admitted in time to vote at that election.

Free States.		*Slave States.*	
Maine	8	Delaware	3
New Hampshire	5	Maryland	8
Vermont	5	Virginia	15
Massachusetts	13	North Carolina	10
Rhode Island	4	South Carolina	8
Connecticut	6	Georgia	10
New York	35	Florida	3
New Jersey	7	Alabama	9
Pennsylvania	27	Mississippi	6
Ohio	23	Louisiana	6
Indiana	13	Tennessee	12
Illinois	11	Kentucky	12
Michigan	6	Missouri	9
Wisconsin	5	Arkansas	4
Iowa	4	Texas	4
California	4		
		Total	120
Total	176		176

Whole number of electoral votes 296

Of which, 149 are necessary to elect. This number subtracted from 176, the number of votes to which the free States are entitled, leaves 27 which the North can spare to go with the South, and still elect their candidates. The free States, then, can carry the election, even if Pennsylvania should go for Slavery; or, with Pennsylvania for Freedom, the loss of New Jersey, Illinois, Iowa, and California, would leave a majority still for Freedom. If, then, Pennsylvania can be carried for Freedom, the four smaller free States least to be relied upon can be spared; otherwise, every other free State will be needed to carry the election. But there is no probability that Pennsylvania will forsake her ideals, since as late as last fall, in a triangular political contest, neither of the three parties took ground against the aggressions of Slavery. The Keystone State, then, must be the battle-ground on which the friends of Freedom will achieve a glorious victory or suffer a disastrous defeat. It may, I think, be set down as morally certain, that if Pennsylvania is lost, all is lost, and the bloody car of Slavery will roll on triumphantly for another quadrennial term, dragging its wretched victims in its train, and trampling upon the rights and crushing out the spirit of Freedom.

It will not help the matter, that the Pro-Slavery majority is divided between the Democratic and Know Nothing candidates. It will only throw the election into the House of Representatives, where each State has but a single vote in electing a President. In that body, even with the present large Slave-States majority, the united South, with California, which is represented by two doughfaces, would give sixteen votes for a Pro-Slavery candidate, leaving but fourteen for the Anti-Slavery candidate, as the two members from Iowa would neutralize the vote of each other.

With this view of the case, it becomes a question of momentous interest, What are the prospects of the Republican movement in Pennsylvania? The relative strength of the several parties in that State, judging from the mingled political contest of last fall, is about as follows, viz:

Democratic	167,000 votes.
Know Nothing	120,000 "
Whig	80,000 "

Can a party of Freedom be formed from these parties, and from independent men of no party, sufficiently numerous to poll a plurality of votes in the State? According to the above figures, the Whigs, with one half of the Know Nothings and one tenth of the Democrats, would constitute such a party, if the remaining Democrats and Know Nothings would remain separate.

Shall such a party be organized? The friends of Freedom in Pennsylvania by their action will answer. BERNICE D. AMES.

Fort Edward, New York.

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For the National Era.

THE LEGAL TENURE OF SLAVERY.

LETTER XXXVI.

UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS, AND HISTORICAL REFUTATIONS OF THEM.

To the Friends of American Liberty:

So far as the principles of strict construction, the rules of the Supreme Court, and the spirit and intent of the Constitution as manifested in its general scope and declared objects, are to be recognised as our guides, we have sufficiently discussed the bearings of the Federal Constitution upon the legal tenure of Slavery, and the relations of the Federal Government to the Slave Question.

Accordingly, our investigations might close here, were it not for the fact that the conclusions we have reached, and in the use of all the known laws of interpretation known either to the courts or to the legal profession, (co-incident, harmonious, and unavoidable, as we have found them to be,) are nevertheless neutralized, nullified, and even set aside, in thousands of otherwise intelligent and well-informed minds, on account of more vague *impressions*, of long standing, indistinctly connected with supposed historical facts, which never had no existence, existence, reposing on no basis but irrational conjecture, bald assumption, and interested traditions, that, at most, can be traced no farther back in our political literature than the date (1819–20) of the Missouri struggle and compromise.

It will be necessary to notice, distinctly, these impressions, and then test their quality by comparing them with the historical facts bearing upon them.

