G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR; JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

A DIARY.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

[CONTINUED.]

Dec. 24th.—He came in, the good Doctor, with a face so sad that I almost repented of my plotted mischief. He "pished" and "pshawed" at the "*Era*" which he took from the table, and seemed in anything but a peaceable, christian temper. At last, I said—

"You needn't look so solemn, Doctor. I know all about it."

"The dickens you do!" his face evidently brightening. "Who could have told you?"

"Oh, it's an age of wonders; perhaps the rapping spirits. Of course, I should not be left long in ignorance of what so nearly concerns me."

"True," and he seated himself by my side, and looked at me long and earnestly, before he added. "Then you don't care for this, child?"

"Yes, indeed, very much. But I might care a little more intelligently, if I only knew precisely what the great '*this*' is."

"Why, you said you *did* know!"

"So I do, that you and Mrs. G. are plotting some Christmas surprise for me. I heard you in the hall—something to add to earth's sunlight, or it would not be you, kind friend;" and my eyes filled with tears at the thought of all I owed them.

"Sunlight! I wish it was! Such a miserable earth as this is! filled with all manner of rascalities. I have tried to make the best of it until I am tired, and the sooner I be turned up the better!" And he got up and gave the firestick a kick (he insists on my sitting by a wood fire) that sent a shower of sparks up the chimney, as a preliminary, I suppose, to the grand conflagration he deemed so desirable.

Seeing he was seriously disturbed about something, I repressed the jest that rose to my lips, and waited his next words in silence.

"I feel just as if I could kick Santa Claus," he said at length, settling himself in the chair by my side. "I am angry at myself and everybody else, yourself included, for I have something to say to you, and you don't help me a bit."

"To me!" I said, rather startled. "What is it?"

"It is what you will denote an impertinent question; but tell me, child," he went on very seriously, taking my hands in his, "has Harold T. ever been to you aught but a friend?—ever by word or glance sought to win your love?"

"Doctor G., will you tell me why I am to answer this question—which—which?——"

"Does not concern me, you would say. Can you not trust me this far, child, without a reason?" he asked. "I said by word or glance?" he added, seeing me still hesitate.

"Oh, words of mocking raillery, high courage, and earnest interest—glances whose mission begun when that of words ended, how ye stood out from the past! but not *one* which might not have fallen from a brother's lip or eye! And so I told the Doctor, yesterday, that I had met him at a period when my moral and intellectual being were struggling for some wider development than contented those around me; how he had listened, and kindled his own swift pace in the march of progress, to aid my stumbling steps; how he had been teacher, friend, master, but nothing more; and an earnest, 'Thank God!' was his answer.

"But may I know," I added, after a moment's pause, "what led you to suppose such a thing?"

"He told me himself that he had boarded with your mother more than a year; and knowing you both, I could not well conceive how it could be otherwise; besides?——"

"What, Doctor?"

"I would not say *what*, were it not needed to explain my impertinence. You were delirious when you were ill, and?——"

"I had not thought of my burning face in my hands, while tears of womanly pride rushed to my eyes.

In a moment or two, he gently raised my head by his side. "Forgive me, Bessie. It was but the raving of delirium—I am convinced. I wouldn't have distressed you so for a less reason."

"What is that reason?" I asked, looking him once more firmly in the face.

"Harold T. is about to marry the niece of Judge A., the widow N. I have it on what I deem good authority; and I could not bear to think that he who had stood to me in the stead of the children God has denied me, was an unmitigated scoundrel. It is bad enough as it is!"

I drew my hand from his, that he might not mark the throbbing pulse, and, after a moment's silence, asked—

"This Mrs. N. What kind of a woman is she? One worthy of Harold T.?"

"Yes, rich, and vain, and ambitious!" he replied, getting up and kicking the fire as if he were punishing Harold by proxy. "I wonder I am not as angry with you for your expressed surprise that she should stoop to him!"

"That is no answer to my question, Doctor. Is she worthy of him?"

"Bessie," he said, again sitting down, "I had got a plan into my head which this news has sadly disturbed, and, like most positive men, when they see their schemes thwarted, am cross and ill-tempered. Perhaps I would play the part of Providence too much, and so am reminded of my weakness. Is she worthy? but, tell me, what should Harold's wife be like?"

"Like that," I said, pointing to a drift of unsullied snow without—"pure in thought, word, and deed, yielding to him like that to the rays of the sun, but firm to all the world beside. She must be all the world to him, or nothing."

"And Harriet N. is likelier to be something to all the world than to her husband, unless her passion for admiration be much abated," he replied, drily. "He must be attracted by her wealth, and the connection the match will afford him. Her uncle has offered him a partnership in his office, I hear. I know still attempt to judge character again, so honest, so self-reliant as he seemed. He came here to inquire after you twice before he left the city, and, when he turned away his face as I spoke of your danger, I thought—but 'twas all sham. Oh, he has grown scheming betimes! He will be a Judge yet!"

Why should he ask after me at all? What was I to him, what could I give him?—this poor, undeveloped girl, who had caught life and light from his teachings.

And then I thought of the beautiful and accomplished Mrs. N., of all she could do for him, the weary struggles which her position and wealth might save him—those struggles which ever attend the first years of a poor professional man's life—and I spoke of this to Doctor G.

"Better that he faced them like a man, than escape by a mercenary marriage!" thundered he. "It is just that which gives strength and stamina to the character! Faugh, I despise such cowardice!"

"But the marriage may not be mercenary. He doubtless loves her, and she cannot fail of loving Harold T."

"Others have, it seems," he answered, drily; then went on alternately berating them both, until, for old kindness sake, I roused myself to intercede.

"You wrong them, Doctor. You are angry, and so wrong them both. This Mrs. N. is not unworthy, simply because she is fashionable. Besides, you say, she has two children; and she cannot be quite the frivolous thing you make her out with such a bridge between her and Heaven!"

"Get out of the way, thee!" he replied, half way between a grin and a smile. "It's enough to provoke a saint, to hear you defend such folly! If it were not proof that you do not care for him, I should be tempted to swear!" and he flung himself out of the room, and a moment after I saw him driving furiously down the street.

Christmas Eve.—The Doctor and his wife are singing Milton's glorious hymn of the Nativity below, and I can hear the sweet and tenderness in their tones, as they reach me, better than all art. So have they sung together, on every Christmas eve, for twenty-five years. May it be long before God calls them to sing it on high!

"Bessie, come help us!" calls the Doctor.

No, friends. I am passing through the Valley of Humiliation, feeling the truth of the *Mieux vaut ne rien dire*, and, yet, I may practical find that herb, "heart's-ease," which is said to grow so plentifully here, and be able to sing with the shepherd-boy of whom Bunyan speaks:

"He that is down need fear no fall;
He that is low, no pride;
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"No wonder
Was half so fine a sight!"

but he suggested "warming-pan," as being at the same time "more correct and professional."

At dinner, I found out the meaning of all the whispering and plotting of yesterday. The Lees were all at the table—the old grandmother, the widow, and her daughter, Mary, and "Bubby," looking as rosy and plump as before his illness. Their happy faces were good sauce for a festival dinner, and we ate it with happy hearts. And when I came home from the table, the Doctor fervently thanked God, not merely for the good things which had been set before us, but that He had put it into his heart to make these happy days for me. I felt the true meaning of the custom; for the mean and the dishonest, the wicked and hard-hearted, may sit at loaded tables; but God alone can put it into their hearts to share their goods with others.

Then there were Christmas gifts for all—thankful words and smiles, and some tears; of them those wrapped me up, buried me in furs and shawls, and with Mrs. G.'s motherly kiss and blessed words on my brow and in my heart, the Doctor drove me to my uncle's. He stood on the steps to receive us; but as he sprang to the side of the carriage, the Doctor put him aside, with some joke about being superseded by a younger man, and, taking me in his arms, bore me in, and placed me on the sofa.

They gathered round me with their Christmas greetings, and I, like a simpleton, burst into tears. Then there was confusion—uncle crying out that he was "spoiling the fun," and H., running all ways for restoratives, while the Doctor quietly seated himself by my side, undid my wrappings, and whispered—"Is this anything like what you hoped, Bessie?"

I could not help smiling at his look, and, taking a glass of water from H., I shook off my tippets, and begged uncle's pardon for being so nervous.

Happily, uncle and aunt felt it incumbent upon them to be very thankful to Doctor G., and say a great deal of their obligations.

"Of obligations?" said the latter, laughing; "I ask my wife about that. Why, 'twas only yesterday she convinced me that we could give more in Christmas charities this year than ever, because God had blessed us with the love of this girl here. I ask my wife if she has a curious way of seeing things; but H. here looks as if he understood all about it."

If H. did, uncle and aunt did not; but uncle said he was infinitely obliged to Mrs. G. for her good opinion of his niece, and aunt always knew her "to be a very kind-hearted woman"—and so the Doctor took his leave.

Sophie seemed to be welcomed back, and certainly her yellow face was not the least pleasant thing that met my sight.

But they were all in excellent spirits; uncle without himself so far as to laugh at some of the pointed sallies flying between H. and Emilia, and aunt seemed for once in the world, quite forgetful of household cares. Tired and ill as I was, I could not help thinking and laughing how handsome they were, all four, and could understand something how a man of uncle's mental *caliber* must feel towards one as plain-looking as myself, who had stood to me in the stead of the children God has denied me, was an unmitigated scoundrel. It is bad enough as it is!"

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Lawrence, Judge Warren, and Hon. John H. Wilkins, political opponents, spoke in the warmest terms, in praise of his course as presiding officer.

At the State Convention, in 1851, Gen. Wilson was elected one of the delegates at large to the Free Democratic National Convention at Pittsburgh, and was afterwards chosen President of that body, and also chairman of the National Committee. In this capacity he visited most of the Northern States in the autumn of 1852, travelling over 5,000 miles. In the District Convention he was nominated unanimously as a candidate for Congress. At the first trial, in November, he received six hundred more votes than his party strength, and at the next trial came within ninety-two votes of an election.

In 1852, the Whigs again got into power in the State; but the people voted to hold a Constitutional Convention, which was a sad drawback upon Whig success. General Wilson was indefatigable in his efforts to have the Convention a successful one. He harmonized differences in the ranks of the Reform parties, and organized the plans of his party with great skill. He was himself elected by his own town and by the town of Berlin. He received fourteen majority in Natick, which the previous year had chosen a Whig Representative, and got 107 out of 113 votes in Berlin. During the illness of President Banks, he was chosen President *pro tempore* of the Convention.

