TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The *National Era* is published every Thursday, on Seventh street, opposite Odd Fellows' Hall.

Single copy - - -	$2	Ten copies - - - -	$15
Three copies - - -	5	Single copy six months	1
Five copies - - -	8	Ten copies six months	8

Daily National Era to the 1st September, $5.

Payment in advance is uniformly required.

Rates of Advertising.—Ten cents a line for the first insertion, five cents a line for each subsequent one.

Money to be forwarded by mail at our risk. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposite. When money is sent, notes on the banks of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, are preferred. New England notes are at less discount than New York State notes, and these less than Western notes.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper or for publication, should be addressed to G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

THE NATIONAL ERA.

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

VOL. VIII. WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1854. NO. 397.

AGENTS.

Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each *new* yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each *renewed* subscriber—*except in the case of clubs.*

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☞ J. A. Innis, Salem, Massachusetts, and G. A. Wall, Worcester, Massachusetts, are authorized agents for the *Era*.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

THE TRIAL OF THE FUGITIVE.

Suggested by the coincidence of the trial of Burns and the celebration of Religious Anniversaries in Boston.

Sat we not in sacred places,
On those festive days?
Woke we not in palace churches,
Songs of joy and praise?
Yet full oft the soul would wander
From its home away;
Thoughts within us stirred, unbidden,
Tears that would not stay.

Who is He, the God we worship,
In this hallowed throng?
Tell us, does Eternal Justice
To His name belong?
Does He truly hate oppression,
Whose followers we are?
We who hail the Almighty Father,
His nature do we share?

He has blessed His fairer children,
Wreathing gifts around;
Say, does He pass by, forgetful,
The lowly and the bound?
Evil angels, do they blind us,
And our souls beguile?
We who in His presence gather,
On us does He smile?

Who dares stir the rabid monster,
In our midst at rest?
All around our homes and hearth-stones,
Coils that shape unblest.
Trailing foully o'er God's altars,
Hangs the loathsome thing;
Hearts of men within them failing,
Turn they shuddering.

Who will face the dragon boldly,
Bid him turn and flee?
Christian hearts, where'er ye cluster,
Souls in Christ made free,
Ye who claim to be God's children,
Of His love partake!
Strength He giveth to His chosen,
To his work awake!

M. A. C.

Chelsea, Massachusetts.

For the National Era.

LEONARD WRAY.

A ROMANCE OF MODERN HISTORY.

By the author of "The Chronicles of the Bastile," "The Embassy," "The Yule Log," "Philip of Lutetia," &c.

CHAP. XIII.

Zachariah Grit acquires Knowledge.

"I have been looking for you with impatience," observed Martin to Zachariah Grit, as he admitted the latter to the den in the *Rue St. Anne.*

"And I've been hunting for you for the last hour," retorted Grit. "Up one street and down another, in courts, and up steps, and through passages, no end of 'em. What with the crooked streets and the crookeder lingo, I couldn't get along no ways pleasant. Darn the parley-woo-in'. But here I am, at last."

They sat down—Martin in the large chair, Grit by his side. A lamp was burning, and the fire, though only smouldering, still gave out sufficient heat to make the temperature of the place tolerable. They had a purpose, evidently; for no words were wasted before they entered upon the business for which they had met, except an observation from Grit, to the effect that he considered it a fortunate circumstance that Martin spoke a civilized language, meaning English.

"I have found it of use," remarked Martin, as he sorted some slips of paper covered with figures, which he placed before Grit. "I am indebted for my knowledge of it to the Englishman who gave me the first idea which led to my grand discovery. Ah, sir, if I had only had money enough to go on, I could have ruined every bank in Paris, or elsewhere."

"Spec'latin' on chances aint noways incouragin'," observed Zach, with a shrewd, keen glance at his companion. "I never know'd much good come of it in the money-makin' line. You see, if you gets a streak o' luck one day, you're e'en a'most sure to try chances for a better the next; but it don't come al'ays. Now, I never had no science. It's all luck with me. When I sees there's a run on a partic'lar number, or on a partic'lar color, I backs it at long odds. Sometimes I wins, but sometimes I gets bit, tarnation hard, too. Yes, sir!"

"I tell you it is to be done," said Martin; "I've proved it over and over again. Look at all those books. They are treatises on the science of numbers, on the theory of probabilities, on the doctrine of the certainty of chances. There is not another collection like it in the world. When I was comparatively a rich man, they were my constant study night and day. On them, and on the experience of thousands of visits to the tables, when gambling houses were permitted by law, I established my theory, and tested its accuracy, only I never could go far enough. But it is to be done, it is to be done. All I want is some one rich enough to back me. I will answer for its success. He spoke with all the earnestness of infatuation, but with a wildness of manner that betrayed a secret remorse, lying deep, deep down in his heart, and then preying on the best and noblest impulses of his nature. He drew his chair close up to the side of Grit, and, passing from paper to paper, explained the principle according to which he had demonstrated, to his own satisfaction, that if carried out to the end, a man, being possessed of a certain sum, might go to the gambling-table and realize in one night an enormous fortune. For the time, his whole soul seemed given up to the elucidation of his grand discovery, so as to bring it down to the level of Grit's understanding. At last he came to an end. "At least a hundred times I have been on the point of realizing my hope," he added; "but just as the prize was in my grasp, it has been snatched from me—all for the want of a little more to stake."

He looked at Zechariah, as if for an expression of assent. "My 'pinion is," exclaimed this worthy, "that money got this yer way never did nobody much good. If it wan't for the excitement, people wouldn't go to the gambling-tables. They begins it for the sensation of the thing a'most, and then they gets dragged into it furder and furder, till there ain't no stopping on 'em, and they can't hold back themselves. Have you got any chil'en?"

Martin's haggard features turned of a ghastly hue. He hesitated a moment, and then stammered out, "Why?"

"Because I pities 'em if you have, that's a fact," answered Grit. "If you haven't, it aint of so much account. Have you?"

Martin gasped out the words, "A daughter."

There was a pause, during which Zachariah turned the papers which Martin had placed in his hands over and over, apparently considering what he should say. At length he broke silence:

"Look here," he said. "Mister, I don't know what other name you've got besides Martin"——

"Call me Martin," replied the other; "I have long since ceased to be known by any other."

"Well, then, Mister Martin," resumed Grit, "I won't have a hand in this yer spec'lation. It don't promise no good for the conscience. When I met you at the gambling-table, I seen you to be one of them desp'rate venturers as Fortune likes to kick. I don't mean to say I'm any better than you, come to draw the line very fine, for gamblin' aint a virtue, fix it how you will; and it aint considered no ways respectable either; that's a fact. But when Fortune kicks some men, they takes it easy. Others falls to a frettin', an' pinin', an' drinkin', and at last they takes some oncomfortable way of gettin' out o' the world that aint pleasant for them to think on who had a hand in makin' 'em go lunattic. Now, that's jes' my case. I'm afeard there's a long score ag'in' my name, in that book my dear old mother used to tell us chil'en of, and which she said was kep' close posted up, by every man's recordin' angel. A good many of the things that's set down ag'in' me I done without considerin'—most on 'em, I may say. But that's cos human natur's radical bad, and mine aint no better than anybody else's. In a general way, I can say I never went cool to do any human critter a damage, and I aint a goin' to begin with you."

"But, my friend—hear me, my friend," exclaimed Martin; "I ask you to render me a service. It is sure, I tell you. Can you not see it is? Are these not the figures?"

"What on airth's the use o' calc'latin' ag'in' facts?" interrupted Grit—"ag'in' the fact that I seen you lose a matter of three or four hundred dollars last night, in the foolishest way ever I know'd a man in his born senses do it; there aint no 'mount o' figgerin', pile it up ever so high, as 'll persuade me you've cotched the right one yet; no, sir."

"But, I tell you it was because I had not enough to go on," repeated Martin. "You saw how I won, and though I lost all I had gained, I should have won it back presently, with three times more at least. It was my game."

Grit shook his head, as he looked around the den, and at a glance took note of its condition.

"Does your daughter know anything?" he asked.

"No! no!" hastily answered Martin. "Not for all the world contains of good and precious, would I have her even suspect the truth. My poor Lisotte! my poor child!"

"It's a bad spec'lation a man's got into," retorted Zach, still moralizing, "when his own chil'en mustn't know what he's after. What would this yer da'ter of yourn say if she knowed?"

Martin shook his head, wrung his hands, and buried his face in them, leaning his elbows on the table.

"I see, I see," murmured Zach. Then ensued a pause, which Zach broke. "Old man," he said, "can't you give this yer consarn the go-by? can't you give it up?"

Martin started, and, as if suddenly inspired with new energy, exclaimed: "What! give up a discovery that has cost me so many years of anxious toil; so much investigation; and that I have demonstrated to be true in principle and sound in practice? That has cost me a fortune, dribbled away? In the pursuit of which, I have been restrained by no considerations of position, family, happiness, health, even salvation? That has been my dream by day, and haunted me like a phantom at night? That has absorbed my intellect, and eaten out my existence? Give it up? Give up that which is now my only hope; to which I cling with the infatuation of, what may seem to you to be, despair, but which is only the infatuation of a conviction that I am right; to the successful application of which I look forward as the sole means of enabling me to restore to my Lisotte the fortune left her by her dying mother? Give it up, now? I can sink no lower. I am lost to society, and even almost to myself, for I feel and know that I am not the same. Give it up? No! It is certain; look you, it is here, here!" and he struck his forehead with his clenched hand. "This conviction alone sustains me in the terrible struggle I am condemned, like one of the damned, to maintain against my better nature, and which is daily, hourly, momently, breaking me up, body and soul. No! I will not give it up. I cannot. I would not if I could, now."

"Well," observed Grit, "there's no 'counting for obstinacy, no ways. You asked me to help you out with your plan, and I can't fix it comfortably to do it. I aint no better than you; but I don't want to feel I'm worse than I used to be. There's this yer difference atween us, howsomever. I gambles cool, and for the 'xcitement of it. If I loses, it aint much odds, for I'm of no account in the world, and aint only got myself to make miserable. You gambles desp'rate. You does it for the sake of the thing. You've got to love it; and if death and damnation stood atwixt you and the table, you'd leap clean through both, rather than be baulked of your chance. Candid: I've tuk a kinder sort of fancy to you, since I seen you a watching our hotel so curious like. That's why I follered you up, to see where you went to. It aint no fault o' mine, if you allers went to a gamblin' house, nor it aint no fault o' yourn as I'm a bit of a gambler, and went in a'ter you. Now I knows you, I'm like to stick by your 'quaintance, and though I don't 'gree with you in the matter of these yer figgers. But I likes to see a man 'bide by his principles and convictions; for I knows he's got the right sort of grit in him. Now, look here. We won't talk no more this spell, about these yer calc'lations. There's been a deal of ink spiled a makin' on 'em, and I shouldn't ha' come 'xactly a purpose to hear what you'd got to say about 'em, if I hadn't a seen you playing bo-peep with Mr. Leonard and Miss Milly. I calls her Milly, for friendship like. Now, I want to know what game you are up to."

"You know them, then?" inquired Martin.

"Pretty considerable," answered Zach.

"They are friends of yours?" asked Martin.

"Well, you may call 'em so. Yes, sir," was the reply.

"Do you know a Monsieur Mark Aveling?"

"Too! And no good of him! Do you?"

Martin nodded his head.

"I would serve your friends," he said, putting his face near to Zach's, and speaking in a half whisper. "Have they received a visit lately from a lawyer, about a mortgage?"

Zach gave a long, low whistle. At the end of it, he mentioned the name of Pelligrini, of whose personal appearance he also gave a description, but by no means flattering.

"He is my employer," said Martin.

"Whip me raw with green hickory, if I didn't think he was next o' kin to old Sam," ejaculated Zach. "Well!"

Martin shook his head, to indicate that he held him in no very high estimation, and presently added:

"Monsieur Wray has accepted Pelligrini's offer. He and Aveling are agreed. There is mischief meant. I do not know what they intend to do, but Pelligrini is a bad man, and, from what I have been able to gather, he is helping on some scheme of Monsieur Aveling's. I was set to watch Monsieur Wray and his sister, in and out, and if they changed lodgings, to follow them up. I am not in the secret, but I know no good is intended to Monsieur Wray."

"If I didn't say so!" exclaimed Grit. "But you won't want to watch 'em no longer now, old fellow," he added, with a sly wink.

"You do not know my master," responded Martin. "He is as sly as a fox, and as remorseless as a tiger. Better let things go on."

"Why shouldn't I warn Mr. Wray?"

"Because it would render him no service now. He is, to all intents and purposes, Pelligrini's debtor; and if he attempted to stir, misfortune will overtake him. The law will be put in force."

"Then I don't see," observed Zach, "how you can serve my friends."

"There is no hurry yet. Matters are not arranged," answered Martin; "but if—if you will aid me in—in forwarding my plans, in promoting my grand discovery, you shall not find me ungrateful. You see," he added, after a pause, "it is a certainty. It can be demonstrated, like a problem in Euclid. It is founded on a principle. The only thing wanting to me is money, money."