UNFOUNDED ASSUMPTIONS.

1. We may mention, once more, the almost universally assumed historical fact, that Slavery had a legal existence in this country at the time the Constitution was formed. My readers now understand that all this is *mere* assumption, without a single fact or reliable record convincing no further time here in respect to it, except to say that few persons, among the tens of thousands who have lately learned to correct this error, have yet ever been able fully to rid themselves of the false impressions which the friends of Slavery have so long and so industriously put upon them. If they have learned *to reason* in remembrance of the real fact, (as few of them have,) they have *not* unlearned the habit of *feeling* as if the truth were otherwise.

2. And even where this false impression is overcome, there remains the idea, that notwithstanding the fact that Slavery was illegal, it was at the time universally *supposed* to be legal. And the fallacy is admitted, that on this account there must have been some "compromise," regulation, or "understanding," in favor of the "*institution*" thus recognised as existing—and that this "understanding," if not exactly binding, entitles the slaveholding States to some comity or forbearance.

3. Very naturally connected with this, is the strong impression that in the Convention that drafted the Constitution there was a difficulty, a severe and long-protracted struggle, between the Northern and Southern delegates, on this vexatious slave question, very similar to the difficulties that have since occurred; and,

4. That this difficulty could finally be adjusted only by a "compromise," in which Slavery was allowed certain peculiar rights, and immunities, (such as the so-called fugitive-slave clause, for example,) "without which," as we are gravely told, "the South would never have entered into the Union," and "the Union never could have been formed." The South, then, as in our own times, is supposed to have played the overseer; and the North, as now, had no alternative but to play the doughface, and submit to the dictation.

5. On these assumed grounds it is pleaded, that although, for sheer shame, our fathers avoided the use of the words *slavery* and *slave*, yet they nevertheless consented to provide for the existence and maintenance of the things the words signify; that although the Constitution, according to the proper meaning of its words, goes in favor of Liberty, and against Slavery, yet the secret "intention" was in a contrary direction—and so, forsooth, we must be bound by the secret "*intention*," and not by the public *declarations*, of the framers and adopters of the instrument!

6. And all this tottling coh-house of assumption reposes upon the still farther assumption, that, at the time the Constitution was formed, the Northern States were just like those, and the Southern States were slave States; the Northern States being in favor of emancipation, and the Southern States then, as at present, particularly clinging to Slavery, and ready to forego all the blessings of the Union, all claim to a share in a common nationality so recently acquired, rather than give up the patriarchal institution, at once cherished as honorable and queenly, and venerated as republican and Christian. This is the ground-work upon which, or else the previously-named assumptions may be regarded as being but the shadow of a shade.

7. And this is not all. Another assumption equally indispensable to the structure of such a historical Pro-Slavery construction is, that *previously*, and until the time when the present Constitution was formed, there was no Union of the States—that, up to that date, (1787–9,) the States were totally disunited, and, if they could, rising separately the full powers of independent nations; that the problem, then for the first time to be solved, was, whether those sovereign States could be brought under one General Government, or whether they should remain as they were, standing alone.

So essential to the argument of those who adhere to the traditionary tale of the "compromise of the Constitution" is this assumed historical fact, that we must pause for a moment, and, at every hazard, the supremacy in the Government of the United States, and to transform this boasted "land of the free" into a great slaveholding Confederacy; and whereas, in the case that is now before us, the struggle between the opposing principles of Liberty and Slavery, it becomes the friends of Freedom everywhere to take counsel together, that they may act in concert upon the great question which so nearly concerns the interests of all: Therefore,

"*Resolved*, That the passage of the Nebraska and Kansas bill, and the whole course of policy pursued by the Administration of Franklin Pierce, in relation to the outrages in Kansas and the removal of Governor Reeder, at the demand of the Slavery Propaganda of Missouri, show the great wrongs that a corrupt tool of Slavery, in the Presidential chair, may commit, and the necessity of the necessity of electing a true friend of Freedom to fill the highest executive office in the gift of the people.

"*Resolved*, That the imprisonment of Passmore Williamson, for a period more than ten days, in a woman that by the laws of Pennsylvania *she was free*, was an act of judicial tyranny, unparalleled in the history of our country, and an unwarrantable encroachment on State Rights, worthy of the days of Jeffries and his compeers.