General Wilson's course in the Convention was wise and conciliatory. It is no disparagement to others to say that no man contributed more to the complete success of that body. He was always present, and always attentive to his duty. During the debate on the question of representation, in Committee of the Whole, he was the presiding officer, and therefore did not participate in the discussion on that subject. Afterwards, however, in the Convention, he exerted a great influence in harmonizing the differences of opinion among the Reform delegates, and in arranging the details of what is to be the Constitution of the Commonwealth. He was chairman of the Committee on the Senate, and his report on that subject was agreed to with scarcely a dissenting voice, and without amendment. Many other parts of the new Constitution bear the impress of his sagacious mind and improving hand.

At the State Convention, held at Fitchburg on the 15th inst., Gen. Wilson was nominated for Governor—receiving 610 votes out of 616. The previous year he received 593 votes for the same position.

Few men in this State are better known than General Wilson. His political enemies, the Whigs, upon the ballot-box, as much as protestate and destroy, testify their sense of his political importance, by the most constant and unremitting abuse. A large class of them despise him because of his occupation as a shoemaker; but the majority fear him and hate him because he has overthrown their organization, and wrested from the hand the power which they supposed to be theirs by a divine right. It is not to be expected that they can judge him correctly or justly. General Wilson is one of the most honest, energetic, and industrious men in the States—a man whose opinions are democratic, and whose sympathies and interests are altogether with the people. His speeches—especially those made within the last two or three years—exhibit a great deal of ability. We will instance his late speech on the Constitution, at Natick: his defence of the coalition, last year; and his Harvard College speech, delivered in the Convention. His letter to the Roll—in which he told that gentleman and his Whig brethren all that ever they did—was an admirable and effective political document.

General Wilson has probably delivered more political addresses than any other man in the State, and his style of speaking is well known. It is direct and forcible, oftentimes very effective; yet seldom is he able to make the least preparation for the occasion. As a debater, he excels. His replies to the political speeches of Otis P. Lord and Gov. Briggs, in the Convention, were admirable specimens of off-hand speaking, and were completely successful in every point of view.

General Wilson is emphatically one of the people. His illustrator, better than almost any other of our young politicians, the genius of our institutions, which permits the humblest and poorest boy of the State to aspire to its loftiest stations. The democratic principle, which in Europe only poets dream about, is here a living fact. Burns may, in indignant song, declare that—

> "The rank is but the guinea stamp,
> The man's the man for all that."

And Tennyson may tell us that—

> "From you blue heavens above us bent,
> The gardener Adam and his wife
> Smile at the claims of long descent."

But only in such States as ours can this idea be realized—can such men as Wilson reach, except in rare instances, the highest stations. We cannot be mistaken in predicting for him a very large vote from the ranks of all parties and all classes of the people.

NEW YORK CORRESPONDENCE.

The Free Democracy in Council—Great Ratification Meeting at the Tabernacle—Gentle Hints for the Local Friends of the Cause—Political Movements—Mr. Conant and the Ballot Box—The Hunker Convention.

NEW YORK, *Oct.* 15, 1853.

To the Editor of the National Era:

The ratification meeting of the Free Democracy of New York took place at the Broadway Tabernacle on Tuesday evening, which is an glorious assemblage of freemen it was. It was a large assemblage. I have seen larger ones in the old Tabernacle, but I never attended a more enthusiastic one. Never was an audience more intensely interested, although a large part of it was composed of people not in political sympathy with the objects of the meeting, as that phrase is usually understood.

[As we have published elsewhere a full report of the proceedings of this meeting, we omit what our correspondent says of the speeches, &c.]

Mr. Stanebury followed Mr. Hale with a practical exposition of the plans and purposes of the Free Democracy of this city, which was well timed. I hope his suggestions about a more perfect organization in this great metropolis will be heeded and put in practice.

Frankness, in view of the wants of the good cause, compels me to say that there has been, heretofore, a sad lack of affiliation and co-operation among the adherents of the Free Democracy here, and the movement is suffering by reason thereof. It is not only suffering throughout this State, but throughout the nation, as I hope I may say without mourning the charge of wild vanity: for not only is the influence of political movements in this city felt deeply throughout the rural districts of New York, but everywhere, to a greater or less degree. For this there are many reasons easily suggested, among which its immense commercial connections may be named as prominently apparent. Let our friends, then, shake off the dust, and rub off the rust of apathetic habit, put their positional impedimenta, and go to hard work, without further delay.

I have referred to this want of organization here, in former letters; and I mean to recur to it again and again, until a change is noticeable for the better. Particularly at the present juncture is there a call for energy. The two wings of the Hunker Democracy are disgusting and repelling all real and decent lovers of Liberty, with their latter personal strife, and their ribald diatribes over the cause which some of them have wounded so severely in the house of its professed friends; and those begin to pant for some political connection that will satisfy the natural appetency of their souls. Means should be taken to spread our principles before them, in a tangible, readable shape, so as to leave no possibility of misconception or excuse for misrepresentation. Now is the day and now is the hour for a successful commendation of our principles to the minds and hearts of the masses, and it should be commenced at once, and efficiently! What say our local friends? *Shall it be done?*

The topics immediately and medialely suggested by the great meeting at the Tabernacle have necessarily absorbed most of my space. But there is a collateral topic which I wish to crowd in. I allude to the movement in this city in behalf of the Maine Law and City Reform. There are indications in the nominations of the Whigs, to say nothing of those made by the City Reform Associations and Temperance Alliances, that a triumph is at hand for these conjunctive movements. Even the women are becoming aroused to a determination, in the absence of the elective franchise for themselves, to do whatever they can do, in their private walks, to promote the deposit of Maine Law ballots, and even to stand at the polls, if necessary. A spirited meeting of females was held at Dr. Trall's Hydropathic Institute, the other day, for the furtherance of this heroic plan of operating. The principal propagator of the new scheme is Mary C. Vaughan, of Oswego, known as the efficient presiding officer of that most valuable organization, the Women's State Temperance Society. She has spoken frequently on the subject with good effect, and is now in the city, at the earnest solicitation of friends of prohibitory legislation, using her persuasive eloquence for the desirable end in view.

I told you, in my brief apology for a letter, week before last, that I would let my next letter tell of my recovery from my severe attack of pleurisy. Having done so, I now feel impelled to thankfully attest the value of the "water cure," by ascribing my speedy recovery to its simple and unassuming virtues. Thanks be to Heaven, O, water! for thy multiplied and still multiplicable blessings!

INDICATOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1853.

☞ Single copies of the ERA may be had of J. T. Bates, newspaper and periodical dealer, near the Exchange, and of W. Alcorn, 326 Lombard street, Philadelphia.

☞ Post & Co., Periodical Agents, Third street, near Main, Cincinnati, are authorized to receive subscriptions for the *Era*. Single copies of the paper may also be had of them at all times.

TO OUR READERS.

We shall commence next week the publication of an elaborate paper on the *Mosaic Laws of Servitude*, by the Hon. WILLIAM JAY, the manuscript having been placed at our disposal by the distinguished author. It will run through three numbers of the *Era*, and then be reprinted in one number of *Facts for the People*. We need hardly say that the paper is prefaced in the peculiarly compact, clear, and vigorous style of the Judge, and marked by thorough research and vigorous logic.

We have on hand, also for publication, a series of articles (copyright secured) on the "Legal Tenure of Slavery," by William Goodell. Mr. Goodell is desirous to lay his views on this subject before the readers of the *Era*; and, although we dissent from some of his positions, we shall cheerfully give place to him in our columns. He is a cool, indefatigable thinker, thoroughly honest, and has the faculty of clothing his thoughts in a good, strong, Anglo-Saxon style, so that he commands respect even where he may fail to convince.

HINTS TO NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS.

Somebody has sent us a communication with divers errors in it, asking us to correct its bad grammar, spelling, and punctuation, and then insert it. We have nothing else to do.

Another writes in so small a hand, and with so pale ink, that his MS. is almost illegible. We shall not read it, as we intend to keep our eyes good enough to do without spectacles all the days of our appointed time.

A rhymster sends us something that jingles, and looks as if it were measured, which he has mistaken for poetry. We can do as well ourselves, but we know that our utterances in that line are not fit to be seen.

A youthful genius is anxious to improve himself in composition by writing for the *Era*. In there is no office in a newspaper office.

A young writer, untried, unpracticed, unknown to fame, proposes to contribute to the *Era* for a stated compensation. He does not seem to understand that compensation should be given, rather than received, for the admission of his articles. "My dear sir, I wish to be introduced as a man of genius to your friends, on whose good offices I shall have occasion to draw now and then—what will you give me for honoring you with the privilege of introducing me?" Does it never occur to these aspiring beginners that they should test their powers, and ascertain the value of their wares in the reading market, before they set up as established dealers? Modest merit feels its way gradually. Some of our best writers, in the earlier part of their career, were thankful for the privilege of appearing in the columns of leading journals, and thereby securing a reputation which subsequently authorized them to set their own prices upon their productions.

We have received, lately, several applications from persons who, having learned that we are in the habit of paying for literary contributions, inform us that they have "loss" of tales or essays on hand, which are at our service on reasonable terms. Do they suppose that we are a chiravoyant, able to inspect their productions without seeing them? or, that we are going to buy them at a venture? What nonsensical applications!

If a man has an article which he thinks we might purchase, let him forward it, postage paid, fix his price, and submit it to our judgment. If we like it, and the price, and our mode of payment, we may buy it; if not, not, and no harm is done.

Every paper has its own character, and its own circle of readers. It is not every one who can write, that can write well enough to publish. It is not every one who can write well, that can adapt himself to the columns of a newspaper. It is not every one that can write so as to interest one class of readers, that can entertain other classes. It is not every one whose communications are fit for publication, that can command compensation. His articles may be good, but not at all necessary to the journal that gives them publicity; and the advantage of its imprint may in itself be ample compensation.

THE EXECUTIVE AND ITS PATRONAGE.

The division in the Administration party in New York has given occasion for a singular movement of the President in relation to the distribution of local patronage. Collector Bronson, it seems, sympathizes with the *Hards*, and has given them the loaves and fishes in his basket, leaving the *Softs* to beg elsewhere. The President, having been advised of this fact, directs his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Guthrie, to admonish the hard-hearted Collector that he must not be so partial. The Secretary accordingly addresses an epistle to Mr. Bronson, telling him that all who voted for General Pierce, and stand on the Baltimore platform, are equally entitled to be fed, and that the President requires that the public bread be dealt out without partiality to both Hards and Softs. The Secretary closes these remarkable Treasury instructions as follows:

"I call your attention to this subject, and to the fact that the President and his Cabinet, with entire unanimity recognize that portion of the party as Democrats distinctly avowing and firmly maintaining the principles of the Baltimore platform, and entitled to be recognised by appointments to official stations in your department. Allow me to express the expectation that you will so recognise them in the only way that will carry conviction with it.