He repeated the word several times, in a subdued tone, and with almost painful emphasis. It seemed to be the hinge on which his entire existence hung. In that one idea, all his thoughts, hopes, aspirations, appeared to be centred. He recommenced the exposition of his great discovery, and went through it in minute detail. He heaped up proof upon proof, bringing forward countless slips of paper, covered with the most abstruse calculations and the most complicated diagrams of figures, in black ink and red. Finally, he placed before Zachariah a square sheet of paper, on which the marvellous system he had invented was exhibited in a tabular form, in a series of columns, exhibiting the results of ventures made, and what further ventures would have realized. Nothing—so far as accuracy of calculation went—could possibly be more satisfactory.

"Look," he continued, now thoroughly excited, "look at this column." Here he laid his long, bony fore-finger, which looked like a skeleton's, upon one of the series of calculations. "This is what I was aiming at last night. The stake at this point, you see, was only a hundred and sixty dollars, and I looked to realize five thousand seven hundred and sixty."

"But you lost," ejaculated Zach.

"I knew I *should* lose," answered Martin. "I was proving my theory. I was working up to that point, and knew I must lose till I reached it. I tell you, it is money I want. Here, again, at this point, the stake is sixteen hundred dollars—the certain gain, fifty-seven thousand six hundred. At this point, the stake is at the absurd figure of sixteen dollars; the return assured—mark well—is five hundred and seventy."

"Can't you begin small?" asked Grit, becoming interested.

"Yes, yes; I always commence at low stakes," answered the other. "That is the main feature of my system. But you must go on to a certain point—here it is—in this column. You must make up your mind to lose all you stake, up to this figure; then, you see, the stake becomes heavier; but then the return is large, and suffices to cover previous losses."

"Why not go double, or treble, and quite, straight along?" queried Zach, bringing his own experience to bear on the subject.

"It would be perdition. That is how so many thousands of infatuated, unconsidering men are ruined," answered Martin, in strange but utter obliviousness of his own infatuation. "They double, treble, quadruple, their stake, without knowing that they must lose by the force of the certainty of chances. They play without principle. Now, my system is, never to hazard more than a certain sum, regulated, not by the amount of previous losses, but by a certain standard of returns, which must come in due course and in a given succession, provided you can play long enough. But, to do that, you must have money."

A new light appeared to have broken upon Grit. He had often heard of extraordinary chances at play—nay, had not unfrequently witnessed their occurrence; but it was a novelty in his experience to see gaming reduced to the level of an exact science. His curiosity became excited. He put questions, suggested adverse contingencies, propounded new combinations; but Martin met him at every turn, and answered him on every point, intent only on satisfying the doubts of the inquirer after this dangerous species of knowledge. The investigation led them late into the night, and still Martin's stock of information did not appear to be exhausted. Whatever impression it produced upon Zachariah, however, he did not betray it, beyond appearing to take a deeper interest in the subject.

"Can't say," he observed, "you aint proved it on paper. It's as clear as moonlight. Candid: I tuk you for a cussed old fool, when I seen you put down, seemily a purpose to lose every time. But you've give me a three-year-old wrinkle to-night, and I guess there's pretty considerable reason and science in your foolishness. It gave me the yallers, though, to see you cl'ared out so clean, that's a fact. Now, I didn't go by science, and I picked up jes what you lost."

"Yes; but now you have seen the proofs, will you not join me?" asked Martin, eagerly.

"I'll put my night-cap on't," answered Zach; "leastways all as if, for I don't wear one. I likes to kip my head cool, night and day. Guess you aren't in a bilin' hurry!"

"No! no! Not for a day or two. I will wait patiently," replied Martin. "But you will aid me, will you not?"

"I won't say I will, and I won't say I won't," answered Zach; "if I do, it must be a bargain atween us. I must have my friend served, old boss, mind that, now."

"You shall, you shall," gasped Martin. "I will do anything for you and them, if you will only assist me."

"Well, I don't mind considerin' on it," observed Grit, "so the sooner you give me proof you're in right down airnest, the sooner you're likely to get me to help you out with these yer figgers."

"Never fear, never fear," murmured Martin. "I will let you know when there is any real danger."

Zach rose to depart. Martin stopped him, and asked him a favor. It was only a trifle, would he?

"You'll go yonder again to-night, if I do," said Grit.

"On my word of honor, no!" gasped Martin, holding out his hand.

Zach thrust the money into the extended palm—two gold pieces. Martin clutched them eagerly, with many expressions of thanks, and then Zach went away.

When he was gone, the old man gathered up his papers and put them carefully aside—all save one, which he folded up and thrust into his pocket. He had placed the gold on the table. He looked at it for some time, making calculations mentally, and setting down the results on the inside cover of an old book. He then deposited the two glittering pieces in a worn leathern purse which he took out of a drawer, and heaving a deep sigh, like a groan, glided out of the room, and slunk away out of the house.

And notwithstanding his word of honor, he *did* go "yonder."

"Sure as death," muttered Zach, who had lain in wait for him in a dark doorway. "I knowed he would; but it aint o' no use. He's all too fur gone, now." So he let him pass.

"THE GREYTOWN VICTORY."

Out of a very numerous exchange list, comprising papers of all shades of opinion, we have found but one to defend the bombardment and burning of an unprotected village of straw cottages, by the navy of the United States. Even the Washington *Union* is silent, and damns the outrage by its refusal to speak. It is so much in the habit of lauding all connected with the Administration, from the President to his footman, that we may well imagine it can find no justification for an act which seems to be universally regarded as a disgrace to our arms. If the Administration had attempted to "vindicate the insulted honor of the United States," when the Black Warrior outrage was committed, or if it should see fit to relieve American citizens from dungeons where they are now suffering, it would have met with the approbation of all well-thinking citizens. The Democracy, at least, would stand in justification of a rebuke offered to the flag of the country, or the person of a citizen. We have faithfully tried to find apology for the Executive where national interests have been touched, but in vain; we could not find a shadow of excuse for the Gadsden fraud, and must place the war against women, children, and the property of American citizens at Greytown, among the long list of acts for which the Administration is being justly censured, and for which it will yet experience the merited condemnation of the country.—*N. Y. Nat. Dem.*

BARBECUE ON SENATOR DOUGLAS'S FARM.—The Southern (Miss.) *Journal* gives a description of a barbecue given by Mr. Strickland, the agent and overseer of the plantation of the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, on the Pearl river. There are one hundred and forty adult slaves on the plantation, belonging to the Senator from Illinois, and about forty little darkies greeted the eyes of the editor, rolling about "on the old cabin floors." The feast was of the most abundant and inviting character.

For the National Era.

THE BANDIT BROTHERS.

FROM THE RUSSIAN OF POUSHKIN.

Like ravens in a cloud alighting,
With sombre wings and croaking tones,
Upon a heap of mouldering bones,
A robber band are reuniting
Beyond the Volga, by the light
Of watchfires gleaming through the night.
A mixture strange of garbs and faces,
Of tribes, conditions, tongues, and races!
From cloisters, huts, and dungeon cells,
They're banded in the hope of spoils.
Here, in all hearts, one purpose dwells—
No law to hold them in its toils.

The hardy fugitive is there,
Fled from thy banks, heroic Don;
The Hebrew with his raven hair,
And many a fierce and warlike son
The steppes have borne—the grim Bashkir,
The wild Calmuck, unknown to fear,
The red-haired Finn, the Gipsy rude,
Roving in lazy lassitude.
Danger and blood, debauch and fraud,
A life by justice never awed—
Those are the horrid ties that bind
This band in war against their kind.
Meet in their work to bear a part
Is he who, with a stony heart,
Has passed through every stage of guilt;
Who mocks at helpless orphans' groans,
And finds sweet music in their tones;
By whose unshrinking hand is spilt
The widow's blood; who never spares
Or infant looks or silver hairs;
Who finds in murder joy less fleeting
Than that which crowns the lovers' meeting.

Now all is silent, and the moon
Sheds o'er them its uncertain light;
And oft the wine-cup's sparkling boon
Is sought to cheer the lagging night.
Some, prone upon the dew-damp ground,
Have sunk into a fitful slumber;
While dark, their guilty heads around,
Flit boding phantoms without number.
Others the sullen hours beguiled,
While slowly on the night was wearing,
With barbarous legends, strange and wild,
Recounting deeds of reckless daring.
But now, in willing fascination,
A stranger's voice the rest has bound;
And all in silence gather round,
Attentive to his rude narration.

"We were but two—in infancy
Left to a dreary orphanage.
Fed by a grudging charity,
'Mid strangers passed our tender age.
United in our loneliness,
We little knew of childhood's bliss.
Full oft we suffered pinching want—
Full oft endured the bitter taunt;
And while the cup of life for others
Flowed sparkling from the fount of pleasure,
Distress and anguish without measure
Were poured out to the orphan brothers;
And without hope for future years,
Youth dawned 'mid penury and tears.
Ah! comrades, ye will wonder not
We tired at length of such a lot,
And with strong arm resolved to try
Some more congenial destiny.
With trusty steel and friendly night,
The sole companions of our flight,
We fled, not fearing lest the morrow
Should dawn amid now want and sorrow.
All fears and griefs we cast aside,
And treacherous conscience learned to hide.

"Ah, youth! bold, brave, adventurous youth!
A glorious life we led in sooth,
While, scorning death in many a fray,
The strife we shared by night—by day.
Safe in the forest, shared the prey.
Whene'er the moon, with friendly light,
To guide the traveller on his way,
Shone clear amid the vault of night,
We sallied forth in quest of prey.
In ambuscade we silent wait,
Till lucky chance may bring to view
Some sorry priest or wealthy Jew,
Returning homeward tired and late;
And when into our hands they fell,
Whate'er we find—we seize on all.
In winter oft, at dead of night,
It was for us a wild delight,
With darting sledge and bounding steed,
Across the snowy depth to speed.
We sing and shout—and when we fly,
As arrows through the frosty air,
Our powerful arm who dares defy?
Whene'er a country inn we spy,
By lights which through the darkness flare,
Thither we haste, with joy elate,
And with loud knock assault the gate—
We call the housewife lustily,
And, entering, all to us is free.
We feast, with many a mirthful sally,
And with the buxom maidens dally.

"But, ah! not long the brothers feasted.
The minions of the law soon found us,
And in their loathed fetters bound us;
And while one summer slowly wasted,
The woes of dungeon life we tasted.
Older by five full years was I,
And hardier than my hapless brother—
Shut from the bright and cheerful sky,
The gloom his spirit seemed to smother;
And longing for the forest breeze,
He pined in sorrow and disease.
Drawing with pain his stifled breath,
Wand'ring in thought—his heated head
Upon my shoulder fainting reclining—
Already, at the gates of Death,
To that grim Power whom mortals dread,
His fleeting life he was resigning.
And still, with weak and piteous cry,
He called to me incessantly:
'I choke within these gloomy walls—
O, for the woods and waterfalls!
I die with thirst!'—but all in vain
I gave to him the cooling draught—
Soon, as with burning lips he quaffed,
Tormenting thirst returned again;
While from his face and o'er his breast,
Tortured with feverish unrest,
The beaded sweat ran down like rain;
And the fierce heat that sent his blood
Along the veins, a lava flood,
With crazy fancies fired his brain.

"No longer now my face he knew,
But cried, as I were far away:
'How hast thou vanished from my view,
And whither ta'en thy hidden way?
Why has my brother left me here,
Wrapt in this dank and loathsome gloom,
With reptiles in a living tomb?
He lured me to this mad career,
From peaceful fields and cottage cheer—
Inspired me with his fearless might
Amid the forests wild and drear,
And in the darkness of the night
Taught me to murder!—far from me,
Wide roaming now at liberty,
He wanders in the open fields,
Gaily his ponderous weapon wields;
And in his enviable lot,
His prisoned comrade has forgot!'

"Now kindling fierce within his heart,
The angry fires of conscience wake;
Dire phantoms into being start,
Whose coldly threatening fingers make
His anguished soul with terror shake.
More frequent far than all the rest,
A white-haired form, approaching slow,
Of one we murdered long ago,
Comes back to haunt his tortured breast.
Pressing his hands upon his eyes,
In feeble accents thus he cries:
'Brother, take pity on his tears—
Spare, spare his venerable years—
Release him—he can never harm;
His blood no longer courses warm—
O, then, let not that blood be spilt!
Brother, mock not his silver hairs—
Torment him not—he may, with prayers,
Appease God's anger for our guilt!'

"I listened, struggling with my fears;
I strove to dry the sick man's tears,
And those vain phantoms chase away,
That filled his spirit with dismay.
But still he saw the murdered dead,
From out their forest graves arisen,
In frightful dances throng the prison—
And now he heard their whisperings dread;
Then suddenly the echoing tread
Of armed paymors drawing near:
And while his ear in terror listened,
His starting eye-balls wildly glistened,
And shook his feverish frame with fear.
In fancy now he saw before him,
Amid the public squares, a throng
That moved in solemn march along,
And thus to execution bore him.
He heard the rabble's heartless shout,
He, saw the deadly torturing knout,
With horror fraught, suspended o'er him—
Till, shuddering at the fearful sight,
Upon my breast he swooned with fright.
Long tortured thus both day and night,
No soothing slumber calmed his breast,
And I from watching found no rest.