"*Resolved*, That the perfidious repudiation, by the Senate, of a solemn compact with the North, whereby the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas were forever consecrated to Freedom, has absolved us from all compacts and compromises in relation to Slavery outside of the Constitution; and we now demand the restoration of Kansas, Nebraska, and all other territory, to Freedom, (and we will solemnly declare that we never will consent to the acquisition of any other foot of slave territory, nor the admission of another slave State into the Union.

"*Resolved*, That the Republican Party of Susquehanna County disavow all connection with the Democratic Party, with Nothing or Know Something, but cordially invite men of all parties to unite with us on the broad platform of Free Soil, Free Speech, and Free Men!"

After the adoption of these resolutions, the following men were chosen as delegates to the Pittsburgh Convention: Hon. William Jessup, Hon. D. D. Warner, Robert Griffis, Charles F. Read, H. H. Frazier, S. B. Chase, John Young, Albert Dashnell, and John F. Deane.

The proceedings of the Convention are but an index of the state of feeling in this section of Pennsylvania. The minds of the people have at last been awakened to the consideration of their true interests. They now see the slaveholding conspiracy in its comprehensive encroachment of the Southern Oligarchy; and, though the apathy of all parties has been astonishing, considering the momentous interests at stake, yet that apathy is now in a great measure thrown off, and we feel confident that their action in the contest of 1856 will clear their skirts from the foul stain brought upon the Keystone State by the corrupt administration of some of its executive officers. HERMON.

THE BALL KEEPS MOVING.

MONTROSE, PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Editor of the National Era:

An enthusiastic meeting of the friends of Freedom convened in the old Court House of our village, on Monday, August 20, pursuant to a call of the committee appointed by the Susquehanna County Republican Party. After the Convention was duly organized by the election of proper officers—Dragon Mott, Esq., in the chair—Leonard P. Hines, Esq., delivered a short, though pungent, speech; after which, the Convention was addressed by Hon. David Wilmot, who happily defined the position occupied by the Republican Party, clearly showing the futility of a further adherence to old party issues, and urging the necessity of immediate and joint action on the one great issue—hostility to Slavery.

At the conclusion of the learned Judge's able address, a series of strong resolutions—from which we select the following—were passed with an unanimous "*aye*," that shook the old "Hall of Liberty" to its foundation.

"Whereas the aggressive policy of the Slave Power, which has been recently manifested in the wanton abrogation of that time-honored compact, the Missouri Compromise, by which a vast territory was secured to Freedom, has been opened to the curse of Human Slavery; its defiant attempts to control the affairs of Kansas against popular sentiment, and in utter disregard of law, evince a determination to take part with the South in the work of hold, at every hazard, the supremacy in the Government of the United States, and to transform this boasted "land of the free" into a great slaveholding Confederacy; and whereas, in the case that is now before us, the struggle between the opposing principles of Liberty and Slavery, it becomes the friends of Freedom everywhere to take counsel together, that they may act in concert upon the great question which so nearly concerns the interests of all: Therefore,

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THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE AND THE WAR.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The Muscovite organ has put in an appearance! On June 5th, when "The European Imbroglio" was published, the *New York Tribune* was a rancorous Anglophobe! on August 11, in "The War and Freedom," you see it has become a true Francophobe! On June 5th, it was all "England." England was "the chief opponent with whom Civilization and Freedom have to contend." On August 11th, its great bugbear is Louis Napoleon, "the assassin of the French and Roman Republics," "the French usurper," "the French despot." I feel no special call to vindicate the French against the Russian policy. That noble nation need fear no comparison with Muscovy; but in what little relates to my own country, you may perhaps generously concede me a hearing.

The New York Tribune: "Should Louis Napoleon and Palmerston triumph over Russia, the pervading agitation for Reform in Great Britain—so sadly needed, effectually impeded by the Crimean disaster—will be arrested."