"I have not mentioned the gentlemen to make any particular inquiry with regard to the section of the Democratic party to which persons nominated for positions in the customhouse at New York, belonged, prior to the reunion of the party in 1848, which reunion was supposed to have been thoroughly cemented in the great and triumphant contest in 1852. But, as the present excited state of feeling among political friends who acted together in 1852, and who now stand unequivocally upon the same platform of principles in New York, is suggestive of a discrimination of which the Administration will not approve, I shall send a copy of this letter to the naval officer and the surveyor of the port, in order that there may be no mistake in regard to the policy which the President will require to be pursued. I am, very respectfully,

JAMES GUTHRIE.

G. C. Bronson, Esq., Collector, New York.

The *Union* subsequently explains, that the Collector is not expected to turn out any Hards to make room for the Softs; but that there are a good many Whigs still left, feeding at the public crib, and who of course can change places with the unfortunate starvelings, whose destitution is so afflicting to the President.

THE ORGANS.—Never was Administration so highly favored with Washington organs and advocates as this. First, we have the organ *by authority*—the *Union*; next, the organ *without authority*—the *Star*; then, the organ *on its own hook*—the *Sentinel*; finally, the organ, spontaneous and gracious—the *Intelligencer*. If General Pierce is not blown up, it will not be for want of newspaper puffing.

By the way, we must say for the *Star*, that it pays less by way of flattering speech for the State secrets it publishes, than any paper we know.

LABOR IN LOUISIANA.

The following letter, taken from the Richmond (Va.) *Examiner*, is addressed by General Felix Huston to Dr. Samuel H. Cartwright, and is intended by the writer to show the necessity of slave labor in Louisiana. The facts stated are interesting, but it will be easy to see that they do not at all sustain the theory of the General.

PORT HUDSON, LA., *Aug.* 24, 1853.

DEAR SIR: I received your kind note and enclosure. If I had another copy, I would forward to the "*Enquirer*," Richmond, Va.

The subject you treat of is of vast importance. My experience tells me that white labor will not do in this climate, exposed to the sun. For two years I have employed white boys, from fourteen to eighteen years old, to gather fruit in my orchard. I have had no boy who were born in the country, or acclimated for several years. I have always selected healthy boys and their age is when the resistance of disease is greatest. I employ them 20 to 60. The result shows that they are healthy for about a month; after that, they begin to drop in sick, and in about six weeks nearly every one will be attacked. I have had as many as twenty-five sick white boys, when I had, out of eighty negroes, not one sick. And yet I allow the white boys four hours in the middle of the day, and the cool morning and evening. I do not turn them out so early in the morning; and when the weather is rainy or damp, so that I cannot gather the fruit, the white boys do no work. And, further, I employ eight or ten black boys in the fruit house, making boxes and putting up fruit, and they are not near so liable to sickness as those who gather. It may also be observed, that gathering fruit is a good deal lighter than other work. I do believe that white boys would stand two weeks in the open field, ploughing and hoeing, working the same hours that negroes do. My negroes go out at daylight, have one hour for their breakfast, and two at noon, and quit work at dusk—being fewer hours' work than is generally done by Northern laborers.

In relation to your striking and correct statement, that the great mortality in New Orleans, during epidemics, is amongst white laborers exposed to the sun, I would suggest that you should have added, that that is almost every year the principal mortality of New Orleans is amongst the white laborers so exposed, who annually pay a tribute of many lives for having nearly driven the black man from many of the industrial occupations of the city. The fact is, we have not a sufficient supply of slave labor—and the great rural demand has aided against nature to drain the cities of their negroes.

I some years ago paid a good deal of attention to the aptitude of whites and blacks to different climates, with a view of answering some opinions of Mr Clay, (if my theory is, that two points may be taken—one at the equator, the other far North. At the one, the white man can hardly exist, unless artificially protected from the great heat; at the other, the negro can hardly exist, unless by protection against the cold. As the centre between these points is reached, a neutral ground is found, equally adapted to each, and at which each attain a greater perfection than at the extreme points. The central point I would locate at latitude 38 degrees north in this hemisphere. This theory is modified by height of elevation, and particular location; by artificial means, either race may do well for many degrees north or south of the central point. Thus, the white man protected from the sun, &c., may do well in the low lands of Louisiana; and the negro, with warm clothing and good houses, may do well in New York—in either case, partial exposure to the adverse climate is borne without perceptible injury.

Those parts of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, &c., which are remarked as having the largest white men, have also the largest negroes. The great inference from those States, further south, is urged to show that their climate does not suit the negro. The true reason is, that the Southern States are owe; have a large, and of cheap land, and more valuable staple productions, and their labor generally pays better. In 1836, the famine year, corn and provisions were high, and cotton low, and I should have had my arguments in favor of Slavery. The Abolitionists are more active and stronger now than they ever have been; and the South is too prosperous to be prepared to hear the future. Still, the able arguments you have published, and I hope will continue to publish, are proving a useful magazine for future use.

Accept my kindest regards and esteem, and do not forget my invitation. You would like often to hear from you. Your friend,

FELIX HUSTON.

Port Hudson, East Feliciana Parish, La.

Let us admit the assumption of the writer—that white men cannot labor in Louisiana with safety, while black men can—and it follows that the climate of that State is better adapted to the constitution of the colored race than the white. It furnishes no plea for Slavery, unless it can be shown that it is just and proper to compel colored people to work as slaves, instead of leaving them free to work as free men. If the facts alleged by General Huston prove anything further, it is, the want of fitness in the State as a residence for white people. A country unsuitable for labor is unsuitable for settlement, for there can be no wealth or comfort without labor. And a country unsuitable for white labor is unsuitable for white settlement—for no race can develop itself where it cannot exert all its faculties, physical as well as mental.

We hope it may turn out that General Huston is mistaken, for we should regret to learn that any part of the United States is unfit for habitation by white people. We are not sure that his experiments have been well conducted. Had the boys he collected been used to labor? Were they orphans, or taken from their homes and parents? How were they fed and sheltered? Was the estate on which they worked, well drained, and free from miasmatic districts? It is obvious that his observations are too loose and limited, to furnish sufficient ground for the theory that white men cannot labor with safety in Louisiana.

Judging hastily from the great mortality of the colored population in Louisiana, one might say that its climate was deleterious even to them. For instance, take the following table from the census. The Expectation of Life, we may remark, expresses in years, and decimal parts of a year, the future length of life to be lived, on an average, after attaining a given age. The table will show a fearful comparative mortality among the slaves of Louisiana. "The values for New England are deduced from the general census, embracing 23,020 colored residents; that of Maryland is founded upon the total returns of 90,368 slaves; and that of Louisiana upon the aggregate of 244,786 slaves, and 17,537 free colored, taken collectively."

Expectation of Life for Colored Persons.

	N. ENGLAND		MARYLAND.		LOUISIANA.	
Completed age.	Colored. male.	Colored. female.	Slaves. male.	Slaves. female.	Colored. male.	Colored. female.
	Y'rs.	Y'rs.	Y'rs.	Y'rs.	Y'rs.	Y'rs.
0	39.75	42.20	38.47	39.47	28.89	34.69
10	42.92	45.35	45.40	45.90	34.92	40.69
20	35.87	39.92	39.28	39.62	30.48	35.36
30	29.77	34.96	34.41	34.62	25.87	30.86
40	23.83	29.91	29.41	29.62	21.50	25.83
50	18.27	22.11	21.16	23.17	19.13	21.07
60	13.89	17.31	14.32	16.71	14.76	15.27
70	9.42	13.06	8.76	16.57	11.33	10.93
80	6.44	7.87	5.40	6.80	5.58	6.16
90	3.69	4.61	3.80	4.00	3.43	3.34

Now, if it be true, as General Huston and Dr. Cartwright assume, that the constitution of the colored man is specially adapted to the climate of Louisiana, but one cause can be assigned for this great mortality among the colored people; and that is, the harsh, barbarous system of slave labor, in support of which these two gentlemen are resorting to all kinds of sophistical reasoning.

Some *animal* of the male gender got hold of the telegraphic wires, lately, in Cleveland, and transmitted to all parts of the United States exaggerated and false reports of the proceedings of the Woman's Convention held in that place; and divers donkeys of kindred spirit brayed aloud their exultation over what they deemed woman's folly. Now, whatever opinion may be entertained in relation to the wisdom of such conventions, they are at least entitled to fair dealing and courtesy from *gentlemen*! It so happens that the only disorderly persons at that Convention were men. Even Cleveland *Plaindealer*, a very orthodox Hunker Democratic paper, is indignant at the lies of the telegraph. It denies that any resolutions were passed "amid a stormy session," that any motion was made by a male delegate to confine speakers to ten minutes each, that an attempt was made to put Abby Kelly down, that there was anything like "dreadful confusion" during the sittings of the Convention; but "the crowning and most immense lie," it says, "is, that a motion being made to adjourn, the President fled, when the Hall was cleared in terrible commotion." The *Plaindealer* adds:

"Instead of deserving any such slander as this, the Convention of last week was a model of order and decorum, in so far as woman was concerned. The officers were fully equal to their duty, and the speakers were observant of every parliamentary rule. There was no confusion, disorder, or disturbance, during the entire session of the Convention, was *produced by men*, and men, too, who lugged in questions irrelevant to the object of the meeting, and who by those papers which have published that despatch will place the matter in its *true* light before their readers."

We did not publish the despatch, but cheerfully give place to the exposure of its falsehood.

SETTLEMENT OF NEBRASKA.

Some time last year the settlers of Nebraska Territory met in Convention, agreed upon a memorial to Congress, praying the establishment of a Territorial Government, and sent a delegate to Washington, to urge their petition. The subject was brought before Congress. In the House it was fully discussed—the chief opposition to the measure being raised by a few ultra slaveholders. The bill at length passed the House, but being somewhat distasteful to the Slave Interest, was not reported in the Senate till a late period, and was then suffered to sleep till the last day of the session, when it was pretended that it was too late to act upon it.

Since then, it would seem that the opponents of the measure have been trying to prepossess the public mind with the idea that the organization of a Territorial Government would violate the rights of the Indians scattered throughout the Territory. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs has been out among them, holding councils, and endeavoring, it is said, to effect an extinction of the Indian title. According to newspaper reports, he thinks that the anxiety of the whites to settle in the Territory, and the agitation of the subject in Congress, have thrown obstacles in the way of a speedy organization; and he advises to stop all agitation and all settlement, until treaties for the extinguishment of Indian titles have been consummated. We have also the proceedings of a meeting of a few of the settlers, which seems, as the *New York Evening Post* says, "to have been made according to order," at which the following resolutions were passed:

Whereas we, the residents of Nebraska Territory, believing that all citizens of the United States are entitled to the protection of the General Government, and feeling deeply our isolated and unprotected situation and the want of some system of Government, therefore,

Resolved, 1. That the growing interest of the Territory seems to demand the extinguishment of the present Indian title, and that we are highly pleased to learn that our General Government is taking active steps to consummate this much-desired object.