"But vigorous youth prevailed at last;
New life its influence o'er him shed.
Slowly the fierce distemper passed,
And with it all the phantoms fled—
We both awoke as from the dead!
And then our longing for the woods,
For freedom 'mid the solitudes
Of nature's wild and wide domain,
Came back with quenchless power again.
The gloom of our deep dungeon cell,
The dawning light that, stinted, fell
Through grated windows in the wall,
The clanking chains, the keepers' call,
And, rustling by, the wild bird's wing
Increased our weary languishing.

Sent by our jailers forth one day
For alms—bound in a common chain—
A bold adventure we essay,
Our longed-for freedom to regain.
A river rushes by our side—
Thither we haste, and from the bank
Down plunge into the foaming tide:
Loudly our common fetters clank,
As with strong limb we beat the wave,
In peril of a watery grave.
Afar a sandy isle we view,
And, the swift current cutting through,
We thither tend, pursued by two,
Who call for help, with startling cry:
'Seize them! What, ho! they fly! they fly!'
Then, following, cleave the waters blue.
But soon on land our feet we set,
And with a stone our fetters break—
Tear off piecemeal our garments wet,
And, though the two are in our wake,
Yet, with stout hearts and full of hope,
We wait them on that sandy slope.
Already one, exhausted quite,
Is struggling, sinking in our sight;
With gurgling groan, beneath the wave
He finds, unsought, a watery grave.
The other, passed the deeper tide,
Comes wading on with giant stride,
Bearing his useless gun, and scorning
With haughty look my voice of warning.
But soon two stones with deadly aim
Against his head impetuous came—
His blood flowed mingling with the river;
He faltered, fell—and sank forever.
We plunge into the stream again,
Our foes the hopeless chase give o'er;
Safely the farther bank we gain—
Then to the friendly woods once more!

"But my poor brother! all in vain
For him that shelter we regain.
The struggle with the swollen flood,
The autumn chillness of the air,
Were more than his new strength could bear.
Again the fever fired his blood,
The phantoms filled him with despair.
Three days he spoke but words insane,
And slumber sought his eyes in vain.
The fourth, an awful calmness lowered,
He lay with suffering overpowered—
My name he called, my hand he pressed:
His glazed, unearthly eye expressed
Death's fearful conquering agony:
Trembled his hand, and with a sigh
He fell asleep upon my breast.

"I lingered o'er his pallid clay;
Three nights my vigil near it kept:
I waited for the vital ray
To break the trance in which he lay,
And o'er him bitterly I wept.
At length a lowly grave I made,
Beneath a fir-tree's solemn shade—
Breathed over him a sinful prayer,
And left him in his slumber there.
Then to my former chase—alone!
But those wild, joyful seasons, flown,
Return not at my fervent call.
Our feasts and revellings by day,
The night debauch, the bloody fray—
My brother's grave has closed on all.

A weary life I drag along—
Lone, even amid a boisterous throng.
My cruel heart seems cold and dead,
And pity has forever fled.
But yet my murderous weapon spares
The mute appeal of silver hairs.
The slaughter of defenceless age
Can ne'er this bloody hand engage;
For I remember but too well
How, in that loathsome prison cell,
Pursued by wild delirious fears,
My brother, while in torrents ran
Adown his face the scalding tears,
Besought me for that aged man."

His simple tale the robber ended,
And hung his head in sullen grief.
A stream of burning tears descended,
Bringing his o'ercharged heart relief.
His merry comrades, jeering, said:
"What! weeping? Shame! bid grief be fled.
Why should we call to mind the dead?
We live! Then let us feast and revel,
Nor vex the heart with thoughts of evil.
Let each pledge all in foaming glasses!"
And so anew the wine-cup passes,
And voices that were weary growing,
Now, like the wine, are freely flowing,
Each has his tale of blood to tell;
Each his own weapon praises well.
Uproar and clamor through the night
The startled solitudes affright;
And conscience sleeps, but not for aye—
'Twill wake when comes the evil day.

INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF AMERICANS.

The following are not enumerated in the Declaration of Independence:

To know any trade or business without apprenticeship or experience.

To marry without regard to fortune, state of health, position, or opinion of parents or friends.

To have wife and children dependent on the contingencies of business, and, in case of sudden death, leave them wholly unprovided for.

To put off upon hireling strangers the literary, moral, and religious education of children.

To teach children no good trade, hoping they will have, when grown up, wit enough to live on the industry of other people.

To enjoy the general sympathy when made bankrupt by reckless speculations.

To cheat the Government, if possible.

To hold office without being competent to discharge its duties.

To build houses with nine and six-inch walls, and go to the funerals of tenants, firemen, and others, killed by their fall, weeping over the mysterious dispensations of Providence.

To build up cities and towns without parks, public squares, broad streets, or ventilated blocks, and call pestilence a visitation of God.

To license rum-selling, and deplore the increase of crime.

To hold slaves, and prate of freedom.

To make Franklin Pierce Autocrat of Kansas and Nebraska, and clamor about "popular sovereignty."—*Philadelphia Daily Register.*

For the National Era.

HOLLY-WOOD.

BY ALICE CAREY.

CHAP. III.

A week or more went by, during which a slow, dismal rain kept falling and falling—the late flowers went first, and then the leaves, so that the boughs were mostly black and bare, a few hardy vines only relieving the general sombre aspect of things, when through the busy streets, of a clear, frosty twilight, I took my way to the house of Mary Halstead. It is a melancholy thing to see, in a great city, the coming of winter—so many poor, houseless wretches stare you in the face, in bold importunity for aid—so many maimed and broken-spirited men and women, orphaned of hope, stretch their hands for charity, shivering and shrinking from the pitiless blast—and so many little innocent children, that with baby glee should be making the household merry, follow us with their hungry eyes.

O, how often goes up the bitter cry from before the doors of opulence, and even from the porches of the churches, "My God, I am forsaken!"

The windows of Miss Halstead's house were all illumined by the lights within, and, as I remembered the beauty and position of the mistress of the fine mansion before me, it seemed that her heart should be thankful and grateful; but, after all, how little real happiness has to do with bricks and mortar, with pieces of gold, or with the world's praise or blame. If there be not some one heart whose beats echo back our own—some smile that kindles at ours—some voice that softens if we be near—all the glory of the visible universe fades dim as the dust.

Bright as the laurel is, it cannot shelter the aching brow so well as the humblest cabin roof where love makes its abode.

Mary met me, with a face beaming with joy, and, as she took my hand in hers, whispered that she was come that night to the pleasantest chapter of her life. Mr. Screwhard, who sat playing a psalm tune on the piano, answered, to some remark of mine about the cold night, that there would be no winters in heaven. As he spoke, the cry of a child in the street came painfully to our ears. Hetty put down the purse on which she was knitting, and ran to the door. "Here, dear, give her this," said Mary, handing the girl some money, and without troubling herself to inquire into the nature of the case. "The Lord tempers the wind to the shorn lamb," exclaimed Mr. Screwhard, examining the carved work of the piano. So, and so differently, were different natures moved by a cry of distress.

When Hetty returned, Mr. Screwhard said her face was the face of an angel, coming as she did from a work of charity; and when she blushed and turned aside, he continued:

"I could almost wish myself that poor child in the street, that thou might'st tend and minister unto me."

"O, I didn't do anything," exclaimed the modest girl; "I only brought the child to the fire, and gave him some supper and Mary's money."

"If thy sister hath the gold of this world, thou hast the ruby of wisdom," continued the young man, closing his eyes, as if in happy contemplation of her excellence—the while he dallied with the gold buttons of his wristbands.

And so, for the present, we leave him, and Hetty, too, knitting quietly, and listening to his lightest word as to an oracle. Did he heed that listening so well as the step of Mary, treading past him in silence? We shall see.

The fire was bright, the rich curtains drawn warmly together in the pleasant study of Miss Halstead, when, resuming our seats, the story began, thus:

"A long winter evening was coming in, and only those who have lived in a lonesome old country house know how long such evenings are. The same monotonous round must weary out any life that has no interest in it, nor outside of it, and I confess I had but little. I performed the tasks which fell to me, but with heavy hands. I spoke only when circumstances required it, for no one felt sympathy for me in my cherished dreams, and I cared little to talk of other things. There was no bustle about the preparation of supper, no lights and merry voices about our house at night; all was hushed and gloomy; dinner was served before the night, and we never had supper at all. My father read the Bible when things were most genial; but for the most part he sharpened his razor, wearing a look that was half resignation and half despair.

"Duke generally lay on the floor with the dog, proposing and solving curious problems, such as, how many pounds of meat a man could eat and not burst, and which he would choose if all the good things in the world were set before him, and he could only have one. But his usual conclusions were, that if he were a man, he could eat any amount of meat which he could get, and not burst either; and that if all the good things in the world were set before him, he would choose them all. Sometimes Martha took up Hetty, and for her edification told her that industrious girls got rich, and lazy girls starved to death; that good girls, when they died, went to heaven, and bad girls went to hell; but she never told her how she must be industrious, or what she must do to be good, or avoid doing to avoid punishment. She never kissed or petted the child in any way—never illustrated wrong and right conduct by pretty stories, such as children love to hear, but, having repeated a little parrot talk—a specimen of which I have given—dismissed her to the dark, lonesome garret. A straightforward, hard, uncompromising woman, was Martha, my stepmother. The sun had been down an hour, and cloudy and windy and cheerless the night was setting. We were all there; Duke stretched before the fire, and talking to himself, for he had no listener, on this wise: 'If I was sick, and going to die, and anybody would bring a custard pie and offer me, don't you believe I would get up and eat it? Well, I believe I would; and if it was as big as the sky I wouldn't out it, nor give anybody any of it.'

"Hetty sat quietly in a dark corner, saying nothing, for all her childish glee had been subdued, and Martha sat upright, saying nothing, and doing nothing, and looking at nothing. My father came in and told us the wind had blown down one of his finest orchard trees. 'Well,' answered Martha, 'if it's blown down, let it be blown down—if you were to mourn over it a year, it would not set it up again, and make it bear fruit.' 'I know it,' said my father, and shrinking into the obscurest corner, he mourned for the apple-tree in silence.

"The winds moaned through the woods, the crickets chirruped in the hearth, and the dogs across the hills barked, one to another. I leaned my head on my hand, thinking of my hard fate, and in thought making it harder, if possible, than it was in reality. Charley went in and out restlessly, and looking at me, I thought, as though he would speak. At last I said, 'Well, Charley, what is it?'

"There was a general stir in the household, so unusual was it for any of us to speak in a cheerful manner, as I then did. 'Anything good to eat?' exclaimed Duke, rising from the floor. Martha turned in her chair, Hetty smiled, and my father said, 'What are you talking about, children?' as though we were behaving very badly. Charley came close to me, and said, in a whisper, 'Suppose you get your shawl and bonnet, and we go somewhere.'

"I was soon ready, and we walked out together. For some time we stood irresolute, for the night was cold and the wind high, and we scarcely knew whither to bend our steps. 'To Mr. Richards's?' suggested Charley. I said 'No!' indignantly adding, 'he would not recognise us, perhaps;' and so I related the little circumstance which had so grieved and mortified me.

"'Never mind,' said Charley, 'you are his equal, whether he knows you or not; but suppose we go where we are sure to be welcome;' and without more words we bent our steps toward the cabin of the widow Wilkinson.

"What a pleasant contrast it presented to our own gloomy and cheerless home. A huge fire of hickory logs blazed on the hearth, till all the whitewashed wall and ceiling glowed again. In the two corners of the room farthest from the fire were two beds, piled high with blankets and quilts of Mrs. Wilkinson's own making, and soft with feathers of her own picking. A bureau, table, looking-glass, and chairs, together with some strips of carpet, completed the parlor furniture of the room. The kitchen portion, or that next the fire, was adorned with churn and pails, teakettle, coffee-pot, flour-barrel, etc. The floor was without carpet, and scoured exceedingly white. Bags of dried apples and peaches, pumpkin and beans, hung on pegs near the fire, and on the shelves of the open cupboards glistened the pewter and delf-ware, for Mrs. Wilkinson was as good a housekeeper as she believed herself to be. 'The customary suit of mourning black' hung beside the bureau, together with the widow's best shoes and cap. Everything was scrupulously neat, and the hams which garnished the jamb, and the pots of preserves on the shelves, indicated a thrifty poverty, at least.

"The widow seemed delighted to see us, and exerted her colloquial powers to entertain us, stitching busily all the while, and asserting that she could do twice as much when she had visiters.

"Very freely she canvassed the affairs of the neighbors, not sparing Martha, who she said was as nice a woman as ever was for all she knew, but it seemed to her Mr. Halstead might have married nearer home and fared just as well. True, every one would not have brought into his family a pretty little boy like Doke, nor a bag of money to boast of, but some folks had straight mouths and souls in their bodies, and could cook a morsel of victuals when a man was hungry. Of course, she didn't mean herself—she had never taken off her black, and never would, not to marry the best man in the universe. Nothing disgusted her so much as to see the open machinations of some persons she knew of, to inveigle some men she knew of; and she would say it to the face of Mr. R. or of Miss P., as soon as she would say it to anybody.