Do not wrong us, sir, so far as to suppose that the English Reformers would purchase domestic Reform at the terrible and disgraceful price of throwing Freedom to Russia abroad. No, sir; these men do not need to be told, that if continental Europe were to become Cossack, insular "Reform" would be a miserable mockery, a delusion, and a snare. We do not wish, if the alternative existed, to purchase Reform for ourselves at the frightful price of the enslavement of Europe; but there is, in fact, no such alternative. The triumph of Russia, we all know, is the triumph of Aristocracy and Conservatism, both abroad and at home. Can we be the factious hand who would aggrandize the Czar, in order to pull down a Clarendon. If it comes to that, as an English Reformer, I say, give me the British House of Peers forever, rather than the despotism of Nicholas for half a century. What authority has the *New York Tribune* for leading people to infer that English Reformers desire "Crimean disasters," in order that an impulse should be given to the Reform movement at home? Unless such authority be given, I unqualifiedly deny the existence of such a fiendish and inhuman wish. The painful truth really is, that the progress of reforms in England is arrested by the Russian war; and that progress will continue to be arrested until Russia consents to abandon her claims to Constantinople.

The Tribune: "The victories of Wellington doomed England to an age of unchallenged Tory rule; and Protestant Reformers like the French Despot and his Confederates is a new rivet in the fetters of Western Europe."

History does not bear out this assertion. Tory rule held sway unchallenged from 1760 to 1830, because the Commons will not hie eldest son would countenance the Whigs. The American defeat brought on a short-lived Rockingham Administration; and after Mr. Pitt's death, Lord Grenville was Minister for a few months. The coalition between Lord North and Mr. Fox was not purely Tory; but, with these trivial exceptions, Tory rule existed in full feather from 1760 to 1830. What had Wellington to do with victories, or his reverses, to do with it? He did not become a Peelite (Tory of 1810–'11, and did not take his seat in the Lords till 1814. The same Ministry (that of Lord Liverpool) existed unchanged from 1812 to 1825. Did Wellington's victories avail to hinder Catholic Emancipation or the Reform Bill? Did his reverses accomplish them? In both cases, no.

For the sake of the argument, admit that Wellington's victories "doomed England," and so forth, what use does the editor propose to make of this fact? Why, that the victories of General Simpson would "doom England to the unchallenged rule"—of whom? Of the Tories? No, but of the *Liberals*, of course. Well, we might have worse things than the rule of Palmerston, Clarendon, and Molesworth. I do not believe that the present Cabinet has any wicked desire to put "a new rivet in the fetters" of either England or the other nations of Western Europe. Can this editor say as much of the Russian Government? Let me, Sir,

A PLYMOUTH NONCONFORMIST.

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

MAKAWAO MAUI, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
June 16, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Since I wrote you in February last, things at the islands have moved on the even tenor of their way. April 7th, the Hawaiian Legislature was opened by a sensible speech from the King. I was glad to perceive, on reading it, what seemed to be a deep concern on his part, in view of the decease of his people. He urged the Legislature to take measures to check this decrease. Chief Justice Lee also, in his report, spoke most alarmingly on the same subject, and made some suggestions as to the means of reformation. But though the meeting of the Legislature is about closing, I do not hear that anything has been done to check the fearful mortality. I fear that many fears that nothing would be done. Neither the King nor Mr. Lee said anything of the principal cause of the decrease of the Hawaiian race, and of course made no suggestions which pointed to the remedy. Yet this cause is so unquestionably the cause of the depopulation of the islands. The King said nothing to encourage industry, nothing of helping every Hawaiian to a home, and encouraging every man, woman, and child to return to their homes, and to throw around it such attractions as should cure them of all desire of wandering. Judge Lee reports that one cause of diminution is the fact that "our young men are transported out of the Kingdom, never to return, on foreign shores." But though the King knows this perfectly, yet he recommended no measure which looked like encouraging his poor people. Instead of this, he recommended to "place the Department of War under a firm and efficient footing." This, in my opinion, is one of the worst recommendations that he could have made. But he has also advice from a high quarter. Dr. Wyllie, his Minister of Foreign Relations, in Secretary of War and Minister of the Navy. Yes, of the Hawaiian navy, of which the entire ship, sloop, brig, barque, and gun-boat, is yet to be built or purchased. Think of such a navy, "if admitted to such a sight, could you, my friend, refrain from laughing?"