2. That although we earnestly desire and ask for a speedy organization, we believe we deem it prudent to establish a Territorial Government until after the titles of the present owners of the soil are extinguished, believing, as we do, that Congress will secure certain rights guaranteed to them by Government, which must be respected.

3. That we fully concur in the views expressed by Colonel Harypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in regard to the present settlement by the whites.

4. That we know no North, no South, no East, no West, and that we desire the organization of a Territorial Government without any restriction, but having due regard to the interest of every portion of our glorious Union.

5. That we deem it expedient that we should be represented in Washington this winter, and that we do, in Convention assembled, nominate a suitable person, free from all sectional prejudices and prejudiciary, having the true interests of the Territory at heart.

And pray, what was the occasion for the passage of the last two resolutions? The honest settlers who voted last year in favor of the organization of a Territorial Government, never dreamed of introducing any sectional controversy. The cant phrases of the Union-savers were unknown to them. Their delegate was no sectional man, but attended simply to his duty, without going out of his way to save the Union, or whine about the Compromise. This meeting, "made to order," shows what influences have begotten it—first, by resolving against any Territorial organization for the present; by adopting the cant of the Pro-Slavery party; finally, by declaring against any restriction on the subject of Slavery. We know to what school they belong. But let them spare themselves any extra trouble. Nebraska is now expressly exempt, by the Missouri Compromise, from the introduction of Slavery. The same Compromise, in 1850, had the Missouri controversy settled that point; and this meeting, "made to order," is guilty of impertinent agitation, in attempting to revive the question.

We rejoice that the veteran Benton will be "on hand" the next Congress, to look after Western interests, and to baffle the conspiracy of a base, blind sectionalism against the extension of Western empire.

LITERARY NOTICES.

LORENZO BENONI; or, Passages in the Life of an Italian. Edited by a friend. New York, 1853: J. S. Redfield.

It is well understood that the name here given is an assumed one. The real author is said to be Giovanni Ruffini; but the incidents are true, at least in substance. Some of the other persons mentioned are likewise real characters; and among them Mazzini figures under the name of Fantasio. Ruffini, after suffering the persecutions here depicted, escaped to France in 1833, and in 1848 he was appointed by King Charles Albert, of Sardinia, his Embassador at that Court. He affords another remarkable example of a foreigner acquiring so complete a mastery of the English language as to write it, not only correctly, but even with elegance. His present residence, we believe, is in England. The volume gives a graphic picture of his education, the various trials to which he was subjected in his boyhood and youth, and the vigilance maintained over him, mingled with pictures of domestic life and attachments—forming pleasant episodes in the tougher annals of revolutionary attempts and failures. The account of his escape as a fugitive before his pursuers—leaving a brother behind, who had been arrested and imprisoned, and who soon paid the forfeit of his life—is in a high degree exciting, and bears such marks of truthfulness as cannot but command the sympathy of the reader. Had we space, we should like to quote from these pages; but we would rather recommend the perusal of the book, in its whole connection, to those who would like something fresh, and aside from the ordinary lighter works which are daily issuing from the press. It is got up in the usual neat style of the publisher.

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HALLUCINATIONS; or, The Rational History of Apparitions, Visions, Dreams, Ecstacy, Magnetism, and Somnambulism. By A. Brierre de Boismont. First American, from the second enlarged and improved, edition. Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston. For sale by R. Farnham, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

The author is a French physician, who has the reputation of being distinguished in his profession. The work is a large octavo, and abounds in facts interesting to the philosopher, the medical man, and the lover of the marvellous. It resolves apparitions and hallucinations into morbid psychological conditions, and in the illustration of the theory displays much erudition. One of his leading propositions is, that hallucination may exist without insanity. For example, a man may see an apparition ever present with him, and be all the while convinced that it is a mere hallucination of his mind. In other cases he may see an apparition, and believe that it exists, and yet be perfectly sane. He relates, by way of illustration, several remarkable cases—one being that of a man of great intelligence and high position, who was haunted by the apparition of a skeleton, which was ever present in his waking moments—grinning at him in company, frowning upon him at his meals, following him between the bed curtains when he lay down to sleep. He grew melancholy, lost his appetite and flesh, and no one could tell the cause. At last, an ingenious physician extorted the secret from him. He did not believe in the reality of the apparition—said that he knew it was a hallucination of his own mind, but there the ghost was, and he could not help seeing it. Medical skill failed, and he died the victim of a skeleton visitant, in whose reality he did not believe. Our author's theory is, that this was a hallucination—a psychological condition which it was the task of medicine to correct. But he declares, at the same time, his reverent belief in the reality of the apparitions mentioned in the Bible.

ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC. By Richard Whately, D. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

This is a reprint from the seventh edition. Like the Archbishop's Elements of Logic, it is a book both for the practiced and unpracticed writer—helping to improve the former and initiate the latter into the art of composition. If such works were more studied in this country, and their principles more thoroughly understood, there would be far more method and exactness, with less verboseness and rambling declamation, than characterize so many of our writers and speakers.

SIX MONTHS IN ITALY. By George Stillman Hillard. Vols. II. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

The author is a keen observer, a graceful writer, and capital in description. Italy is a commonplace topic, but Mr. Hillard is no commonplace tourist. His pages are full of interest and instruction.

FATHER GAVAZZI'S LIFE AND LECTURES. New York: De Witt & Davenport. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

The lectures were those delivered in New York, which were reported in full by T. C. Leland, phonographer. "The Life" appears with Gavazzi's authority, and under his revision. The volume contains, in addition, translations of his addresses to his countrymen in New York. The work must find great acceptance with those who detest despotism and priestcraft, and take pleasure in reading the narrative of the deeds and sufferings of the heroes who have defied and renounced them.

MYSTERIES OF BEE-KEEPING EXPLAINED. By M. Quinby, practical bee-keeper. New York: C. M. Saxton, Agricultural Publisher. For sale as above.

We suppose we can do nothing better than introduce this work to our readers in the words of the title-page, as a "Complete analysis of the whole subject of Bee-Keeping—consisting of the natural history of bees, directions for obtaining the greatest amount of pure surplus honey with the least possible expense, remedies for losses given, and the science of 'luck' fully illustrated—the result of more than twenty years' experience in extensive apiaries."

THE ROMANCE OF ABELARD AND HELOISE. By O. W. Wight, New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, 11th st., Washington, D. C.

A poetical subject, treated poetically. This story of constancy in love between "the greatest man and the greatest woman," as Mr. Wight terms them, of the twelfth century, suffers nothing by this modern version. But the author is very daring, in an age of strong-minded women, to lay down the proposition that "woman asks no more in this world than to be sincerely loved." He must have forgotten that he is living in the nineteenth century.

A MANUAL OF GREEK LITERATURE, from the earliest authentic period to the close of the Byzantine era. By Charles Anthon, L. L. D. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C.

In this volume of close print, of 574 pages, Dr. Anthon has given a sort of digest of the standard writers on Greek Literature, embracing a general summary of its progress, with biographical sketches of the most eminent writers. A brief view is also taken of the different schools of Greek Philosophy, of the medical systems of Greece, and of the advances made in the cultivation of the mathematical sciences.

THE INDIAN TRIBES OF GUIANA. By the Rev. W. H. Brett. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, 7th street, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Brett having been an English missionary in Guiana for some years, relates the things he has there seen, heard, and experienced. The country and its people are comparatively unknown to us, so that the volume has the attraction of novelty. But this is not all. It gives a highly interesting account of the native tribes of Indians, their customs and manners, and also some instructive general statements in relation to the condition of the colony.

THE AMERICAN CATTLE DOCTOR: Containing the necessary information for preserving the health and curing the diseases of Oxen, Cows, Sheep, and Swine; with a great variety of original recipes and valuable information in reference to farm and Dairy management; whereby every man can be his own Cattle Doctor. By G. H. Dodd, M. D., Veterinary Practitioner. New York: C. M. Saxton. For sale by Franck Taylor, Pa. avenue, Washington, D. C. Price, $1.

The author sets his face against the use of the lancet and poison, and holds that all medication should be subservient to, and not substitutive of, the powers of nature. We have printed the whole title, so that those interested may see at once the nature and scope of the book.

Poems of Passion.

Hon. Mr. Campbell,

President General.

Mr. Watson then writes to the Postmaster General, denying the allegations made against him.

The St. Louis *Democrat* pertinently remarks on this correspondence:

"But we are strangely blind to the position in which the Administration stands in making its appointments—a position so incessantly avouched by the official organ—if Price William in 1848 should be a disqualification for office in 1853. Our belief—the belief of the nation at large—is, that all who stand on the Baltimore platform of 1852 are eligible for office in the eyes of the Administration. If this be not the policy of the Cabinet with regard to appointments, we are involved in the very blackness of darkness."

No matter what a man was in 1848, says the *Union* from day to day, provided he now stands on the Baltimore platform. "Let bygones be bygones," it cries. I look not at the antecedents of a man, says Jefferson Davis, if he abide by the Baltimore platform—good faith requires us to look no further than that. And yet Mr. Postmaster Campbell assumes that Free-Soilism in 1848—no matter if a man does now believe in the Baltimore platform—is a disqualification for office. Either the *Union* is insincere, or Mr. Campbell's ignorance or rebellious.

COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

It is something less than five years since Mr. Elwood Fisher delivered an address in Cincinnati, in which he attempted to prove that the high road to wealth is simply agriculture, unsustained by domestic manufactures, the mechanic arts, and commerce; and, since Slavery superinduces the state of things, that institution was to be regarded as the great bane of the great problem of political economy, about which philosophers have puzzled their brains for a century. He proceeded, accordingly, to show that the slaveholding States of this Union are far richer than the free, and appealed to various public documents as his authority for the facts adduced in support of his propositions. Unfortunately, the authorities referred to were in almost every instance found, upon examination, to be in fault, and to exhibit a state of things the reverse of that assumed: but so much the worse for the documents. The positions advanced, and facts assumed to support them, were so flattering to the friends of Slavery, in the moment of their imaginary triumph, to be doubted or questioned. Mr. Fisher was for the time regarded as a new light—an eighth Wise Man contributed by the western world to the Seven recognised by the ancients. He was taken at once into the councils of Mr. Calhoun and other Pro-Slavery hierarchs: and, notwithstanding that he was bred a Quaker, and was whilom an Abolitionist, he was at once admitted into their holy of holies. He was invited to Virginia, where he was feted and toasted until the worthy Quaker was likely to forget the simple and abstemious habits of his order.