"'Don't, mother,' said Lucretia, now and then, by way of restraining her garrulity a little; but she would not be restrained, and gave us the result of all her observations and suspicions with a freedom really amusing.

"She was a free woman, and lived in a free country, and she would go to the house of Mr. R. in spite of the beautiful Miss P., for Mr. R. had said he should be glad to have her come whenever she had leisure or inclination.

"Lucretia brought from the cupboard shelf two ears of corn, one red and the other white, and, shelling off some grains, we amused ourselves with the games of 'Odd and Even,' 'the Twelve Men of Maurice,' and the like. Charley glanced at me now and then, in token of his keen appreciation of the broad drolleries of the widow, but nevertheless the games seemed to entertain him as I had never known them to entertain him till then, and Lucretia's smile was sweeter, and her voice lower and softer, I thought, than previously. When the rooster on the bough at the door crew, for nine o'clock, the widow said she would just clap on the teakettle, that we might have a little sup of something warm to keep off the cold as we went home; for that she once knew a woman, that she had a daughter, that she went out into the night, and caught her death of cold.

"In vain we tried to dissuade her from giving herself useless trouble.

"'Now just mind your own business,' she replied to our entreaties, 'I'll have supper in the crack of a cow's thumb;' and, indeed, it seemed scarcely five minutes till the bright tin teapot was smoking on the table, and the broiled ham, and pretty eggs, and fresh-baked 'sweet cakes,' were all in readiness; and then with what hearty cordiality she urged us to eat; but, indeed, I think, we required little urging, for to our juvenile appetites her excellent viands sufficiently commended themselves. Jests and laughter enlivened the table; absence of all restraint, and the consciousness of being welcome, made me, for the time, quite happy; Charley, too, was sharing my pleasure, and all was obtained with so little effort.

"I did not scorn Lucretia that night because of her simple mind and manners, but said, rather, 'who of us all is much wiser?' What would it avail her to struggle against manifest destiny, or why should she embitter the little she possesses by useless endeavor to obtain that which is beyond her reach?'

"It was nearly midnight when Charley and I set out for home, and so pleasant a walk we had not taken together for a long while, in spite of the intense cold and the darkness. Many times after this, during the winter, we repeated our visit to the widow Wilkinson's.

"Sometimes Lucretia called at our house for a little while, as she went from place to place with the work which her mother had done; and as I saw her more she won upon my love, so quiet and inoffensive was she always. Charley grew more cheerful, and occasionally joined in the farm work, and I sunk into a sort of bitter reconciliation. In my walks to the post office, I now and then met Dr. Roberts, and sometimes he walked with me to the gate of home; and though our acquaintance did not progress toward intimacy, I felt that these casual meetings were a pleasure to him—a much greater one than to me. Now and then Mr. Richards crossed from his farm to ours, and conversed for an hour with my father about agricultural matters, but he seldom came to the house, where, indeed, he had little cause to believe there was any attraction for him, and confined his visits to the orchard and the barn. We exchanged salutations sometimes; but when I could conveniently, I preferred to avoid him. So the winter wore toward the March.

"My father gathered now courage as the spring drew near, and renewed the suspended labors with an energy which for a long time had not been habitual to him. He believed a brighter day was coming for us, he said, and Charley was grown such a comfort, such an assistance to him. Very often of evenings he was gone from home, but I thought little more of his whereabouts than Doke, who usually suggested that he was in search of something good to eat—not that I was so much absorbed in my own affairs, I was only indifferent to everything.

"One bright sunshiny Sabbath morning, early in March, I bent my steps to the woods, for there was not much I could do to vary the monotony of my life. What long days those Sundays were—a week is shorter now! Tired of my own thoughts, for they moved in a little circle, tired of the scene which I had surveyed from childhood, tired of hoping when hope seemed idle, I seated myself on a mossy log in the sunshine, and, throwing down my bonnet on the grass at my feet, surrendered myself to whatever chance thought presented itself. Now indolently watching the great brown humble-bee as he hovered and hummed about some yellow dandelion—now the blue bird twittering in the tree—now the snail, rocking lazily its white shell in the sunshine, and now following across the hills the steps going churchward—old men leading children, young girls wearing their prettiest gowns, and pious mothers with babies in their arms.

"Presently I was attracted by voices near me, and, looking round, saw, a short distance away, Charley and Lucretia gathering early flowers; they did not observe me, and passed deeper into the woods, breaking the silence with laughter. Then came the thought to me, for the first time, that Charley would, perhaps, love the girl; and in the thought I grew very sad—she was so unsuited to be his mate—so little calculated to steady up his faltering courage—then, too, I would be quite forgotten by him—more alone than ever.

"My reverie was broken suddenly. My seat was on the edge of a grove of maples and walnuts, not more than a quarter of a mile from, and in full view of, the main road. Dr. Roberts saw and recognised me as he rode past, and, leaving his horse by the wayside, crossed the meadow and joined me.

"His cheek was pale, and his spirits heavy, for he was not very prosperous in his avocation, and he had, beside, in his heart a secret sorrow. I do not think pity akin to love, as is generally believed, for I sincerely pitied him, and yet my heart beat no faster, nor did my eyes shrink from his, when his trembling hand held mine, and his broken voice said he loved me.

"He is a very good young man, thought I; I am sure of that, and if it is in my power, as he says, to make him happier, ought I not obviously do so, and shall I not, withal, be doing for myself as good a thing as I can hope to do? That I reasoned thus, is evidence that to my mind his feeling found little reciprocity, for true love does not wait for reason—to calculate gain or loss. Nevertheless, he pleased and interested me, and the more I saw him, the more he won my esteem, so that I am persuaded now, that I might have learned to love him, but for the pride and ambition that pushed him aside. True, I had somewhat subdued these—I thought they were quite subject to my will—till came the severe test of placing these forever beyond my reach; for whatever I might hope to do alone, cumbered with care and with a weaker and less resolute soul leaning upon me and weighing me down, how could I hope to climb any eminence above that of wife and mother? I did not think then, as I do now, that there is no eminence above the beautiful one of wifehood and maternity. What pretty pictures the young man drew with the colors of fancy, as we sat together in the March woods! I was half won by their loveliness; and if I did not add to the sunny hues, neither did I dash them with the shadows of despair. What a sweet cottage we would have, and what useful and quiet lives we would lead—the great world, its glitter and hollowness alike forgot, all in all to each other. I smiled at the young man's enthusiasm, and replied, half jest and half earnest, that I would ponder what he had said, and the first Sunday of April I would meet him in the grove again—perhaps have concluded to write my name thereafter, Mary Roberts. I spoke smilingly and lightly, but he took up the words solemnly—repeating, 'Mary Roberts! God grant it,' and kissing the hand he held, reverently, stood silent a moment, and was gone.

"I watched till he was quite lost to view, and then the memory of the words I had spoken came back upon me a troubling weight. Reducing them to their strictest meaning, they meant little, to be sure; nevertheless, they implied a great deal; that fact I could not shift aside.

"Conflicting emotions tormented me, till at last I gave way to a bitter crying, during which I made a thousand contradictory resolves. All the influences of nature about me were soothing—the droning of the bees, the tinkling of the waters along their shallow beds of stones, the tapping of the woodpeckers, and the calls of the blue-birds, the cattle pasturing along the hills, the grass growing green, and the first few flowers. I could not long give way to tears, with the warm sunshine on my cheeks, and a feeling of sorrowful resignation gradually took the place of the subsiding turbulence. Still I lingered, till the smoke curling away from the chimney tops, and the long shadows stretching from the leafless trees, indicated the closing day. To feed my sorrow, as it were, I conjured up sorrowful memories, and amongst them came the death and burial of little Harry. No mother's voice to soothe the last anguish—no soft steps treading fondly near his grave. It was nearly opposite where I sat; I could see the tree beneath which it was made; and, partly to amuse my idleness, and partly because the employment was in keeping with my mood, I began digging the violets which grew against the log on which I sat, with intent to plant them about the child's grave. I soon had my apron full, scentless, except for the earth about the roots, and through the shadow that came after sunset, took my way to the new burial-ground. Mingled with thoughts of the dead child, there were none of the living father, I am sure, as I planted the violets in the sunken mound the woods' flowers.

"The grave was beneath a broad-spreading peach tree, and there were fifty others standing along the ridge between me and Mr. Richards's house, so I felt quite secure from observation. The gray of twilight was tinged with evening, when I had planted the last violets, and, tossing off my hood, knelt to mending the grave with the clods which I picked up in my hands. They were growing stiff and clumsy in the operation, and I held them up, at a loss what to do, when a voice, which startled and thrilled me, said—'This way, Miss Halstead, you will find some water;' and there, sitting on a rude bench beneath one of the orchard trees, was Mr. Richards, as he evidently had been during all my work.

"I did not blush nor stammer, as I excused myself for having trespassed on his more sacred privilege, for I was too profoundly sorrowful to be easily moved, even by the presence and words of the man who from the first had taken strange hold of my imagination; and turning in the direction indicated, I found a grassy basin partly filled with clear rain water. My ablutions finished, I tied on my hood, and was about retracing my steps, when the gentleman joined me, begging leave to conduct me by a more direct route. I thanked him, and we walked along the slope together. As we did so, he pointed out the localities of various alterations and improvements he proposed to make, asking my opinion of his plans, which he said were the growth of very slight experience; and he related some very amusing accounts of the mishaps his want of agricultural knowledge occasioned him. I referred him to Mrs. Wilkinson, as the ablest counsel in affairs of difficulty that I knew of; and, from the serious opening, our conversation flowed into a light and lively vein. Many times he turned aside from the direct path, to point out to me some beauty of the landscape, or some field to which he designed applying a new mode of cultivation, so that it was quite dark when we reached the white house. Miss Pinchum stood on the porch, her arms folded and her brows knit, evidently waiting one of the parties before her.

"'Really, Mr. Richards,' she exclaimed, as we drew near, 'How you do try my patience! Supper waiting!' he asked, and continued: 'Give us the pleasure of drinking tea with you, Miss Halstead, and I will then see you home, if you will allow me.' 'Yes, little girl,' joined Miss Pinchum, 'we shall be glad to have you. You are so lonesome, Harry and I, since the death of our little boy.' 'Miss Pinchum,' responded Mr. Richards, in evident displeasure, 'speak in the singular number, if you please.' And turning to me, renewed cordially his proffer of hospitality. I declined, a little coldly, I think, and, assuring him that I was quite independent of his further services, took my lonesome way home.

"I had been pleased, and the memory of his forgetfulness of me was softened, it may be, by his civilities; but my pride, as great as his, would not suffer me voluntarily to become his guest.

"Charley was not come home—Martha was sick with a head-ache, for the need, she said, of something suited to her appetite. Hetty was worn out with doing nothing, but afraid to peep or move the wing, lest she should bring down on herself her mother's displeasure; and Duke, seated at the top of the uncovered pole, was hallowing for his supper, no indications of which had yet regaled his eyes. In vain he had threatened to swallow the cat, and put an end to his life; in vain threatened to kill Martha's cow. It was not to be moved, and sat placidly with her head on her breast, threaten and bellow as he might. Prepared to endure what she could, she said—they were sufferers together. 'Well Mary,' said my father, 'I am glad you are come; your mother is right sick;' and, leading me to one side, he told me she thought she could eat some tea-biscuits, and if I would make them he would buy me a new dress the first time he went to town. 'I said I would make the biscuits, aside from the promise; but I wish, father,' I said, 'you had never seen that woman!' He looked carefully about him, and, feeling safe, replied in a whisper, 'I wish so too.'

"Other homes are cheerful, thought I; why

may not ours be! For once, I will exert all the power I have. With a strong effort I put down the repellant feeling, and, with more seeming interest than I felt, and laying my hand on her head, said, 'Mother, I am sorry you are sick; a cup of tea will revive you, I hope.' She shook off my hand as though it affected her disagreeably, and answered, that nothing would do her any good, that she was sick.

"'Don't be disheartened,' I continued, though, for myself, I was thoroughly so: and calling Dolse to come with the tea, I sat down the bin cuit-making, singing some pleasant tune the while.

"Happening to look up from my work, I saw my father quietly watching my proceedings. I was at a loss for a solution at first, but soon discovered that Martha was pressing her hands to her forehead, as though to prevent it from breaking.

"'My music disturbs you,' said I, 'pray forgive me.'

"'No, child; sing on, if you like,' she said, 'I shall soon get used to it.' I didn't sing any more, but tried to keep up my flagging courage by talking with Dolse, who stood beside the table, watching my moulding of the biscuits, as intently as the cat watches the mouse. 'How many do you think you shall require, Dolse?' I asked, 'one or two?'

"'One or two bushels you mean,' he replied. 'I wish I just had all you're making—they're such good stuff.'