Mr. Secretary Wyllie is the man who, if he cannot exclaim, "My voice is still for war," seems to be saying, "In time of peace, prepare for war!" As he is conjuring up a war spirit, thankful may he be that he has not been a taste of its horrors. Some $40,000 are to be appropriated, in part from the hard earnings of this poor people, to gratify this lust of blood and spirit. But this sum is only about two-thirds of what the honorable Secretary of War wished. Indeed, could the war party have all they desire, we might at once bid farewell, a long farewell, to industry, and intelligence, and thrift. I mention this to show the project. I pray God to pardon the folly and sin involved in it. I regard it as *provocative* of war. The strength of Hawaii is to sit still. I deprecate it, as inducing indolence, and perpetuating ignorance, and as a hindrance to all thrift and industry. How much good might be effected with this money, it is easy to see. School-houses, roads, bridges, &c., might be built, books printed, &c. I hope and pray that this show of resistance on the part of Hawaii may not cause some foreign Power to come down upon us, like an eagle pouncing upon a sparrow, and carrying it off in its talons, and destroy us as a nation. I wish Mr. Wyllie would recollect the declaration of the president of the French Senate, in 1810–'11, and did not take his seat in the Lords till 1814. The same Ministry (that of Lord Liverpool) existed unchanged from 1812 to 1825. Did Wellington's victories avail to hinder Catholic Emancipation or the Reform Bill? Did his reverses accomplish them? In both cases, no.

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BRITISH PHRENOLOGY AHOY!

[From the Washington Star.

"ODDS, BULLETS AND BLUDGEONS!"

We are indebted to the polished pen of our chivalrous friend of the *Organ* for a knowledge of the existence of the following paragraph in the *National Era* of this city, a journal we rarely see, under the pressure of our business engagements:

"The *Evening Star* of this city discourses as follows in reference to the newly-formed Republican Association:

"'In the month number of the *Tribune* we find a Constitution and by-laws purporting to be those of the Association of the Republican party in Washington City, which, as a matter of course, can all be comfortably seated in the sanctum of our neighbor of the *National Era*, if that apartment is twelve feet square. 'The Republican party in Washington City' is nothing more nor less than the never-to-be-forgotten Van-Buren-Buffalo-Platform party of the federal metropolis, weakened by the loss of at least one-tenth of its members, in the withdrawal of the two individuals who, having been conspicuous Free-Soilers in 1848, are now proprietors of the *Organ* newspaper, which, to its credit be it remembered, has not a present, nor, no affinity whatever with Abolitionism, direct or indirect.'

"The editor of the *Star* has no occasion to speak hypothetically about the size of the *Era's* sanctum, as we can assure him that the office has not been removed since he was a regular contributor to the columns of the paper. His connection with the *Era* perhaps afforded him the opportunity of acquiring that intimate knowledge of the Free Soil Association of 1848, which he displays in the above paragraph; but he should remember that good school-fellows 'never tell tales out of school.' G.'

We owe our friend, the editor of the *Organ*, not "odds, bullets and bludgeons" for the gallantry he displays in coming so promptly to our defence from the grave charge which the *locum tenens* of the *Era* makes against us, as above quoted. He (of the *Organ*) is a glorious fellow, and possesses a fine assortment of knockable skill. Witness the conclusion of his comments upon this article, as follows, viz:

"What right has the Abolition paper to claim a gallant defender of the South, its institutions, and its Constitution, because it happens the mere circumstance of his having been 'a contributor' to its columns? We will tolerate no such insinuation. We therefore demand, on behalf of our colleague, a withdrawal of the insinuation, and ample reparation for the slander. Otherwise, 'odds! bullets and bludgeons'——. But we choke down our indignation, confident that our colleague will deny the charge, and demand that 'the contributions' he published; and, in defiance of the sentiment of the paragraph, that we shall be empowered to wait upon the Hayticn who has perpetrated the slander with a mortal message, and bespeak coffins for two."

Placing little faith in the integrity of the purpose of the writer of the above, and of the original paragraph in the *Era*, as, if knows anything with reference to our "contributions" to the columns of that paper, he also knows well that we have never for an instant sympathized, with our friend of the *Era*, in his political sympathy, direct or indirect. We, therefore, with its purposes or its abstract views on the subject of American Slavery, we hasten to relieve the doubts and quiet the indignation of the editor of the *Organ* by giving the explanation he demands.