But the wheels of time are constantly in motion. The South needed more railroads and other improvements, with factories, workshops of various kinds, et cetera; and, utterly forgetful of Mr. Fisher's demonstrations, appeals were often made to "Northern capitalists" to invest their surplus funds in them. Then came the census, with a crash upon the astounded senses, showing Massachusetts to be worth 8573,342,286; while Virginia, the scene of our Quaker's banquets—with eight times as large a territory—was worth only 84,000,082, including slaves, with other extravagant contrasts of Freedom with Slavery. Facts are stubborn things. They may be disregarded by visionary theorists for a time, but they cannot fail to impress themselves upon the common sense of the people. The assumptions of Mr. Fisher, of the superior wealth of the South over that of the North, might be maintained by politicians "for reasons of State;" but they could never pass into the every-day language of life, or be carried home to people's "business and bosoms." Hence it is that when constantly seen the appeals to Northern capitalists" for building railroads, opening mines, and other purposes; and hence the occasional—in fact, frequent—efforts to rouse the energies of Southern people, by contrasting the South with the North. At length, even the most ultra of Mr. Calhoun's disciples, the Richmond *Examiner*—which is recognised as the ablest journal in the slaveholding States, of the school to which it belongs—acknowledges the great superiority of the North over the South in wealth, and wealth-creating power. But the admission is made by what the lawyers call a *demurrer*; that is to say, by admitting the fact, but denying the inference—by allowing the North to be wealthier and more prosperous, but insisting with the moralists of all ages, from Solomon to Dr. Johnson, upon the dangers and temptations which beset those who are surrounded with a superabundance of the good things of this life; with suitable exhortations to cheerfulness addressed to the Southern people, who are admonished of the duty of contentment, and the sin of repining at fortune. There is an admirable vein of wisdom in all this, which we greatly admire. But still the fact is clear that the North is at length awaking to a consciousness of its poverty, and tracing it to its true source—Slavery.

It is quite possible, on reflection, that our Quaker friend, Mr. Fisher, in estimating the relative wealth of the North and South, may, like the editor of the *Examiner*, have looked higher than to the perishable dust of this earth, and have merely adopted the nomenclature of dollars and cents, of facts and figures, in order to convey to the common apprehension a more tangible idea of that hidden wealth of the soul—virtue and happiness—in which they maintain that slaveholding communities excel

The St. Louis *Democrat* publishes a noteworthy correspondence in relation to the application of Henry T. Watson, of St. Louis, for the office of postmaster in that city. Mr. Watson was favored by Mr. Benton, opposed by Mr. Atchison. Mr. Benton addressed a letter to the Postmaster General, requesting to know what representation had been made by Mr. Atchison against Mr. Watson. Mr. Campbell replied, that it is the usage of the Department to grant no copies from its correspondence files, except where counsel certify that they are needed for judicial purposes, in a case pending in court. "At the same time," he adds, "I think it proper to inform you, that it has been represented that Mr. Watson was engaged in the Free Soil movement of 1848, and signed a public call for a meeting of the friends of Free Soil.

Mr. Benton replied:

C STREET, *Sept.* 29, 1853.

Mr. Benton's best respects to the Postmaster General, and thanks him for his answer to the note of inquiry in the case of Mr. Watson, and which will be forwarded to Mr. Watson for such answer as he may feel himself able to make to it.

Mr. Benton knew of the rule of the Department which is referred to, but has disputed its propriety heretofore, and still disputes it; especially in the case of a Senator or Representative, who represents the public, in preference of any one of his own constituents. Mr. Benton disclaims the benefit of such a rule in his own case, and considers as public everything that he knows of any public officer, or any head of Department, in relation to any person whatever, constituent or not.

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No matter what a man was in 1848, says the *Union* from day to day, provided he now stands on the Baltimore platform. "Let bygones

all others. Contemplated in this allegorical point of view, the lecture of Mr. Fisher must be allowed to possess great artistic merit; but looked at with the vulgar eyes of common sense, it strikes every one laughably absurd.

The following are the remarks of the Richmond *Examiner*, to which we have referred:

G.

"*Sectional Characteristics.*—In the contrasts so frequently instituted between Northern and Southern States, to the disadvantage of the latter, little more compared with an arbitrary standard. The test assumed as the rule of comparison is the condition and deceptive brilliancy of the commercial and manufacturing nations of Europe. * * *

"There can be no question that the commercial and manufacturing States of the North approach more closely than the agricultural populations of the South to the realization of the idea—*bene sitiet*. In these more brilliant and dazzling characteristics they are rapidly overtaking, and in some respects surpassing, their exemplars. They have greater facilities for the precocious development of wealth than have been accorded to Europe. They are embarrassed and retarded by few of the impediments which encumber transactions abroad; they have a larger verge to operate in; and the comparative sparseness of the population, with the vast outlet afforded by the Northwest to all supernumeraries, postpone, though they cannot forever avert, the ultimate tendencies which are so apparent and so keenly felt in Europe. But they are pursuing the same road to destruction which has been travelled by those whom they would imitate. They are now basking in the same sunshine by which their prototypes have been tempted onward, with a fallacious sense of security; and they may expect ultimately to arrive at the same calamitous goal. * * *

"In the Southern States everything is different. The pursuit of agriculture and the institution of Slavery—the consequent sparseness of population and absence of extensive rural life and the personal independence of planters, engender very dissimilar results. A slow accumulation of gain is alone possible, except in the cities, which must always remain as to other in their business operations all over the world. All that the planting and farming class indulge the hope of doing is, to perpetuate and improve the advantages which they already enjoy, to advance in comfort and prosperity with the natural growth of the country, and to leave their children in the enjoyment of the same things which they have possessed and enjoyed, and on the same safe road of gradually extending prosperity. They are not urged into spasmodic activity by the tormenting demon of gain, and not driven into speculations of trade by the insatiable avidity of conquering sudden wealth. Their life appears slow, stagnant, inactive, inefficient, to those who revel in the whirl and turmoil of the money-getting machinery of more gain-loving communities."

From the New York Tribune.

RATIFICATION MEETING OF THE FREE DEMOCRACY IN NEW YORK.

SPEECHES OF JOHN P. HALE AND OTHERS.

At the call of the Central Committee of the Free Democratic party, a meeting was convened at the Broadway Tabernacle, last evening, to ratify the nominations of the State officers, made by their recent State Convention at Syracuse.

Edward A. Stansbury, Esq., Chairman of the Central Committee, called the meeting to order, and nominated the following list of officers:

President—Mithorne Tompkins.

Vice Presidents—William Jay, Dennis Harris, Andrew Lester, William E. Whiting, D. D. T. Marshall, William T. Dawley, Joshua Leavitt, David Marsh, William S. Dorr, A. D. Gale, Henry Belden, John Brown, D. M. Graham, Homer Weaver, Thomas Robinson, Chester Scholey, H. D. Sharp, William G. West, Alonzo S. Ball, Thomas S. Berry, Daniel H. Sands, Charles R. Miller, L. D. Mansfield, Seth W. Benedict, Alexander McDonald, Jesse G. Haviland, J. E. Snodgrass.

Secretaries—Henry B. Dawson, Lauriston Hall, Wm. S. King, Jr., Norman S. Beyfly, Julius C. Dowling.

On taking the chair, the President was received with hearty cheers, and spoke in substance as follows:

Although not knowing by what right I am here, I cannot shrink from a cause which my heart approves, and which I am prepared at any sacrifice to maintain and uphold. To submit to tyrant and oppression, is not only uninviting but degrading, and, in my opinion, criminal; but I believe we have not yet arrived at that point. [Applause.] When you behold two, or, I may say, three great powers of the day, willing in their truckling servitude, to let the Slave Power, passing great resolutions, and endorsing as a finality that unconstitutional measure, the infamous and degrading Slave Law, and attempting to make it a part of our national statute book, then I say, is it not time for action? Two great parties have told us we shall not discuss the question of Slavery, you believe it not, that question is the time for greater action, for myself, I can only say, I will not be resolved by any resolutions out of my right to discuss any question. [Much applause.] I mean to agitate while life and breath and being lasts, to procure, among the most important measures of the day, the abolition of Slavery. I will not detain you, gentlemen, but call upon the Committee for their report.

Mr. E. A. Stansbury, of New York, then read an address and resolutions, amid frequent interruptions by applause.

Mr. H. Swift, of Massachusetts, was now introduced. He said:

I claim for my native State that it is the only section loyal to the mission of America. [Applause.] At the time the Constitution was adopted, Slavery was in bad repute. It was looked on with sorrow and regret, and the whole country teemed with denunciations of it. If it were right, why adopt it? The morning star stood in its effulgence in the presence of man and Slavery, if it were divinely constituted, found by no moral limit—it was the chained Grand Sachem, and the Sun of Peace. [applause.] when poetry, art, nature, and the history of the world, all the attributes of God—all denounce and oppose it. Can any of us comprehend it with its actual horrors? No, we are not acquainted with it. Slavery, ostracised by every other country, is fostered here [Cries of "shame," "shame!"] It creates every moral feeling from the mind, and destroys the soul by its damning influence.

A glowing description of Slavery and the influence it possessed over the commercial interests of the country, was then introduced by the speaker; and, after an allusion to the services rendered by his friend John P. Hale, instanced in the case of the "Jerry rescue," &c. he continued, characterizing the Democrats as one of the really unterrilled Democrats [laughter] who crouched not before any Slave Power! Had it not been for Slavery, said Mr. Swift, we should have had the National Railroad connecting California with New York whereas now we have only a National Turnpike terminating at Washington. [Laughter] How different the road from the famous "underground railroad!" The tickets of the latter are all free, and its passengers all of one color. All who go into it at one end shares, come out at the other free. [Cheers] The road never issued bonds, but it recollected those in bonds with them. [Laughter and applause] It never paid any dividends, but it will meet its shareholders in Heaven! One of our principal newspapers has already lowered its flag of Whigism, and hoisted the standard of Republicanism. [Cries of name; give name; name; and *Tribune*?] Yes, I mean *The Tribune*.

To the young men of New York I would say a word or two in conclusion. We need your assistance. We want a correct organization; and if there is anything more than this, it is unrivalled organization to put down this dreadful power of Slavery; for recollect, no nation can ever achieve greatness whose path is strewn with bondmen.

We may not live to see Slavery overthrown and Liberty triumph, but

"Another hand the sword shall wield,
And another hand the standard wave,
Till from the trumpet's mouth is peal'd
The blast of triumph o'er our grave!"