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"'But all wouldn't do. Martha neither ate nor drank; if she had had the biscuit last week or yesterday, she could have eaten them. So, in spite of my pains, she sat down with the rest, was silent and uncomfortable. Only Dolse was happy—he coon found occasion to unbutton Charley's tight coat, and shortly after threw back his hand, like a chicken, when it gets a mouthful too large to swallow, and breaking off portions of bread, and adding incredible quantities of butter to every mouthful, he continued to eat, and eat, and eat. At last he closed his eyes—eating on the same, and not till the last biscuit disappeared did he leave off; when, tumbling on the sofa, he fell asleep, muttering that he had had almost as much good stuff as he wanted, but that he wished the table was just ready, and he was beginning to sit down, and that he had two biscuits buttered, and was just opening his mouth. So, with the dog for a pillow, he fell asleep.

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"Once or twice in my visits to the post office, I had seen Dr. Roberts, but our intercourse had been limited to a simple exchange of civilities, for I adopted a manner, from the day of our second meeting in the Grove, which effectually kept my chance acquaintanceship, and one, too, which I had no desire to cultivate further. I understood him because I knew I could cast off at will shafts that took a direction from strange perversity, common to human nature, I believe, and not peculiar to mine. I would not see any peculiar meaning in his melancholy and inquiring eyes, and responded to his deeply serious tones with playful and jesting words, of which the meaning was completely neutralized by the manner.

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"To return to the day of Mrs. Wilkinson's visit at Mr. Richards's. It was near the sunset, and I was putting the last stitches in a dress of pink cambric, which I had promised my father had bought me a new gown, in consideration of the tea-biscuit, albeit Martha had not been pacified thereby. I was putting the last stitch, when, looking out, I saw a lady with woman-like vanity thinking how pretty it would look, when the lively salutation of our new neighbor (for the door stood open) arrested my attention. I was, as it rarely happened with me, in a mood to be pleased. My new dress tended, perhaps, to my good humor, and the bright day of spring, also, was new and with new courage. The long limbs of the sweetbrier, pinky with coming blossoms, blew aslant the sunshine, and my face as I turned, and from across the hill I heard the voices of my father and brother, talking as they worked. Smiling something of the happiness I felt, I extended a more cordial greeting to our neighbor than I had ever done before. His usual vivacity was heightened, and in the interchange of small talk we spent a half hour most agreeably. He had dropped in, he said—and his manner indicated that he was in the habit of dropping in every day—to take Mrs. Halstead and myself home with him to tea. His housekeeper was entertaining the widow Wilkinson; and if we would be so obliging as to make him cut-making, singing some pleasant tune the while.

"Happening to look up from my work, I saw my father quietly watching my proceedings. I was at a loss for a solution at first, but soon discovered that Martha was pressing her hands to her forehead, as though to prevent it from breaking.

"'My music disturbs you,' said I, 'pray forgive me.'

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☞ The two following articles appeared in the *Daily National Era* of Saturday the 5th instant:

CLOSE OF THE DAILY NATIONAL ERA.

Supposing Congress would continue in session till the first of September, we announced in our Prospectus that the Daily *Era* would be continued till that time, or longer, should the session be protracted beyond it. Our wise legislators have done better than we expected, and, as they, in effect, adjourned yesterday, we adjourn to-day. With this number closes the *Daily National Era*. Tho names of subscribers will be transferred to the list of the Weekly *Era*, which they will receive till the expiration of December next, and which will be more than an equivalent for the fraction due them for the numbers of the Daily they would have been entitled to, had it been continued till the first of September.

We need hardly say that the undertaking has been a costly one, involving us in a pecuniary loss of between four and five thousand dollars. But we fully counted the cost before we commenced, and have no disposition now to complain. Under the same circumstances, and with the means, we should do the same thing again. Indeed, so deeply are we impressed with the importance of having a Daily Press here, at the seat of Government, to vindicate the alone and protect the interests of Freedom, that, were we a millionaire, we would establish permanently, and maintain at our expense, such a Press, making it complete in all its departments and appointments. In our judgment, it would be a greater, and more beneficent work, than to found a dozen colleges, rivalling Yale or Harvard in reputation and influence.

Meantime, we shall, henceforth, devote ourselves more assiduously to the *Weekly National Era*, hoping, by the increase of its subscription list, to repair in time the losses sustained from the Daily.

DAILY PAPER AT WASHINGTON.

Dr. Bailey announces, to-day, the cessation of the *Daily Era*. This, of course, was to be expected, as, at the commencement, the publication of the Daily was only intended to be continued during the session.

The Daily has fallen far short of defraying its own expenses—much farther short of it, indeed, than was anticipated—and its publication will not probably be resumed next winter, unless there be manifested a will to support it.

The question, then, is, Shall there be a daily paper, devoted to the Liberal Cause, in Washington? There are four political dailies, all of which derive more or less means of support from the Government. All of them are Pro-Slavery—three of them, intensely Pro-Slavery. Whatever else they may be, they are the organs of the Slave Power. That aristocratic power has thus four daily papers devoted to its interests in Washington. Shall not the People—the working masses, the independent thinkers and voters among the professional and business men—have one?

The popular movement now organizing itself over the country for practical resistance to the usurpations and aggressions of the Slave Power, and for the restriction of Slavery to State limits and State legislation, and its final eradication by the constitutional action of the Federal and State Governments within their respective spheres, must have a daily paper at Washington, or it cannot have the efficiency it should.

We throw out these hints for the consideration of the liberal press and the friends of Freedom everywhere, and hope that such an interest will be awakened and manifested that Dr. Bailey may be induced to resume the Daily at the next session.

CUBA.

Those in the interests of Slavery Propagandism are confident in the expectation that Cuba is to be bought or conquered by the Federal Government at no distant day. It is stated by leading Southern journals, that negotiations are now actively going forward between Mr. Soulé and the Spanish Court, with reference to this subject; and it is believed that the Spanish insurrection will further the design, by bringing the Government of Spain into pecuniary embarrassments, demanding a supply of money at any sacrifice. It is expected, also, that in the profound excitement which will attend the necessities of the new Government, in like manner, will constrain it to part with the island of Cuba for "a consideration."

It is true that Mr. Soulé most solemnly declared in the United States Senate, even after he was looking to the Spanish mission, that he would never consent to pay a dollar for the island; that he looked upon its possession as dishonoring to the people of Cuba; and that no terms of acquisition were to be thought of but those of peaceful cession or open revolt. Such was the hollow language of Mr. Soulé, only a short month or two before he received the appointment of Minister to Spain. But it may not be deemed the resolute of a champion of Slavery to eat his words, in order to promote the interests of the institution, he shows great ignorance of the true character of the men and their principles. Slavery requires of its votaries that they must act upon the maxims that "the end justifies the means," and that "no faith is to be kept with heretics;" and the man who would not willingly violate up this standard cannot be regarded as "sound on the Slavery question." The passage of the Nebraska Bill, the repudiation of the Declaration of Independence as "a self-evident lie," and the bold advocacy of a revival of the African slave trade, are cases in point, which serve to illustrate the remark. We have seen the "honorable" men who have filled the "chair" of the South repudiate all the maxims of the fathers of the Constitution, and the compacts into which the North and the South entered, in regard to a division of the territories; and we can never be surprised at any act of perfidy, any amount of falsehood, or any crime, into which the nation may be precipitated, while it is guided by the foul spirit of Slavery Propagandism.

The tameness with which Northern presses and politicians receive the proposition to purchase Cuba, at a cost of from one to three hundred millions of dollars, at the moment when the South would not consent that the British Provinces should come into the Union without the cost to the public treasury, is amazing! It is coolly proposed to buy an Island filled with savage negros, and more savage Spanish masters, all speaking a different language, and professing a different religion from our own, at a cost greater than that of the American Revolution; and the dominoering slave interest, in the same breath, with unparalleled impudence and effrontery, declare eternal hostility to the peaceable annexation of a free, homogeneous people, although it should not cost the Federal Government a dollar. Are we a free Republic, or are we the bond slaves of the three hundred and seventy-five thousand lordly negro driving masters of the South?

Some Northern men, even Anti-Slavery men, have spoken of the acquisition of Cuba as desirable, on the ground that it will bring the Spanish system of Slavery under the humanizing influences of our higher civilization.

This, in our judgment, is a great mistake. With the single exception that a constant stream of barbarism has been pouring into Cuba from the coast of Africa, which has kept down the standard of negro civilization, we regard the condition of that island as far more favorable to the slave than those of our Southern States.

In Cuba, every slave has the privilege of emancipating himself, by paying a price which does not depend upon the selfish exactions of the masters; but it is either a fixed price, or else is fixed in each case by disinterested appraisers. The consequence is that emancipations are constantly going on, and the free people of color are becoming enlightened, cultivated, and wealthy. In no part of the United States do they occupy the high social position which they enjoy in Cuba.

Is it not certain, that in the event of annexation, these humane, legal, and social regulations will be overturned, and that the worst anti spirit which pervades Mississippi and Georgia will be substituted?

But another invincible objection, with ever honorable and humane man, must be the impulse which will be given to the slave trade between our shores and those of Cuba. Is man can pretend, that a traffic in Christian negroes and mahometan Africans, which is that which is carried on from the coast of Africa to Cuba, in ignorant savages. Indeed, provided the latter were legalized, and the native were not encouraged to go to war to make slaves, we are clearly of opinion, that it less criminal than the infamous domestic trade. The latter, equally with the first, disregards all the most sacred and endearing ties of family, of parent and child, and of husband and wife. None but the vilest demagogues in politics, or hypocrites in religion, will deny a fact so notorious; and unless the Christian people of the United States are willing to see a three-fold augmentation of this infamous traffic, they should never listen to the proposition for annexation. The Slave Trade continues there and here in its present form.

Demagogues will pretend that the annexation of Cuba will stop the African slave trade; and in this way they hope to satisfy the consciences of Northern men. But do we notice the champions of Slavery demanding the revival of the African slave trade even for his Continent? And although some Slave Power people a little on this point, because they are that its odium may injure more practicable and pressing schemes, will they not, after inquiring Cuba, demand the continuance of the African slave trade, which already exists, and indispensable? They are endeavoring to acquire the Amazon valley, for the purpose of carrying Slavery to it, and with such a demand, slaves as will follow, it is the height of credulity to believe that the conscience of the ruling class in the South will biggle at the idea of reviving all the horrors of the slave trade, against which the good men of the country and of England have contended for twenty years, and which is now nearly destroyed.

We intend to keep this subject before the slave trade again in a day or two, and we shall show that events are rapidly tending to an open issue in this country upon the policy of its revival. G.

DEATH OF SAMUEL LEWIS.

The telegraph has announced the death of SAMUEL LEWIS, and the intelligence is confirmed by the Cincinnati *Gazette*, which states that he died at his residence, in Green Township, near Cincinnati, on Friday, July 28th, at half past twelve, afternoon.

This news, though not unexpected, will fill many thousand hearts with sadness.

Long known as an earnest and devoted friend of popular education, Mr. Lewis had large claims upon the confidence and gratitude of his fellow-citizens. Woodward College and the Hughes School are substantial monuments of his intelligent zeal in that cause; while the laws of Ohio for the establishment and regulation of common schools, which he was accustomed to call "the People's Colleges," will lead to posterity the impress of his liberal wisdom and humane patriotism.

In 1841, Mr. Lewis took an active part in the organization of the Liberty Party of Ohio, and was ever a true and faithful friend of humanity and freedom. He was deeply pained at the great wrong and evil of Slavery, and this conviction was the primary spring of his political action. He believed slaveholding to be a crime, and all who sustained it by legislation, either directly as law-makers, or indirectly as electors of law-makers, to be partakers in the guilt. He therefore embraced heartily the fundamental idea of the Liberty Party, namely: the divorce of the General Government from Slavery, by repeal of all national laws through which it is upheld, and by such positive legislation as may be needed to effect the object.

In 1846, Mr. Lewis was nominated by the Liberty Party as its candidate for Governor of Ohio, and received a vote beyond its numerical strength. In 1852, he was again nominated as a candidate by the Free Soil Convention, though against his own earnestly expressed remonstrances; and in 1853 he was again prevailed on to allow his name to be proposed for the same office, by the Independent Democracy; and, on the last occasion, received over fifty thousand votes. Every vote contributed so much, in speech and writing, to deepen and strengthen the intelligent and earnest Anti-Slavery sentiment which characterizes the people of Ohio.

As a friend of Temperance, Mr. Lewis was also distinguished. He exposed the cause when its friends were few, and was a wise, zealous, and active friend of it, as long as he lived.

In religion, Mr. Lewis was a devout member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Commencing life as the cabin-boy of a Massachusetts coasting vessel, and passing through various employments until he became a highly respected member of the Cincinnati bar, he was ever distinguished by fidelity to early religious convictions; and when he retired from the bar, after a few years' practice, he became a local preacher of the Church of his childhood, and died in its communion.

We regret that we cannot, in this sketch, do more ample justice to the merits of the eminent citizen whose loss we deplore. But we are obliged to write from general recollection, and have neither time nor materials for that full account which we should be glad to give of so instructive a life. We hope that a proper memoir will be prepared and published, and that in the mean time this brief notice will be accepted as some evidence of our true appreciation of the man, the philanthropist, and the Christian.

VIRGINIA POLITICS.

Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, has written a letter, in which he defines his position on the Nebraska-Kansas bill. Like General Millson, he opposed it on Southern grounds, and particularly with reference to the Badger amendment. Mr. Wise is spoken of as a candidate for Governor, and is particularly anxious not to be misunderstood at the present time. G.

DEATH OF CAPT. VAN BUREN.—We regret to learn, by the most recent advices from Texas, that Captain Van Buren, who was wounded in an encounter with the Indians, has died of his wounds.

OUR RELATIONS WITH SPAIN.

In the Senate, August 1st, a resolution was proposed by Mr. Mason, and adopted, to which the following response was made, *so instantly!* Resolutions, bills, and reports—all things legislative except votes—may be, and probably are, manufactured at the Presidential mansion. Votes, it is by many honest men believed, are often influenced at this corrupt fountain of power.

To the Senate of the United States:

I hasten to respond briefly to the resolution of the Senate of this date, requiring the President to inform the Senate "if, in his opinion, it be not incompatible with the public interest, whether anything has arisen since the date of his message to the House of Representatives of the 15th of March last, concerning our relations with the Government of Spain, which in his opinion may dispense with the suggestions therein contained, touching the property of provisional measures by Congress to meet any exigency that may rise in the recess of Congress affecting our relations with Spain."

In the message to the House of Representatives referred to, I availed myself of the occasion to present the following reflections and suggestions:

"In view of the position of the Island of Cuba, its proximity to our coast, the relations which it bears to our commercial interests and other interests, it is vain to expect that a series of unfriendly acts infringing our commercial rights, and the adoption of a policy tending to lower our national security and place our flag in a position of inferiority, can be long endured, and vindicate the honor of our flag. In anticipation of that contingency, which I earnestly hope may never arise, I suggest to Congress the propriety of adopting such provisional measures as the exigency may occur to demand."

The two Houses of Congress may have anticipated that the hope then expressed would be realized before the period of its adjournment, and that our relations with Spain would be assumed a satisfactory condition, so as to remove past causes of complaint, and afford better security for tranquillity and justice in the future.

I am constrained to say that such is not the fact. The formal demand for immediate reparation in the case of the Black Warrior, and the threat of summary action on the part of Spain by prompt satisfaction, has only served to call forth a justification of the local authorities of Cuba, and to elicit from the Spanish Government a claim to the exercise of the right of visitation for their acts to the Spanish Government itself.

Meanwhile, information not only reliable in its nature, but of an official character, was received, to the effect that preparation was making within the limits of the United States, for a military expedition, to be set on foot, organization, for a descent upon the island of Cuba, with a view to wrest that colony from the dominion of Spain. International comity, the peace of the country, and the express provisions of law, alike required, in my judgment, that all the constitutional power of the Executive should be exerted to prevent the consummation of such a violation of positive law, and of that good faith, on which, mainly, the amicable relations of neighboring nations must depend.

In conformity with these convictions of public duty, a proclamation was issued, to warn all persons not to participate in the contemplated enterprise, and to invoke the interposition in this behalf of the proper officers of the Government. No provocation whatever can justify private expeditions of hostility against a country at peace with the United States. The power to declare war is vested by the Constitution in Congress, and the exercise of any other power would be a return to doubt that the wisdom of this arrangement of constitutional power will continue to be verified whenever the national honor and safety shall demand a resort to ultimate measures of redress.

Pending negotiations by the Executive, and before the action of Congress, individuals, in violation of our laws, commenced the operations of the one and usurp the powers of the other of these depositories of the functions of Government.

I have only to add, that nothing has arisen, since the date of my former message, to dispose with the views therein expressed touching the propriety of provisional measures by Congress. FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Washington, August 1, 1854.

THE COUNTRY INTO WHICH "SLAVERY CANNOT ENTER."

The Weston (Missouri) *Argus* recently contained the following sentiments:

"*Two Hundred Dollars Reward.*—We are informed, by gentlemen from this neighborhood, to offer the above reward for the apprehension and safe delivery into the hands of the Squatters of Kansas Territory, of one Eli Thayer, a leading and ruling spirit among the Abolitionists of New York and New England, recently appointed as a special agent by the murderers of Batchelder, in Boston, to proceed to Kansas, for the purpose of examining that Territory, and making selections of such portions as will be for the settlement of twenty thousand Abolitionists—including, of course, the nullifiers of the Fugitive Slave Law, the rescuers of the slave Shadrach, and the murderers of Batchelder, a U. S. deputy marshal, in the discharge of his duty.

"Said Eli Thayer is a representative of the higher law doctrines, and deputed by the wealthy Abolitionists of New York city, Boston, and other cities, to 'make way' for the Abolition paupers, thieves, and murderers, who have to settle in Kansas, for and in behalf of the worthy employers and colleagues in iniquity of said Thayer.

"Now, therefore, it behooves all good citizens of Kansas Territory, and the State of Missouri, to watch the advent of this agent of Abolitionism; to arrest him and deal with him in such a manner as the enormity of his crimes and iniquities shall seem to merit. Representing all the Abolitionists, he consequently bears all their sins, and the blood of Batchelder is upon his hands, crying aloud for expiation at the hands of the people.

"We would counsel *moderation*, but let him, and Thayer, know that we do not include our confederates? of New England, such evidence, on his person, as will be an admonition ever hereafter for them not to meddle with our peace and tranquillity, and the rights under the Constitution of the country. Watch the movements of Eli Thayer, and give him a warm reception!"

The following, from the Lynchburg (Va.) *Republican*, is a fair sample of the comments of the Southern press upon this subject:

"This is commencing in the right way, and but few any Abolitionists will dare enter the Territory, well knowing as they do the consequences.

"*But for the Ordinance of* 1787, *the whole Northwestern Territory would have been slaveholding.*

"Whilst in the free States population considerable, in the slave States it diffuses itself over a greater space, and is always seeking new outlets. Although the Northern States have received immense accessions to their population by emigration, and the South comparatively little, yet we have diffused our population and our institutions over one-third more territory."

We have information from a credible source, that a proposition has recently been made to the three nations, the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws, to form a State out of the territory occupied by these semi-civilized tribes, admitting them as citizens. This proposal was accompanied by an offer to build them a handsome State Capitol at the expense of the Federal Government, and to bestow certain other advantages. The offer came from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and was sanctioned by the Executive of the Federal Government. The evident design was to form another slave State, as there are large numbers of slaves held by all these tribes. But the proposal was rejected by the Cherokees, for the reason that it would place them upon the same level with the negroes, and far advanced in civilization.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

☞ PERSON Brownlow, of the Knoxville (Tenn.) *Whig*, has hauled the flag of the Hon. John Bell for the Presidency.

From the Worcester Spy.

ILLINOIS.

The Legislature of Illinois, in 1853, passed a law prohibiting any colored man from entering that State, upon pain of being sold at auction, to any one who would pay the most for his services. This outrageous edict, which was passed by the Douglas clique, in utter opposition to the sentiments of the people, is a nullity in the northern part of the State, and, we believe, will hold the balance of power with the exposition of taking out their families in the spring. The exode from the North for the coming years will equal, if not surpass, the emigration to California in 1849 and 1850. In the multitude will be found good men and *free men*, who will give character to the emigration from the West of us."

IOWA POLITICS.

We hear from Iowa, that Bates, the Nebraska-Hunker candidate for Governor, is likely to be defeated; and that, in any event, the anti-Nebraska party will hold the balance of power in the Legislature. It is thought that Governor Hempstead, the Nebraska candidate for Congress in the Dubuque district, will be beaten by Thorington, Anti-Slavery Democrat. In the first district, among the emigrants from the South, the Nebraska candidate, say our letters, will be sure to succeed.

A correspondent writes:

"The Benton ideas is taking strong root in the West. Were we Old Hickory would pull three-fourths of the votes in this country. The Democratic Hospital, at Northern Illinois, Wisconsin, and Northern Iowa."—*N. Y. Eve. Post, Aug. 5.*

"The Baptists number, in Eastern Virginia 44,000 colored members."—*Exchange.*

These figures may be correct. The Baptist denomination of Christians has surely done much good for the African race in many of our States. But, as none of the white people of that denomination live in adultery, would it not be well for them to set up the marriage ceremony? Like success and great enthusiasm attended the gatherings in Iowa and at Rock Island.

THE CASE OF BOOTH, IN WISCONSIN.—Our readers will remember that S. M. Booth, of Milwaukie, was recently arrested for judging in the rescue of a fugitive slave. The case has been in a whole which grew out of his arrest which led to the decision of the Supreme Court of that State that the Fugitive Slave Law was unconstitutional. Immediately after the decision was published, Mr. Booth was again arrested, and, refusing to give the bail, he endeavored to get out of the difficulty by sued out a writ of an Irishman named Calligan. Permission to see her was refused by Calligan, and, on the priest's insisting, he received a severe blow. Some twenty or thirty Irishmen soon assembled, and Malony was badly injured. Twelve arrests were subsequently made.

THE MORMONS.—A treaty has been concluded between Brigham Young and the Pap, Utah, and Pawnee Indians, which provides that on no occasion whatever are Indians to make an attack on Americans or Mormons, and that they will use all their influence to prevent depredations on the property of emigrants or settlers. The weather had been unusually cold.

☞ A citizen of Roxbury, Massachusetts, has brought suit against Mayor Smith, the U. States Marshal, and other officers, for injuries sustained during the condition of Burns. The damages are laid at $20,000.

☞ The Whigs of the sixth Congressional district of Maine have nominated Noah Smith, of Calais, for Congress. He was Speaker of the last House of Representatives of Maine.

☞ Hon. Henry R. Jackson, of Georgia, Minister to Austria, it is said, is on his way home, and intends to resign his office.

☞ E. D. Hurlbut, one of the oldest and most extensive merchants in New York, and president of the Bank of Commerce, died, on a grand nephew of General Washington, died in that city yesterday.

☞ The value of the Shawnee Furnace property, at Columbia, Pennsylvania, destroyed by fire, July 28th, is reported to be $40,000.

TWO WEEKS LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.

LATER FROM GREYTOWN.

The United States mail steamship Star of the West arrived at New York on Monday morning, from San Juan de Nicaragua, with two weeks later intelligence from California. She brings 435 passengers, and $663,875 in gold on freight.

The cities of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Columbia, have again been visited by terribly destructive fires. The aggregate loss is now believed, will exceed $1,200,000—only a portion of which is covered by insurance.

The news from the mines continues to be of an interesting character. Several new workings had been undertaken.

Business of nearly all kinds was dull. The prices of all descriptions of produce were declining.

The Star of the West brings some interesting items of news from Kansas.

The inhabitants of San Juan had returned, and had commenced the work of rebuilding the town. The most influential of its former citizens had left for other places.

The English brig of war Espoigle had arrived at San Juan. She had been despatched by the English Admiral at Jamaica for the rescue of the citizens of San Juan.

Commander Lolley, of her Majesty's schooner Bermuda, has declared Greytown under martial law, and has hoisted the British flag.

The English brig of war Espoigle holds Punta Arenas, and her commander says that it is a part of San Juan, and that he will hold it as such. Strong remonstrances are made between the Governments of Great Britain and the United States.

The greatest excitement prevailed at Kingston, Jamaica, relative to the destruction of Greytown by the Cyane.

It is reported that the English and French Admirals have sent a frigate in pursuit of the Cyane.

A steamer was instantly despatched to Halifax with the intelligence of the bombardment of San Juan.

The English mail steamer Teviot, English brig of war Espoigle, and H. M. schooners Bermuda and Liberty, were at San Juan when the Star of the West left.

The Great Fires in California.—On the 11th of July, the Francisco, Marysville, and Sacramento, state that the city was quiet, although covered with barricades. The Junta, distrusting the Queen's promises, had resolved to hold its own until relieved by the arrival of the arming of the National Guards. O'Donnel was expected with the troops of Gen. Blazer, who had joined him.

The Queen brought Espartero to form a Government.

The barricade fighting continued in Madrid on the 15th and 19th.

Queen Christina, with some of her most obnoxious followers, fled into France, the people demanding her head.

All the chief cities had joined the insurrection. The Carlist guerillas were up in Navarre. Gen. San Miguel had been named Minister.

England.—Parliament had voted the extra war credit of three million sterling.

The mother of Ledru Rollin, the French Republican, is dead, in England.

The Duke of Sutes sloop of war Preble was at Spithead.

Italy.—A revolution broke out in Parma on the 27th instant, and the Duke fled to the Austrian troops. No details were known.

Throughout Italy the state of public feeling was very bad. An insurrection at Modena was said to be contemplated.

The French garrison at Rome was to be reinforced.

Insurrectionary movements appeared at Genoa and Modena, but were suppressed.

France.—The French Government is about to establish a corps of observation on the Pyrenees.

NEW YORK, AUGUST 2.—In the bar-room of the St. Nicholas Hotel, last evening, in the course of some exciting words between a Southern gentleman, named Dr. Graham, and a gentleman recently returned from California, by the name of Lewrie, resort was had to deadly weapons. Lowrie was killed.

The families of both the combatants were inmates of the St. Nicholas Hotel at the time the affray took place.

The steamship Hermann arrived at this port at noon from Bremen, via Southampton. Her news is not as late as that brought by the Canada.