Thus, the editor of the *Star*, for many years before purchasing this paper, was a writer for the press, daily, weekly, and monthly, by profession, on nearly all subjects in which the public at large took interest, whether political, literature, the arts and sciences, &c., &c. Always industrious, he furnished papers for the periodicals, the weekly and daily press, upon any subject with which he was familiar, where his views on them were judged to be of sufficient importance to be satisfactorily paid for.

Thus, while he furnished letters, &c., on political and reports to the Washington *Union*, to which journal he sympathized politically, he also furnished for the *National Intelligencer* a series of elaborate papers on the progress of the industrial arts in the United States, written from New York; and for the *Republic* of this city, the well-remembered series of "Ichabod" letters upon fashions in Washington, the squabbles of the Corcoran Gallery, and, in those with beams in their own eyes, who were bent on picking the motes out of those of the Administration, and, indeed, on any and every thing amusing and entertaining then occurring in Washington, for the Philadelphia *Ledger* of the European revolutions of 1848, we commenced, and for months continued in the *Union*, a series of "contributions" on that subject, prepared with laborious care, and only after consulting the best authorities, public and continental sources of information within our reach. When the subject became somewhat hackneyed, the *Union's* proprietor declined longer to publish them, and we were applied to by the proprietors of the *Ledger* to furnish similar series of "contributions" on the same subject, for his journal, with the handsome compliment, by-the-by, of an offer of just twice what the *Union* had been paying for them.

We now publish, with a degree of true liberality evinced by a publisher holding the opinions of Dr. Bailey, of the *Era*, as was evident in this offer made, with the full knowledge on his part that upon American Slavery and American Slaveholders we differed as widely as it was possible for gentlemen to be; and we were perfectly willing to furnish *our* views on the condition of Europe and passing occurrences there, for that journal, so long as his readers would stand them. So, we continued to furnish, during the preparation of the papers in question, weekly, for many months; in none of which, however, was the question of American Slavery or American politics touched upon, or otherwise than in "dreaming down" Dexter Hunt, the old gleaner who pinned their faith to it, on all passing occasions. As these were not few, we eventually made the *Era's* columns too hot to hold our doctrines even on European affairs—and their friend Bailey, in a fit of ill-temper, and kindly declined by Dr. Bailey, who stated to us that he was induced to that course by the complaints of many of his patrons (the Abolitionists) who sympathized with those parties—the English Reform Hall Association, for instance, whose hypocrisy and imbecility for real good results we had aimed to expose. So, our contributions to the *Era* ceased when it would no longer publish our doctrines.

Our duties in connection with any subject but American party politics, were always for sale, like those of all other literary men, (if we may fairly claim for ourself that appellation, after having lived and supported those dependent on us with the proceeds of our pen,) and what the world was willing to pay for our lucubrations,) and we were always happy to furnish them to those publishers inclined to pay best for them. We, while writing Democratic politics for the *Union*, the *Republic* (weekly) *Review*, and a dozen other Democratic party publications, we furnished articles for the *Whig* (monthly) *Review*, which the conductors of that periodical did us the honor to adopt as leaders. These latter, however, were quite free from "allusions" to the *Era*, wholly foreign to the subject of American politics. They were upon the natural history of our country, some fifty years prior to the commencement of the American Revolution.

We trust that we have relieved the anxiety of our friend of the *Organ* in our behalf, and in that of the true cause of State Rights in which it claims us, so gracefully, to be his fellow-laborer.

As for the dimensions of the *sanctum* of the editor of the *Era*, we have to inform Mr. *Locum-tenens* that we are still in the dark—never having had occasion to enter it—having no political sympathy, direct or indirect, with the one we might by any possible chance be likely to meet there—and respecting ourself too much to be disposed to pry into its secrets. Our homeopathic wife (the *Era* did not, therefore, afford us "the opportunity to acquire" any of their trade? Was it not enough that Weldon, in a neighboring State, should impose a fine of one hundred dollars upon every resident of the doomed cities who should spend a night in the wretched village? Were these examples for the imitation of Virginia cities towards peoples who are born upon the same blood of our flesh, in the hour of their sorrow and misfortune?