The Hon. E. L. Keys, of Mass., was then introduced. He said:

I stand in the position of a distinguished ancient, (a Bishop.) I believe, on being introduced in a new place. He was asked—among all the wonders he saw, which most surprised him? His reply was, "To find myself here." It never occurred to me that I should ever be so valued in the politics of the Empire State, where there is much great wealth, and no doubt many great virtues, if we believe the newspapers. We cannot comprehend your politics in my, in our Puritan State of Massachusetts, without the *Tribune* and other papers to give us an inkling of them. In Massachusetts we have heard of some one, called Jerry, who fled to Canada his position by tearing humble men in Boston from freedom, and sending them to Slavery. And yet he is now on a Whig ticket. The honorable gentleman proceeded in a very eloquent strain to call upon the people in New York, but with such sarcasm and bitterness that a portion of the audience became impatient, and there were loud calls for "Hale! Hale!"

John P. Hale, being introduced, was received with loud cheers, and spoke thus:

Mr. President, ladies, and gentlemen: I recollect having once heard of a clergyman in New England village, who asked leave of absence for six weeks, to go and marry a lady to whom he had been for some time attentive. It was generally thought he never meant to bring a wife, but not *the* wife he went for. To arouse the excitement and indignation which followed, he preached on the following Sabbath from this text, "Be not as a mule in that walketh to direct his steps" [laughter.] For the second time, in the State of New York, I now find myself, contrary to my settled determination, addressing a political assembly; and if I asked why, you might well enough answer the clergyman's text, "it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps." [Renewed laughter.] I sometimes think that if, presuming a little on the friendship which I have contracted between me and my Free Soil friends of 1848, I were to read to them the resolution of the Buffalo platform of that year, which said the Federal Government should be administered so as to bring its slave encroachments touching the several States, and then their resolutions of '53, and to ask how they could in so short a time have come to the ground, I ask, what would the only answer they could make would be: "It is not in man that walketh to direct his steps?" [Cheers.]

However, leaving that question, let me come to the party of to-night, their principle, and their purpose. Here I think it necessary to be a little plain, because I have seen in some papers that some gentlemen have been being a part of the "Softs"—I don't know whether said in *badinage*, or not, or whether to abuse us or them. But be that as it may, we are not. We have not left our ancient ranks. We adhere to what was of old the conviction of our forefathers; and the sentiment of our hearts—what engaged our sympathy, our judgment, our votes, and our prayers. We believed then that Slavery was a wrong, against God and a sin against God, and we believe the same now; the conviction has but grown stronger; it is now firmer and more determined, because the experience of the past has shown us, in our certainty of its soundness. If there has been a split between those who then acted with us, and us, I think I can appeal to the few Hards there that the fault lie not with us; we have gone out from us, it is because they never were of us; they have said to G. d. liberty, and manhood, "Stand aside! we do not want you in this campaign." We have constructed one platform, and built up another. [Applause.] But I pass to the present aspect of affairs. Now, in the nineteenth century, after the great principles on which our fathers had their eighteen centuries of martyrs, it is time they should begin to exercise some influence. Can we not discover a great purpose of Providence manifested in the discovery of this Continent? Should we not see that it is for the right which, like a pillar of fire kindled by the hand of God, led our fathers through a seven years' Revolution, should illumine some of the world beyond our limits? Should not the nations of the Old World, struggling against despotism, receive from this Continent some light to guide them on the glorious pathway of Revolution? Should not the Old Country, if it ever hath to breathe a manly word in behalf of liberty, the leaders of the People ought to be the first to give it utterance. [Loud cheers.] And why do they not? Why do they not, in behalf of their Government? What are they doing? Are they studying, consulting, contriving, to give efficacy to the great principles upon which this Republic has been founded? Is it that a republican liberty felt, acknowledged, and effective everywhere? Let us take an answer from the letter of Secretary Guthrie to Collector Bronson, which I will now read. That the mighty energies of our Government are, night and day, exerted to see that the Hards and Softs get their fair share of the Custom-house plunder! [Laughter.] They have no time—they cannot give attention to weightier things. From the moment of their inauguration there is no single policy in which their course has been distinctly marked, except this in which, scattered to the winds, it falls to the ground the President and his Cabinet are united"—namely, that the Softs are to have a fair chance at the Custom-house!

Now, I do not want to say anything to offend your sensibilities: I am myself an American also, but I ask—Are you not ashamed of yourselves? [Laughter.] The Government of the United States is no longer a government, but a fairly to divide pide-waiterships, and so forth!

Surely there are some other questions which ought to be interesting to our Government, and where Democrats should be united. Are any of this important division of spoils which has so occupied him, if he will take up the public documents of the United States, (that is, after the fair portion has been accomplished) he will find, for example, that the United States owes more that 500,000,000 acres of land—enough to give every family within the borders of the States a homestead of more than eighty acres. He will find, should the Bank of England, had its kindled again in Europe, and despotism once more prove too strong for the efforts of Liberty—when the contest was over, the victims of oppression might come to this land of homesteads, and yet we could provide them all with farms! [Loud cheers.] Laboring men of New York, is not that of more consequence than the division of the Custom-house spoils? Millions of millions of acres, as fertile as any that have rewarded the toil of man since he was first created by Providence? Should this land be given to those who, if they should be looked up, generation after generation, to swell the profits of bloated speculators?

Other questions might engage the Secretary, free probably from the embarrassing one—the opening of a highway by which the affections of millions of hearts might travel the waste of waters. Now, if the party I am associated with can do nothing else, we can look these questions in the face. We are for free farms; and lies a wilderness; we would make it of inestimable value.

There are still other questions of high moment, which might occupy a Government of these States—that of Liberty abroad! But I think the Government should not open their mouths upon that question, lest they an oyster-like silence. Why? Because the platform to which they are pledged finds them—as you shall see. I will read you the eleventh resolution of the Democratic Convention of June 1, 1852, at Baltimore. [Mr. H. read it] Here, you see, they say, that in view of the popular institutions of the Old World, a high and sacred duty devolves on us. What has we to do? To give the right hand of fellowship to those struggling for freedom? No, indeed; but "to uphold and maintain the rights of every State!" That was the high and sacred duty which devolved on the Democratic party of the Old World of the People—to take care of themselves! [Boisterous merriment] A high-sounding preamble costs very little; therefore they talk of the "interests of the Old World" and their "high and sacred duty." People perhaps would only read the preamble, and not generally know the important conclusion—to take care of themselves. Yet I ask, what is the "popular institutions of the Old World?" Kossuth came here, told the story of his country's wrongs, her desolate homes, the wanderers driven from them, and asked the platform and the people for encouragement. Did the Government give it? No! Their "high and sacred duty" was to look sharply after State Rights. The battle for Freedom waxed and the Democratic Party were trodden down. Did the Government open its mouth? No! Why? Because if they sent to any despot of the Old World a note of indignant remonstrance, it might remonstrate back and put an echo in some slave-hut of the New! [Loud and long applause.] And so it will ever be, as long as the institution of Slavery presses, like the Old Man of the Sea, upon the shoulders of every holder of, and candidate for, a public office in our land.

It is said that we are a part of an idea. We think other party perhaps have one but the only one that I know of is that published in that of "dividing the spoils fairly between the Hards and the Softs." And when we view their Fugitive Slave Law, and their professions based upon it, must we not conclude that the great standard of fidelity to republicanism, is the zeal and alacrity with which a republican contend with Southern bloodhounds in pursuing a man out of our land? I say boldly, is not this a fact? is not the principle adhered to throughout? Let there be a candidate for a judgship; let him be wise as Solomon, just as Aristides, second in eloquence only to Him who spoke as never man spoke, and than His can speak, and are not his qualifications naught, unless he can stoop so low as to be willing to become a negro-catcher? Secretary Guthrie, in his letter to Mr. Bronson, intimates are united as one man; and have reason to believe that all gentlemen who consented to accept office, stood pledged to support the same principle—namely, "the bond of a clergyman who *consented* to accept of office! It is not who "were eager for office," but who *consented!* All *gentlemen* who *consented!* [Loud laughter and applause.] Now, I ask you, is there, is there is a little sarcasm intended here [Laughter.] The *gentlemen* who *consented* are united as a man! This is enough.

Now, I ask, is not this a melancholy view of the case? I know you think so. How is it to be remedied? By yourselves! By men acting on the conviction of their own manhood! Now, I am confident I have seen signs of progress. You may think you have not. Yet, I think that the workmen's strikes to be such signs. It looks as if they were going to take things into their own hands. Do so, operatives, and you may be assured! Democrats, organized aristocracy, when you find anything oppressive, take the matter into your own hands. The result, generally, is victory. Extend the practice. I can remember when you were taught, as that you are Democrats, but you sometimes forget that you are men. God made you men, but it is not recorded who made you Whigs or Democrats. Why not remember that individual responsibility on election day? Why not go for principles that will best subserve your highest interests? If the public of New York can decide that Slavery is a wrong, and that it is a sin against God, and believe the same now; the conviction has but grown stronger; it is now firmer and more determined, because the experience of the past has shown us in our certainty of its soundness. If there has been a split between those who then acted with us, and us, I think I can appeal to the few Hards there that the fault lie not with us; we have gone out from us, it is because they never were of us; they have said to G. d. liberty, and manhood, "Stand aside! we do not want you in this campaign." We have constructed one platform, and built up another. [Applause.] But I pass to the present aspect of affairs. Now, in the nineteenth century, after the great principles on which our fathers had their eighteen centuries of martyrs, it is time they should begin to exercise some influence. Can we not discover a great purpose of Providence manifested in the discovery of this Continent? Should we not see that it is for the right which, like a pillar of fire kindled by the hand of God, led our fathers through a seven years' Revolution, should illumine some of the world beyond our limits? Should not the nations of the Old World, struggling against despotism, receive from this Continent some light to guide them on the glorious pathway of Revolution? Should not the Old Country, if it ever hath to breathe a manly word in behalf of liberty, the leaders of the People ought to be the first to give it utterance. [Loud cheers.] And why do they not? Why do they not, in behalf of their Government? What are they doing? Are they studying, consulting, contriving, to give efficacy to the great principles upon which this Republic has been founded? Is it that a republican liberty felt, acknowledged, and effective everywhere? Let us take an answer from the letter of Secretary Guthrie to Collector Bronson, which I will now read. That the mighty energies of our Government are, night and day, exerted to see that the Hards and Softs get their fair share of the Custom-house-

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM,

OR,

MANUAL OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Being a Compilation from the Writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, whose names are consecrated in the affections of the Southern People—the Debates in the Federal and State Conventions which gave, framed and ratified the Constitution of the United States—those which occurred in the first Congresses which sat during the Administration of General Washington—and extracts from the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1832; with various letters, judicial decisions, &c.

BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

ON THE STATE OF SLAVERY.

CONTINUED.