The weather excessively hot day. Thermometer at one o'clock, 96. There is no abatement in the ravages of the cholera.

The steamship Indiana arrived last evening, with Havre dates to the 16th ult.

BALTIMORE, AUG. 2.—Several cases of yellow fever have been taken to the Hospital at Norfolk, brought by a French steamer, whose officers gave a false report of the health of the vessel on their arrival.

Flour here is heavy, and wheat dull. Corn, 65 a 70 cents. Stocks improved. Cotton unchanged.

A severe storm occurred at Buffalo last night. Many vessels were damaged.

BOSTON, AUG. 4.—The Whigs of Boston opposed to the fusion of the Whig party with the Free Soil party, appointed delegates to the Whig State Convention, to meet August 15th.

ST. JOHN'S, N. B., AUG. 2.—During the 24 hours ending August

[REPORTED FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.]

ADDRESS
BEFORE THE
PHI BETA KAPPA OF YALE COLLEGE,
JULY 26, 1854.

BY WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

GENTLEMEN:

A political discourse may seem out of time and out of place at a classic festival and in academic groves. Nevertheless, the office of instructor to a prince brought something more of dignity even to the learning and piety of Fenelon. To study the forces and tendency of a Republic which is not obscure, cannot, therefore, at any time or in any place, be unbecoming an association which regards universal philosophy as the proper guide of human life.

Nations are intelligent, moral persons, existing for the ends of their own happiness and the improvement of mankind. They grow, mature, and decline. Their physical development, being most obvious, always attracts our attention first. Certainly we cannot too well understand the material condition of our own country. "I think," said Burke, sadly, addressing the British House of Commons, just after the American war, "I think I can trace all the calamities of this country to the single source of not having had steadily before our eyes a general, comprehensive, well-connected, and well-proportioned view of the whole of our dominions, and a just sense of their hearings and relations."

Trace on a map the early boundaries of the United States, as they were defined by the treaty of Versailles, in 1783. See with what jealousy Great Britain abridged their enjoyment of the fisheries on the Northeast coast, and how tenaciously she locked up against them the St. Lawrence, the only possible channel between their inland regions and the Atlantic ocean. Observe how Spain, while retaining the vast and varied solitudes which spread out westward from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, at the same time assigned the thirty-first parallel of latitude as the southern boundary of the United States, and thus shut them out from access by that river or otherwise to the Gulf of Mexico. See now how the massive and unpassable Alleghany Mountains traversed the new Republic from north to south, dividing it into two regions—the inner one rich in agricultural resources, but without markets; and the outer one adapted to defence and markets, but wanting the materials for commerce. Were not the Europeans astute in thus confining the United States within limits which would probably render an early separation of them inevitable, and would also prevent equally the whole and each of the future parts from ever becoming a formidable or even a really independent Atlantic Power? They had cause for their jealousies. They were monarchies, and they largely divided the western hemisphere between them. The United States aimed to become a maritime nation, and their success would tend to make that hemisphere not only republican, but also independent of Europe. That success was foreseen. A British statesman, in describing the American Colonies just before the peace, had said to his countrymen: "Your children do not grow faster from infancy to manhood than they spread from families to communities, and from villages to nations."

The United States, thus confined landward, betook themselves at once to the sea, whose broad realm lay unappropriated; and, having furnished themselves with shipping and seamen equal to the adventurous pursuit of the whale fishery under the Poles, they presented themselves in European ports as a maritime people. Afterwards, their well-chosen attitude of neutrality, in a season of general war, enabled them to become carriers for the world. But they never forgot for a moment the importance of improving their position on the coast. France was now the owner of the Province of Louisiana, which stretched all along the western bank of the Mississippi. She wisely sold a possession, which she was unable to defend, to the United States, who thus, only twenty years after the treaty of Versailles, secured the exclusive navigation of the great river; and, descending from their inland frontier, established themselves on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. Spain soon saw that her Colonies on that coast, east of the Mississippi, now virtually surrounded by the United States, were untenable. She therefore, for an equivalent, ceded the Floridas, and retired behind the Sabine; and so the sea coast of the United States was now seen to begin at that river, and passing along the Gulf and around the Peninsula, and beyond the Capes, to terminate at the St. Croix, in the Bay of Fundy.

The course of the European war showed that Spain was exhausted. Nearly all her American Colonies, inspired by the example of the United States, and sustained by their sympathy, struck for independence, established Republican systems, and entered into treaties of amity and commerce with the Republic of the North.

But the United States yet needed a northern passage from their western valleys to the Atlantic ocean. The new channel to be opened must necessarily have connections, natural or artificial, with the inland rivers and lakes. An internal trade ramifying the country was a necessary basis for commerce, and it would constitute the firmest possible national union. Practically, there was in the country neither a canal to serve for a model, nor an engineer competent to project one. The railroad invention had not yet been perfected in Europe, nor even conceived in the United States. The Federal Government alone had adequate resources, but, after long consideration and some unprofitable experiments, it not only disavowed the policy, but also disclaimed the power of making internal improvements. Private capital was unavailable for great national enterprises. The States were not convinced of the wisdom of undertaking singly works within their own borders which would be wholly or in part useless, unless extended beyond them by other States, and which, even although they should be useful to themselves, would be equally or more beneficial to States which refused or neglected to join in their construction. Moreover, the only source of revenue in the States was direct taxation—always unreliable in a popular Government—and they had no established credits, at home or abroad. Nevertheless, the people comprehended the exigency, and their will opened a way through all these embarrassments. The State of New York began, and she has hitherto, although sometimes faltering, prosecuted this great enterprise with unsurpassed fidelity. The other States, according to their respective abilities and convictions of interest and duty, have co-operated. By canals we have extended the navigation of Chesapeake bay to the coal-fields of Maryland at Cumberland, and also by the way of Columbia to the coal-fields of Pennsylvania. By canals, also, we have united Chesapeake bay with the Delaware river, and have, with alternating railroads, connected that river with the Ohio river and with Lake Erie. By canals we have opened a navigation between Philadelphia and New York, mingling the waters of the Delaware with those of the Raritan. By canals we have given access from two several ports on the Hudson to two different coal-fields in Pennsylvania. By canals we have also extended the navigation of the Hudson, through Lake Champlain and its outlet, to the St. Lawrence near Montreal. We are just opening a channel from the Hudson to Lake Ontario, to Cape Vincent, near its eastern termination, while we long since opened one from the same river to a central harbor on that lake at Oswego. A corresponding improvement, made by the Canadian authorities on the opposite shore, prolongs our navigation from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. We have also connected the Hudson river with the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, through the valley of the Chenango, and again with its western tributaries through the Seneca Lake. We are also uniting the Hudson with the Alleghany, a tributary of the Mississippi, through the valley of the Genesee. One long trunk of canal receives the trade gathered by most of these tributary channels, while it directly unites the Hudson with Lake Erie at Buffalo. The shores of that great lake are the basis of a second part of the same system. Canals connect the Alleghany, in the State of Pennsylvania, with Lake Erie at Erie; the Ohio river, at Portage and at Cincinnati, with Lake Erie, at Cleveland and at Toledo; and again the Ohio river, in the State of Indiana, with Lake Erie, through the valley of the Wabash. Lake Superior, hitherto secluded from even internal commerce, is now being connected with the other great lakes by the canal of the Falls of St. Mary; and, to complete the whole, the Illinois canal unites the lakes and all the extensive system I have described, with the Mississippi. Thus, by substituting works purely artificial, we have not only dispensed with the navigation of the St. Lawrence, but have also opened a complete circuit of inland navigation and traffic between New Orleans, on the Gulf, and New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, on the Atlantic. The aggregate length of these canals is five thousand miles, and that of the inland coasts thus washed by natural and artificial channels exceeds twenty thousand miles.

Railroads constitute an auxiliary system of improvements, at once more complex and more comprehensive. By railroads we have connected, or are in the act of connecting, together all the principal seaports on the Atlantic coast and on the coasts of the Gulf of Mexico, namely: Portland, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Mobile, and New Orleans. Again—railroads from each or most of these ports proceed inland through important towns, to great depots on the St. Lawrence, the Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi, namely: Quebec, Montreal, Ogdensburgh, Oswego, Rochester, Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Sandusky, Toledo, Monroe, Detroit, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Cairo, and Memphis. Again—there are tributaries which search out agricultural and mineral productions and fabrics, accumulated at less notable points; and so a complete system is perfected, which leaves no inhabited region unexplored, while it has for its base the long line of seaboard. The aggregate length of these railroads is sixteen thousand miles, and the total cost is six hundred millions of dollars.

Immediately after the purchase of Louisiana, President Jefferson having conceived the idea of a national establishment on the Pacific coast, an exploration of the intervening wastes was made. An American navigator about the same time visited the coast itself, and thus laid the foundation of a title by discovery. A commercial settlement, afterwards planted on the Columbia river by the late John Jacob Astor, perished in the war of 1812. Ten years ago, the great thought of Pacific colonization revived, under the influences of the commercial activity resulting from the successful progress of the system of Internal Improvements. Oregon was settled. Two years afterwards, its boundaries were defined, and it was politically organized; and now it constitutes two prosperous Territories.

The social, military, and ecclesiastical, institutions of Mexico, proved unfavorable to an immediate success of the Republican system. Revolution became a chronic disease there. Texas separated, and practically became independent, although Mexico refused to recognise her separation. After some years, Texas was admitted as a State into our Federal Union. A war which ensued, resulted not only in the relinquishment of Mexican claims upon Texas, but in the extension of her coast frontier to the Rio Grande, and also in the annexation of New Mexico and Upper California to the United States.

Thus, in sixty-five years after the peace of Versailles, the United States advanced from the Mississippi, and occupied a line stretching through eighteen degrees of latitude on the Pacific coast, overlooking the Sandwich Islands and Japan, and confronting China, (the Cathay for which Columbus was in search when he encountered the bewildering vision of San Domingo.) The new possession was divided into two Territories and the State of California. The simultaneous discovery of native gold in the sands and rocks of that State resulted in the instantaneous establishment of an active commerce, not only with our Atlantic cities, but also with the ports of South America and with the maritime countries of Europe, with the Sandwich Islands, and even with China. Thus the United States ceased to be a mere Atlantic Nation, and assumed the attitude of a great Continental Power, enjoying ocean navigation on either side, and hearing equal and similar relations to the eastern and to the western coast of the Old World. The natural connections between the Atlantic and the Pacific regions are yet incomplete; but the same spirit which has brought them into political union is at work still, and no matter what the Government may do or may leave undone, the necessary routes of commerce, altogether within and across our own domain, will be established.

The number of States has increased since this aggrandizement began, from seventeen to thirty-one; the population from five millions to twenty-four millions; the tonnage employed in commerce from one million to four and a half millions; and the National revenue from ten millions to sixty millions of dollars. Within that period, Spain has retired altogether from the Continent, and two considerable islands in the Antilles are all that remain of the New World, which, hardly four centuries ago, the generous and pious Genoese navigator, under the patronage of Isabella, gave to the Kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Great Britain tenders us now the freedom of the fisheries and of the St. Lawrence, on conditions of favor to the commerce of her Colonies, and even deliberates on the policy of releasing them from their allegiance. The influences of the United States on the American continent have resulted already in the establishment of the Republican system everywhere, except in Brazil, and even there, in limiting Imperial power. In Europe, they have awakened a war of opinion, that, after spreading desolation into the steppes of Russia, and to the base of the Carpathian Mountains, has only been suppressed for a time by combination of the capital and of the political forces of that continent. In Africa, those influences, aided by the benevolent efforts of our citizens, have produced the establishment of a Republic, which, beginning with the abolition of the traffic in slaves, is going steadily on towards the moral regeneration of its savage races. In the Sandwich Islands, those influences have already effected, not only such a regeneration of the natives, but also a political organization, which is bringing that important commercial station directly under our protection. Those influences have opened the ports of Japan, and secured an intercourse of commerce and friendship with its extraordinary people—numbering forty millions—thus overcoming a policy of isolation which they had practiced for the period of an hundred and fifty years. The same influences have not only procured for us access to the five principal ports of China, but have also generated a revolution there, which promises to bring the three hundred millions living within that vast empire into the society of the western nations.

How magnificent is the scene which the rising curtain discloses to us here! and how sublime the pacific part assigned to us!

"The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends,
And Empire rises where the sun descends."

But, restraining the imagination from its desire to follow the influences of the United States in their future progress through the Manillas, and along the Indian coast, and beyond the Persian Gulf, to the far-off Mozambique, let us dwell for a moment on the visible results of the national aggrandizement at home. Wealth has everywhere increased, and has been equalized with much success in all the States, new as well as old. Industry has been persevering in opening newly discovered resources, and bringing forth their treasures, as well as in the establishment of the productive arts. The Capitol, which at first seemed too pretentious, is extending itself northward and southward upon its noble terrace, to receive the representatives of now in-coming States. The departments of Executive administration continually expand under their lofty arches and behind their lengthening colonnades. The Federal city, so recently ridiculed for its ambitious solitudes, is extending its broad avenues in all directions, and, under the hands of native artists, is taking on the graces, as well as the fullness, of a capital. Where else will you find authority so august as in a Council composed of the Representatives of thirty States, attended by ambassadors from every free city, every republic, and every court, in the civilized world? In near proximity and in intimate connection with that capital, a metropolis has arisen, which gathers, by the agency of canals, of railroads, and of coastwise navigation, the products of industry in every form throughout the North American States, as well those under foreign jurisdiction as those which constitute the Union, and distributes them in exchange over the globe; a city whose wealth and credit supply or procure the capital employed in all the great financial movements within the Republic, and whose press, in all its departments of science, literature, religion, philanthropy, and politics, is a national one. Thus expansion and aggrandizement, whose natural tendency is to produce debility and dissolution, have operated here to create, what before was wanting, a social, political, and commercial centre.