To what a forlorn and wretched condition has the inhumanity reduced the afflicted people of Norfolk and Portsmouth? In cases every avenue of public conveyance, between themselves and the cities and towns around them, to be barricaded. We imprison them in their charnel-house, as if they were pirates and outlawed enemies of mankind. To confine them in their infected habitations, is to consign them to death. To allow them to escape into the pure atmosphere of the country, or the untainted hospitalities of our villages and towns beyond the range of the pestilence, is to relieve them from the jaws of an untimely grave. But we refuse them escape; we deprive them of all means of making known their wants and calamity. We do to them in a fate worse than the felon's, in calculating cruelty and inhumanity, in cold-blooded, heartless indifference with which we contemplate their forlorn estate.

"A certain man went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, and fell among thieves, which stripped him of his raiment, and wounded him, and departed, leaving him half dead.

"And by chance, there came down a certain priest that way; and when he saw him, he passed by on the other side.

"And likewise a Levite, when he was at the place, came and looked on him, and passed by on the other side.

"But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came where he was; and when he saw him, he had compassion on him, and went to him, and bound up his wounds, pouring in oil and wine, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to an inn, and took care of him."

Here even heathenism as taught two thousand years ago; and here even we has been the progress of that civilization and Christianity, which now, in localities exempted by Providence from the infectious elements of the distemper, upon a sublime principle of duty, in the more chances of harm, refuse all escape from infection and death to fellow-beings, fellow-citizens, neighbors, and kindred! Even the rude chivalry of the dark ages puts our modern civilization and Christianity to shame! Let us take an instance from the Chronicles of the Cid:

"Rodrigo forthwith set out upon the road, and took with him twenty knights. And as he went he did great good, and gave alms, feeding the poor, and clothing the naked upon the way they found a leper, struggling in a dungeon, who cried out to them with a loud voice to help him for the love of God; and when Rodrigo heard this, he alighted from his beast and helped him, and placed him upon the beast before him, and carried him with him in his manor to the inn where he took up his lodging that night. At this, were his knights little pleased. And when supper was ready, he bade his knights take for water." As he is conjuring up a war spirit, thankful may he be that he has not been a taste of its horrors. Some $40,000 are to be appropriated, in part from the hard earnings of this poor people, to gratify this lust of blood and spirit. But this sum is only about two-thirds of what the honorable Secretary of War wished. Indeed, could the war party have all they desire, we might at once bid farewell, a long farewell, to industry, and intelligence, and thrift. I mention this to show the project. I pray God to pardon the folly and sin involved in it. I regard it as *provocative* of war. The strength of Hawaii is to sit still. I deprecate it, as inducing indolence, and perpetuating ignorance, and as a hindrance to all thrift and industry. How much good might be effected with this money, it is easy to see. School-houses, roads, bridges, &c., might be built, books printed, &c. I hope and pray that this show of resistance on the part of Hawaii may not cause some foreign Power to come down upon us, like an eagle pouncing upon a sparrow, and carrying it off in its talons, and destroy us as a nation. I wish Mr. Wyllie would recollect the declaration of the president of the French Senate, in 1810–'11, and did not take his seat in the Lords till 1814. The same Ministry (that of Lord Liverpool) existed unchanged from 1812 to 1825. Did Wellington's victories avail to hinder Catholic Emancipation or the Reform Bill? Did his reverses accomplish them? In both cases, no.

For the sake of the argument, admit that Wellington's victories "doomed England," and so forth, what use does the editor propose to make of this fact? Why, that the victories of General Simpson would "doom England to the unchallenged rule"—of whom? Of the Tories? No, but of the *Liberals*, of course. Well, we might have worse things than the rule of Palmerston, Clarendon, and Molesworth. I do not believe that the present Cabinet has any wicked desire to put "a new rivet in the fetters" of either England or the other nations of Western Europe. Can this editor say as much of the Russian Government? Let me, Sir,

A PLYMOUTH NONCONFORMIST.