Such is the rise, progress, and present foundation of Slavery in Virginia, so far as I have been able to trace it. The present number of slaves in Virginia is immense, as appears by the census taken in 1791, amounting to no less than 292,627; scattered over thirty-five of the whole population of the Commonwealth, (21.) We may console ourselves with the hope that this proportion will not increase, the further importation of slaves being prohibited, while the free migration of white people hither is encouraged. But this hope affords no other relief than the evil of Slavery than a diminution of those apprehensions which are naturally excited by a detention of so large a number of oppressed individuals among us, and the possibility that they may one day be roused to an attempt to shake off their chains.

Whatever indination the first inhabitants of Virginia might have to encourage Slavery, a disposition to check its progress and increase manifested itself in the Legislature, even before the close of the last century. So long ago as the year 1699 we find the title of an act (22) laying an imposition upon *servants* and *slaves* imported into this country, which was either continued, revived, or increased, by a variety of temporary acts, passed between that period and the Revolution, in 1776, (23.) One of these acts, passed in 1723, by a marginal note appears to have been repealed by proclamation, October 24th, 1724. Under this act, 40 lbs of per cent. was laid on slaves imported, to be paid by the buyers—a measure calculated to render it as little obnoxious as possible to the English merchants trading to Africa, and not improbably suggested by them to the Privy Council in England. The preamble to this act is in these remarkable words:

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, &c., taking into serious consideration the exigencies of your Government here, and that the duty laid upon liquors will not be sufficient to defray the necessary expenses thereof, do humbly represent unto your Majesty that *no other* duty can be laid upon our import or *export*, without oppressing your subjects, than a duty upon *slaves imported*, to be paid by the buyers, *agreeable to your Majesty's instructions* to your Lieutenant Governor."

This act was only for the short period of four years, but seems to have been continued from time to time till the year 1751, when the duty expired, but was revived the next year. In the year 1740, an additional duty of five per cent was imposed for four years, for the purpose of an expedition against the Spaniards, &c., to be likewise paid by the buyers; and in 1742, the whole duty was continued till July 1, 1747. The act of 1752, by which these duties were revived and continued, (as well as several former acts,) takes notice that the duty had been found no trifling revenue to the Crown in slaves. In 1754, an additional duty of five per cent. was imposed, for the term of three years, by an act for encouraging and protecting the settlers on the Mississippi. This duty, like all the former, was to be paid by the buyers. In 1759, a duty of twenty per cent. was imposed upon all slaves imported into Virginia, from Maryland, North Carolina, or other places in America, to continue for five years. In 1769, the same duty was further continued in the same session the duty of five per cent. was continued for three years, and an additional duty of ten per cent. to be likewise paid by the buyers, was imposed for seven years; and a further duty of five per cent. was, by a separate act of the same session, imposed for the better support of the contingent charges of Government, to be paid by the buyers. In 1772, all these duties were further continued for the term of five years from the expiration of the acts then in force. The Assembly at the same time petitioned the Throne (24) to *remove all those restraints which inhibited* his Majesty's Governors assenting to such *laws as might check so very pernicious a commerce* as that of Slavery.

In the course of this inquiry it is easy to trace the desire of the Legislature to put a stop to the further importation of slaves; and had not this desire been uniformly opposed on the part of the Crown, it is probable that the event would have taken effect at much earlier period than it did. A duty of five per cent, to be paid by the buyers, at first with difficulty obtained the royal assent, but acquisitions from the Crown for aids, on particular occasions afforded a pretext, from time to time, for increasing the duty from five to ten, and finally to twenty, per cent, with which the *buyer* was uniformly made chargeable. The writers of the people of this colony were not sufficient to counterbalance the interest of the English merchants trading to Africa; and it is probable that, however disposed the Crown to stop so infamous a traffic by law, we should never have been able to effect it, so long as we might have continued dependent on the British Government—an object sufficient of itself to justify a revolution. That the Legislature of Virginia were *sincerely* disposed to put a stop to it, cannot be doubted; for, even during the tumult and confusion of the Revolution, we have seen that they availed themselves of the earliest opportunity to crush forever so pernicious and infamous a commerce, by an act passed in October, 1778, the penalties of which, though apparently lessened by the act of 1792, are still equal to the value of the slave—being five hundred dollars upon the importer, and one hundred dollars upon every person buying or selling an imported slave, (25.)

A system uniformly pursued in for nearly a whole century, and finally carried into effect so soon as the Legislature was unrestrained by "the inhuman exercise of the royal negative," evinces the sincerity of this disposition, which the Legislature had shown during so long a period, to put a check to the growing evil. From the time that the duty was raised above five per cent, it is probable that the importation of slaves into this colony decreased, the demand for them in the more southern colonies probably contributed also to lessen the numbers imported into this. For some years immediately preceding the Revolution, the importation of slaves into Virginia might almost be considered scant an end, and probably would have been entirely so, if the ingenuity of the merchant had not found out the means of evading the heavy duty by pretended sales, at which the slaves were bought in by some friend, at a quarter of their real value.

Tedious and uninteresting as this detail may appear to all others, a citizen of Virginia will feel some satisfaction in reading a vindication of his country from the opprobrium, but too lavishly bestowed upon her, of fostering Slavery in her bosom, while the house is cleared regard to the liberty of her citizens, and of mankind in general. The acrimony of such censures must abate, at least in the breasts of the candid, upon an impartial review of the subject here brought before them; and if, in addition to what we have already advanced, they consider the difficulties attendant on any attempt for the abolition of Slavery, in a country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants are slaves, and where a still larger proportion of the cultivators of the earth are of that description of men, they will probably feel emotions of sympathy and commiseration for the slave and for his master, succeeded to those hasty prejudices, which even the best dispositions are not exempt from contracting, upon subjects where there is a deficiency of information.

We are next to consider the condition of slaves in Virginia, or the legal consequences attendant on a state of Slavery in this Commonwealth; and here we shall pass in relation to notice those laws which consider slaves merely as *property*, and have from time to time been enacted to regulate the disposition of them as such: for these will be found very prominent features of some Chinese immigrants, come to this country, I suppose, in the belief that Uncle Sam is rich enough to give every man a farm.' They offer to work for wages low enough—above the price of a slave, for the capital invested in a servant and his keep. There are some inducements to employ them; the chief one is, that it would relieve me from the necessity of procuring a new set of hands, when those that I have are past labor, or their great round eyes,' and the idea of having so many 'barbarians' on my plantation, are not at all agreeable to me."

I seek not to make an omnibus, draw from my pocket a late number of the *National Era*, and read the article under "*Free Cotton* vs. *Chattel Slavery*." It suits my views exactly. I have no idea of "undermining the slave policy;" it is too much like compulsion. I would rather see the slaveholder get rich enough to do without the slave, and the slave rich enough to do without his master; but I confess that even cents to legal redress by imprisoning and selling into slavery free citizens of the Republic, without crime; by illegally involving us in foreign wars to maintain their supremacy in the National Councils; by opposing through treaty and threats the spread of Republicanism; by treating us off from the sympathies of foreign democracies, and defending despotisms in other lands; by deriding and denying in the Congress and Cabinet of the Union the Declaration of Independence, and bringing self-government into contempt; by passing and carrying into effect unconstitutional and infamous laws; and finally, by the recent Democratic Baltimore platforms, politically denouncing all who venture to murmur against these atrocious acts—have made and are making a determined and consistent stand upon the liberties of this people, altogether unlike the tame, time-serving, the British Crown, against which our fathers in 1776 rose in arms! *Unless the blacks are emancipated, we must become slaves!*

"Cheap labor!" Yes! That we call upon all the non-slaveholders, and all who love liberty more than money, to separate themselves forever from the Whig and Democratic parties—those parties which delude them to ruin—and to join us, the true and "Free Democrats," in vindicating our common liberty, which the slaveholders now threaten to destroy.

13. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be signed by the President and Vice Presidents, Secretaries, and published in the Richmond *Messenger* and Louisville *Journal* and *Democrat*; and that all papers of the State and the Union be requested to copy the same.

CURTIS KNIGHT, *President.*

A. C. McWILLIAMS,
THOMAS TATUM,
JOHN GRAHAM,
R. D. COOK,
PERRY BATES,
CHARLES KING,
SAMUEL WILLIFORD,
JACK. BRYANT,
SILAS E. COOK,

} *Vice Presidents.*

} *Secretaries.*

MORE MUTILATION.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In the *Era* of September 29, I see an article from C. D. C., giving an account of the mutilation of Dr. Porter's *Rhetorical Exercises*, for the benefit of Chinese boys. This is tithe of the mutilations of books that daily take place to secure Southern custom. A correspondent of the Philadelphia *Register* states, that not only school books, but *religion* also, is trimmed for Southern market.

"There is now being published in this good, free city, a prayer book of the Episcopal Church; said prayer book has a frontispiece, which represents a negro kneeling, imploring, representing Christ as blessing the sons of men, striking off their fetters, and giving liberty, as well as peace, to the world. It is a beautiful plate, and one of the most spirited heads in the picture is that of a negro. He, too, is kneeling his hands in supplication, and the chains are falling from his wrists. The designer of that picture felt the goodness of a universal freedom. The publishers, forsooth, think the religion is not universal; for, on examining the frontispiece, it will be found the negro's supplicating face and manacled limbs are left out. Their Christ came only to save *white and yellow* heathen; and, in the spirit of this, the school-books should be altered? *So long as the pursuit of wealth* is taught as the great business of life; so long as communities are taught by their possessions, and so long as it is considered more important to increase in numbers than improve in moral principle, we must have such alterations, mutilations, and the sacrifice again of the holiest part of man's nature. From whence comes the millennium, and who shall live to see it?"

The non-slaveholders, even at the South, constitute a large majority of the people; but parties, and political leaders, dictating the policies of a predominant interest, ignore their existence, and exclude the light of Anti-Slavery truth, so far as is in their power, from their minds and those of their children. It was a maxim of Jefferson, that "Error of opinion may be tolerated, when reason is left free to combat it;" but these publishers are wiser in their generation, and trim and clip books for churches, schools and the public, so as to suit the views of those they expect to purchase them. These mutilations are disgraceful, and are a reflection upon the manliness and independence of the Southern people, if they are; but, is possible we may wake up some Fourth of July, and find the Declaration of Independence trimmed and clipped of its incendiary sentiments, 'for the Southern market.' The genius of some enterprising publisher may yet arise, and take the hint, and we throw out the hint for his benefit.

Washington, D. C., Oct. 15, 1853. M.

DEATHS.

Died in the town of Harrison, Grant county, Wisconsin, on the morning of the 8th of August, complaint, Mr. CHAUNCEY JONES, Jun., aged forty-six years and nine months. The loss of Mr. Jones is deeply felt by the community in which he lived. He was a zealous member of the Methodist Episcopal Church; also, a firm Anti-Slavery advocate, and wielded a mighty influence in the cause, considering his situation and opportunity—being a farmer. He has taken the 25th of the Kingdom, and will shine.