FROM THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

MAKAWAO MAUI, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,
June 16, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Since I wrote you in February last, things at the islands have moved on the even tenor of their way. April 7th, the Hawaiian Legislature was opened by a sensible speech from the King. I was glad to perceive, on reading it, what seemed to be a deep concern on his part, in view of the decease of his people. He urged the Legislature to take measures to check this decrease. Chief Justice Lee also, in his report, spoke most alarmingly on the same subject, and made some suggestions as to the means of reformation. But though the meeting of the Legislature is about closing, I do not hear that anything has been done to check the fearful mortality. I fear that many fears that nothing would be done. Neither the King nor Mr. Lee said anything of the principal cause of the decrease of the Hawaiian race, and of course made no suggestions which pointed to the remedy. Yet this cause is so unquestionably the cause of the depopulation of the islands. The King said nothing to encourage industry, nothing of helping every Hawaiian to a home, and encouraging every man, woman, and child to return to their homes, and to throw around it such attractions as should cure them of all desire of wandering. Judge Lee reports that one cause of diminution is the fact that "our young men are transported out of the Kingdom, never to return, on foreign shores." But though the King knows this perfectly, yet he recommended no measure which looked like encouraging his poor people. Instead of this, he recommended to "place the Department of War under a firm and efficient footing." This, in my opinion, is one of the worst recommendations that he could have made. But he has also advice from a high quarter. Dr. Wyllie, his Minister of Foreign Relations, in Secretary of War and Minister of the Navy. Yes, of the Hawaiian navy, of which the entire ship, sloop, brig, barque, and gun-boat, is yet to be built or purchased. Think of such a navy, "if admitted to such a sight, could you, my friend, refrain from laughing?"

Mr. Secretary Wyllie is the man who, if he cannot exclaim, "My voice is still for war," seems to be saying, "In time of peace, prepare for war!" As he is conjuring up a war spirit, thankful may he be that he has not been a taste of its horrors. Some $40,000 are to be appropriated, in part from the hard earnings of this poor people, to gratify this lust of blood and spirit. But this sum is only about two-thirds of what the honorable Secretary of War wished. Indeed, could the war party have all they desire, we might at once bid farewell, a long farewell, to industry, and intelligence, and thrift. I mention this to show the project. I pray God to pardon the folly and sin involved in it. I regard it as *provocative* of war. The strength of Hawaii is to sit still. I deprecate it, as inducing indolence, and perpetuating ignorance, and as a hindrance to all thrift and industry. How much good might be effected with this money, it is easy to see. School-houses, roads, bridges, &c., might be built, books printed, &c. I hope and pray that this show of resistance on the part of Hawaii may not cause some foreign Power to come down upon us, like an eagle pouncing upon a sparrow, and carrying it off in its talons, and destroy us as a nation. I wish Mr. Wyllie would recollect the declaration of the president of the French Senate, in 1810–'11, and did not take his seat in the Lords till 1814. The same Ministry (that of Lord Liverpool) existed unchanged from 1812 to 1825. Did Wellington's victories avail to hinder Catholic Emancipation or the Reform Bill? Did his reverses accomplish them? In both cases, no.

Resolved, That the Republican Party of Susquehanna County disavow all connection with the Democratic Party, with Nothing or Know Something, but cordially invite men of all parties to unite with us on the broad platform of Free Soil, Free Speech, and Free Men!

After the adoption of these resolutions, the following men were chosen as delegates to the Pittsburgh Convention: Hon. William Jessup, Hon. D. D. Warner, Robert Griffis, Charles F. Read, H. H. Frazier, S. B. Chase, John Young, Albert Dashnell, and John F. Deane.

The proceedings of the Convention are but an index of the state of feeling in this section of Pennsylvania. The minds of the people have at last been awakened to the consideration of their true interests. They now see the slaveholding conspiracy in its comprehensive encroachment of the Southern Oligarchy; and, though the apathy of all parties has been astonishing, considering the momentous interests at stake, yet that apathy is now in a great measure thrown off, and we feel confident that their action in the contest of 1856 will clear their skirts from the foul stain brought upon the Keystone State by the corrupt administration of some of its executive officers. HERMON.

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THOMAS C. CONNOLLY (who has permission to act as Attorney for the National Era) prepares papers and prosecutes claims for Bounty Land Warrants. 429
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