Died on the Wea Plains, Indiana, September 8th, Mrs. ELLEN CUNNINGHAM, in the sixtieth year of her age. Mrs. C. made religion the chief object of her concern. The profession she ever honored in after life.

Died at Lafayette, Indiana, September 24th, AMERICA, wife of D. A. Cunningham, in the twenty-ninth year of her age. Mrs. C. was the daughter of ALBERT ROBINELL, infant son of D. A. and America Cunningham, aged thirteen months. Thus has a happy household been made desolate. Yet, mother and little Albert, they are gone home, have been taken away. Though earth is poorer, heaven is richer to the husband and his two remaining children. The sudden termination of the disease by which Mrs. C. was removed did not afford her an opportunity to express of her mind, but she has left evidence of more value than her testimony at that hour—a consistent and uniform piety in health.

WHITE SLAVERY IN THE BARBARY STATES

BY HON. CHARLES SUMNER. With 40 splendid Illustrations by Billings, engraved by Baker & Smith. "Barbary, the Barbary States, not nominated 140 pages, bound in cloth, with boards, printed in the most elegant style, on the best paper.

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☞ The above Speeches are sold by William Harned, 48 Beekman street, New York.

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A SEMI-MONTHLY paper, which aims to interest and inform the young mind. Special effort is made to give a religious tone to the minds of children, in these times of strife for the supremacy of slavery. Price—25 cents for single copies, five copies for $1, $12 per hundred. A specimen number, free if charge, will be sent to any person.

LUCIUS C. MATLACK, Editor and Publisher.
June 23—tf. 89 South Salina st., Syracuse, N. Y.

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Disease peculiar to females are treated with a success and a delicacy of treatment, which cannot be surpassed by none.

T. T. SEELYE, M. D.,
April 21—24t. Proprietor.

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I OFFER for sale upwards of 1000 different Receipts, many of which have been sold the past year for five dollars a piece, and the whole comprising many different ways of making money. In the hands of one of the articles alone, I have known young men the past year to make from five to twelve dollars per day; and in proportion with the rest. In the hands of the articles, no young man of energy and ability can fail to earn a comfortable living. Send one dollar, Boston Mass., enclosing one dollar, and the whole number of Receipts will be forwarded by mail. No letter taken from the office unless prepaid.

June 16.

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LARD OIL of the finest quality, in good shipping order, for sale by the subscriber, in quantities to suit purchasers. Also, Star Candles, of the best quality, any number, weight, 16 ounces to the pound. These candles are excellent for all climates, especially California, Illinois, the West Indies, South America and Africa. Orders for any quantity executed promptly.

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March 24.

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Messrs. Hallett, Davis, & Co. have been long and favorably known as manufacturers, whose Pianos, in volume, purity of tone, and durability, have kept pace with the great length of time they would stand in tune, could not be excelled. They have recently introduced into their manufactory the Æolian attachment, which imparts the firmness and volume of tone of the Grand Piano, to the Æolian, having the latest and most improved voicing, a power scarcely superior to any other. There is no instrument so desirable for the parlor as their Æolian Piano, combining with all the beauty, brilliancy, and soul-touching pathos of the piano in parlor organ.

Of Jeremiah Gilbert's Boudoir Pianos it is only necessary to say, that by a series of experiments continued for eight years, he has triumphantly succeeded in making a musical instrument for small rooms, full equal to the square piano.

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Sep. 22.

NOTICE.

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For the National Era.

"FREE COTTON VS. CHATTEL SLAVERY."

Under the above caption, an article appeared in a late number of the *National Era*, accompanied by others more or less connected with that subject, that could hardly fail of attracting the notice of the readers of that paper.

Belonging as I do to the insignificant portion of the adherents to the Free Labor doctrine that "E." is not "bound to treat with respect," I suppose as a matter of etiquette, if I of necessity must, in some respects, with my fellow-believers, consider myself in the high road to *extinction*, instead of *distinction*, neither of which have we very sanguinely expected, or desired. I, therefore, before taking leave of the Anti-Slavery world, to become "more familiar with "the wonders of the oblivious lake" prepared for those that believe "the receiver is as bad as the thief;" allow me, as a volunteer, to say by parting word, in extenuation of our crime.

To uncover, then, more completely, "the head and front of our offending," let me refer to first principles. The origin of our fanaticism may be traced to the belief we have entertained, and which we trust our successors will revive, in a creed very like the following, which I have copied from an old newspaper:

"We believe—

"In the unity and common origin of the human race.

"In the doctrine that God made of one blood all the nations for to dwell upon all the face of the earth.

"In the golden rule—'Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you.'

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And unless we would appear before the world as hypocrites, "deed in the world," that we are bound to carry our principles into *practice*, in our intercourse with our fellow-men.

Clinging to these principles, "our Anti-Slavery has (like that of our contemporary) no element of hatred, or even of ill-will, in it." "It is," we also hope, "not narrowed into a partial or egotistical benevolence, that would carry out its special purpose at the sacrifice of any other real interest of our fellow-men."

Hence, although "we can neither work nor pray for the bankruptcy of any man" engaged in an hortest occupation. South or North, another can we abhor for every individual slaveholder, as such, "the greatest worldly prosperity possible to the system" of Slavery, conflicting, as it unquestionably does, with the *real interests of the slave-holder.*

If I, as a manufacturer, dealer, or consumer of cotton goods, go into the market where that article is for sale, I am bound to carry with me my moral principles; and if they are not sufficient to enable me to buy of what value are they to me? But I can confidently rely upon their agency.

If now, I am offered a bale of unbleached sheeting, that I have good reason to believe (although not marked as such) have been stolen from a factory many miles off, I am brought up to the question—Can I purchase there much like without breaking the moral law? My principles are violated, my heart's jealous conscience, that, as I had nothing directly to do with the robbery, I may innocently buy them; but my conscience, if true to its duty, very intelligibly replies, "Not so."

My eye is next on a bale that has been bleached since it was stolen, and then on one that, in addition to bleaching, has been beautifully printed. Conscience, jealous conscience, says, "Buy them!" But the "still small voice" within will not be silenced; "No! no! no!" is all the answer I can get from it. Until the original owner has had his claim satisfied, all the bleaching, printing, or other change of hands or place of location, it can be submitted to, can never make it other than "stolen goods," and I cannot knowingly or innocently purchase them. The "still small voice" cannot, that has its reward of Peace.

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"I am the same person."

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condemn any party; but it was found that the Whigs are as deeply involved as the Democrats. The real issue among the leaders has been carefully kept from public view; but it will be found, if we will understand before the close of the canvass, and the result is, an overwhelming majority for the Democrats. This pretty effectually silences the 'chivalry;' and those leading politicians who are the regular ticket to carry out these schemes of Southern policy—such as Heydenfolt, Boggs, Randolph, Sanders, &c.—are marked men. Their influence in the party is gone forever, and they may now well tremble at the fate of defeated Whigs, in a hopeless minority. The Democrats will never endorse their schemes. They have learned that the party is stronger without them than with them.

The result is hopeful for freedom. That class of men could wield *great* influence while *in the* Democratic party, but out of it they are harmless; and it has convinced politicians that there is a deep-seated aversion, among the people, to using our noble State as a pillar to Slavery, and that these feverish schemes of Southern fanatics are not sustained by the good sense of the people. I feel that the great majority of our Southern citizens are strongly opposed to these plans. It is a political movement, merely agitating the surface of the political sea. It has no hold upon any large class in the community. I know that I, as a voter, was the last taken, among Southerners alone, whether Slavery should be admitted or not, a large majority would vote against it.

The Southern Rights party is supreme here, and *capital* has to humble itself before it. There is a greater demand for labor than money. Not long since, I was standing by the side of a friend, while viewing the erection of a fine block of brick buildings, and asked him what he was thinking of. "Why," said he, "I am expecting every moment to see those workmen drop their tools, and strike for two dollars per day, advance upon what they have heretofore been paid, and in that case?" "I have made up my mind to give it them before they leave the ground, for I cannot afford to have it delayed two days—the rent will pay the difference." While this state of affairs exists, the 'chivalry' need entertain no hope of establishing Slavery in this State; and the probability is that it will continue for years. Each yearly tide of emigrants is flooding our country with men who will never consent to labor in competition with slaves. BRYANT.

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confidence and admiration of the friends of both.

10. *Resolved*, That all attempts in time past by the most powerful tyrannies to put down the Holy Bible, and to deprive the people of the Bible among the Anglo-Saxon race have proved abortive; and the threats of the slaveholders to renew these attempts to "suppress" them, are impotent madness and folly.

11. *Resolved*, That the slaveholders, and their servile allies—by repeated overthrows of common schools; by a denial of the secret ballot; by the suppression of the right of petition and free speech in the Congress of the United States and elsewhere; by the opening and destruction of letters and papers in the post offices; by illegal search of trunks, houses, and persons; by ducking, whipping, and killing peaceable citizens; by avowals of illegal and murderous purposes in public meetings, by denying citizens of the States the constitutional privileges guaranteed to all, and closing the courts to legal redress by imprisoning and selling into slavery free citizens of the Republic, without crime; by illegally involving us in foreign wars to maintain their supremacy in the National Councils; by opposing through treaty and threats the spread of Republicanism; by treating us off from the sympathies of foreign democracies, and defending despotisms in other lands; by deriding and denying in the Congress and Cabinet of the Union the Declaration of Independence, and bringing self-government into contempt; by passing and carrying into effect unconstitutional and infamous laws; and finally, by the recent Democratic Baltimore platforms, politically denouncing all who venture to murmur against these atrocious acts—have made and are making a determined and consistent stand upon the liberties of this people, altogether unlike the tame, time-serving, the British Crown, against which our fathers in 1776 rose in arms! *Unless the blacks are emancipated, we must become slaves!*

"Cheap labor!" Yes! That we call upon all the non-slaveholders, and all who love liberty more than money, to separate themselves forever from the Whig and Democratic parties—those parties which delude them to ruin—and to join us, the true and "Free Democrats," in vindicating our common liberty, which the slaveholders now threaten to destroy.

13. *Resolved*, That these resolutions be signed by the President and Vice Presidents, Secretaries, and published in the Richmond *Messenger* and Louisville *Journal* and *Democrat*; and that all papers of the State and the Union be requested to copy the same.

CURTIS KNIGHT, *President.*

A. C. McWILLIAMS,
THOMAS TATUM,
JOHN GRAHAM,
R. D. COOK,
PERRY BATES,
CHARLES KING,
SAMUEL WILLIFORD,
JACK. BRYANT,
SILAS E. COOK,

} *Vice Presidents