In considering the causes of this material growth, allowance must be made liberally for great advantages of space, climate, and resources, as well as for the weakness of outward resistance, for the vices of foreign Governments, and for the disturbed and painful condition of society under them—causes which have created and sustained a tide of emigration towards the United States, unparalleled, at least, in modern times. But when all this allowance shall have been made, we shall still find that the phenomenon is chiefly due to the operation here of some great ideas, either unknown before, or not before rendered so effective. These ideas are, first, the equality of men in a State, that is to say, the equality of men constituting a State; secondly, the equality of States in combination, or, in other words, the equality of States constituting a nation. By the Constitution of every State in the American Union, each citizen is guarantied his natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and he, at the same time, is guarantied a share of the sovereign power, equal to that which can be assumed by any other citizen. This is the equality of men in the State. By the Constitution of the United States, there are no subjects. Every citizen of any one State is a free and equal citizen of the United States. Again, by the Constitution of the United States, there are no provinces, no dependencies. The Union is constituted by States, and all of them stand upon the same level of political rights.

The reduction of the two abstractions which I have mentioned into the concrete, in the Constitutions of the United States, was, like most other inventions, mainly due to accident. There were thirteen several States, in each of which, owing to fortunate circumstances attending their original colonization, each citizen was not only free, but also practically equal in his exercise of political power to every other citizen of that State. The freedom and equality of the citizen, and the inalienability of his natural rights, was solemnly reaffirmed in the Declaration of Independence. These thirteen States were severally free and independent of each other. They therefore were equal States. Each was a sovereign. They needed free and mutual commerce among themselves, and some regulation securing to each equal facilities of commerce with foreign countries. A union was necessary to the attainment of these ends. But the citizens of each State were unwilling to surrender either their natural and inalienable rights, *or the guardianship* of them, to a common Government over them all, even to attain the union which they needed so much. So a Federal Central Government was established, which was sovereign only in commerce, at home and abroad, and in the communications with other nations; that is to say, sovereign only in regard to the mutual internal relations of the States themselves, and in regard to foreign affairs. In this Government, the States were practically equal constituents, although that equality was modified by some limitations found necessary to secure the assent of some of the States. The States were not dissolved, nor disorganized, but they remained really States, just as before, existing independently of each other and of the Union, and exercising sovereignty in all the municipal departments of society. The citizen of each State also retained all his natural rights equally in the Union and in the State to which he belonged, and the United States were constituted by the whole mass of such citizens throughout all the several States. There was an unoccupied common domain, which the several States surrendered to the Federal authorities, to the end that it might be settled, colonized, and divided into other States, to be organized and to become members of the Union on an equal footing with the original States. When additions to this domain were made from foreign countries, the same principles seemed to be the only ones upon which the Government could be extended over them; and so, with some qualifications unimportant on the present occasion, they became universal in their application.

No other nation, pursuing a career of aggrandizement, has adopted the great ideas thus developed in the United States. The Macedonian conquered kingdoms for the mere gratification of conquest, and they threw off the sway he established over them as soon as the sword dropped from his hand. The Roman conquered, because the alien was a barbarian rival and enemy, and because Rome must fill the world alone. The empire, thus extended, fell under the blows of enemies, subjugated but not subdued, as soon as the central power had lost its vigor. The Ottoman, although he conquered with the sword, conciliated the subjected tribes by admitting them to the rites of a new and attractive religion. The religion, however, was of this world, and sensual, and therefore it debased its votaries. France attempted to conquer Europe in retaliation for wrongs committed against herself; but the bow broke in her hands, just as it was bent to discharge the last shaft. Spain has planted many Colonies and conquered many States, but the Castilian was proud and haughty; he enslaved the native and oppressed the creole. The Czar wins his way amid kindred races, as a parent, extending protection in the enjoyment of a common religion. But the paternal relation in politics is a fiction of despotism, which extinguishes all individual energy and all social ambition. Great Britain has been distinguished from all these vulgar conquerors. She is a civilizer and a missionary. She has planted many Colonies in the West, and conquered many and vast countries in the East, and has carried English laws and the English language around the world. But Great Britain at home is an aristocracy. Her Colonies can neither be equal to her, nor yet independent. Her subjects in those countries may be free, but they cannot be Britons. Consequently, her dependencies are always discontented, and insomuch as they are possessed or swayed by freemen, they are only retained in their connection with the British throne by the presence of military and naval force. You identify an American State or Colony by the absence of the Federal power. Everywhere, on the contrary, you identify a British Colony, whether in British America, or on the Pacific coast, or on its islands, or in Bombay, or in India, or at St. Helena, or at Gibraltar, or on the Ionian isles, by the music of the imperial drum-beat and the frown of royal battlements. Great Britain always inspires fear, and often commands respect, but she has no friends in the wide family of nations. So it has happened, that heretofore nations have either repelled, or exhausted, or disgusted the Colonies they planted and the countries they conquered.

The United States, on the contrary, expand by force, not of arms, but of attraction. The native colonist no sooner reaches a new and distant home, whether in a cleft of the Rocky Mountains or on the seashore, than he proceeds to found a State, in which his natural and inviolate rights shall be secure, and which shall become an equal member of the Federal Union, enjoying its protection, and sharing its growing greatness and renown. Adjacent States, though of foreign habits, religion, and descent, especially if they are defenceless, look with favor upon the approach of a power that will leave them in full enjoyment of the rights of nature, and, at the same time that it may absorb them, will spare their corporate existence and individuality. The attraction increases as commerce widens the circle of the national influence.

If these positions seem to require modification at all, the very modifications will, nevertheless, serve to illustrate and sustain the general principles involved. The people of Mexico resist annexation because they fear it would result in their being outnumbered by Americans, and so lead to the restoration of African slavery, which they have abolished. The natives of the Sandwich Islands take alarm lest by annexation they may themselves be reduced to slavery. The people of the Canadas hesitate because they disapprove the modifications of the principles of equality of men and of equality of States in favor of slaveholding States, which were admitted in the Federal Constitution.

What is the moral to be drawn from the physical progress of the United States? It is, that the strongest bonds of cohesion in society are commerce and gratitude for protected freedom.

While the majestic progress of the United States is no longer denied as a fact, it is, nevertheless, too generally regarded as purely accidental, and likely to cease through a want of corresponding intelligence and virtue. The principle assumed in this reasoning is just. A nation deficient in intelligence and virtue is an ignoble one, and no ignoble race can retain an enlarged empire. But examination will show that the facts assumed are altogether erroneous. In order to prove that we are deficient in intelligence, the monuments of ancient and modern nations, all of whom have either completed their courses or passed the middle point, are arrayed before us, and we are challenged to exhibit similar monuments of equal merit on the part of the United States; as if time was not an essential condition of achievement, and as if, also, circumstances exerted no influence in directing the activity of nations. It is true that we can show no campaigns equal to those of Cæsar, or of Frederick, or of Napoleon; and no inspirations of the divine art equal to the Iliad, or the Eneid, or the Inferno, or the dramas of Shakspeare. But it is equally true, that neither Greece, nor Rome, nor France, nor England, has erected a tower as high as Babel, or a mausoleum so massive as the grand Pyramid.

Reasoning *a priori*, it is manifest, that insomuch as the physical progress of the United States has been unprecedented while it has followed a method, and insomuch as this progress has been conducted with magnanimity through many temptations and embarrassments, it is of itself no unworthy monument of national intelligence.

The Constitutions (of the States and of the Union) are confessedly unsurpassed. Grant, as is true, that all the great political ideas which are embodied in them, were before known; grant, moreover, that a favorable conjuncture for reducing those abstractions to the concrete had come; grant, also, that favorable conditions of nature and human society concurred—nevertheless, even then was ever higher genius, or greater talent, displayed, in conducting the affairs of men, than were exercised first in framing the many peculiar and delicate parts of that system of Government, with proportions so accurate that each might bear the very tension and pressure to which it was to be exposed, and then in bringing all those parts together, and forging them into one great machine with such wonderful skill, that at the very first touch of the propelling popular spring, it went at once into full and perfect operation, and has continued its movements for seventy years, in prosperity as well as in adversity, amid the factions generated by a long peace, and the disturbances of war—not only without interruption or irregularity, but even without a jar. Consider the sagacity of the People that, amid the clouds of jealousy and the storms of passion, raised by heated partisans, deliberately examined, and resolutely adopted, that wonderful yet untried mechanism, so contrived for their use, and decided that it should not merely have a trial, but should stand forever, the only Government of themselves and of their posterity. Consider, that not only was this vast engine set in motion by the voluntary act of the People, but it has also been kept in motion by their own perpetually renewed consent and direct activity; and that, although like every other combination of forces, it has its dead points, yet it passes through them with perfect regularity, and without even any sensible diminution of motion, owing to the watchful performance by the People, at critical moments, of the functions devolved upon them. Consider how many and various are the human wills, which meet and concur every time a fresh impulse is given to the great mechanism. A majority of the States, neglecting or refusing to act on any such occasion, could bring the Government to a dead stand. Consider that the People not only interfere on such critical occasions, but also that they are continually supplying the necessary force to sustain the movements of the subordinate parts of the machine.

There are two and a half millions of electors, and every one of these is charged with the performance, for the most part annually, with four several classes of functions, in as many distinct spheres. Once, generally, in each year, the electors choose a mayor or supervisor, aldermen or trustees, or select men, justices of the peace, police officers, clerks, assessors of taxes, commissioners of public charities, commissioners of streets, roads, and bridges, and subalterns, or other officers of the militia, in their respective cities, towns, or other forms of municipalities. Again—the electors, generally, once in each year, choose officers nearly as numerous, and of a higher grade, to execute judicial, ministerial, and fiscal powers, of a similar nature, within the counties, which embrace several cities, towns, and municipalities. Again—they elect Governors, Lieutenant Governors, Senators and Representatives, Judges, Treasurers, Ministers of Finance, of Education, of Public Works, and of Charities, in the States constituted by such counties—States sovereign in all things, except the few departments they have voluntarily assigned to the Federal Union. Once more—the citizens choose, once in two years, Representatives, and once in three years, Senators, who exercise the legislative powers of the Republic; and once in four years, the Vice President and President of the United States, its Chief Executive Magistrates. The peace, order, prosperity, and happiness, and even the safety of society, rest manifestly on the soundness of judgment with which these many and various electoral trusts are discharged. Reflect now, for a moment, on the perturbations of society, the devices and combinations of parties, and the appliances of corruption, to which the electoral body is at all times exposed. Could these functions be performed with results so generally auspicious, if the People of the United States did not, as a mass, excel other nations in intelligence, as much as in the good fortune of inheriting such extraordinary institutions?

Look at the operation of this system in yet another aspect. Not only the Constitutions of the several States, but even the Constitution of the Union, stands only by the voluntary consent of the People. By physical force, which there is no Government force to suppress, they could subvert any or all of these Constitutions. Even without force, and acting only by agreement, but in conformity to certain established conditions, they can change or subvert all these Constitutions. There is indeed no restraining power acting upon them, from within or from without. Practically, they do change the Constitutions of the several States once in twenty years. Yet they work such changes generally without commotion, and they have never made one without replacing the Constitution removed by a better one. A few of the States inherited the jurisprudence of the civil law, and all the others the common and statute laws of England. Does any one deny that they have sagaciously retained all the parts of those excellent codes which were essential to order and civil liberty, and have modified others only so far as was required by the changing circumstances of society and the ever-improving sentiments of justice and humanity? Let our logical amendments of the rules of evidence, and our simple process of pleading and practice in courts of justice, our meliorations of imprisonment for debt, and of eleemosynary laws, and of penitentiary systems, indicate the intellectual vigor and wisdom of the American People.

Modern invention, until the close of the last century, was chiefly employed in discovering new laws of nature, and in shaping those discoveries into the forms of theories and maxims. Thus far, in the present century, Invention has employed itself in applying those theories and maxims, by various devices of mechanism, or otherwise, to practical use. In Europe, those devices are chiefly such as regard æsthetic effect. In America, on the other hand, those devices are such as have for their object the increase of power. Required to subdue nature through a broad range quickly, and to bring forth her various resources with haste, and yet having numbers inadequate and capital quite unequal to such labors, the American studies chiefly economy and efficiency. He has examined every instrument, and engine, and combination, and composition, received from his elder transatlantic brother, in the light of those objects, and has either improved it, or devised a new and better one. He aims at doing the most that is possible as quickly as possible; and this characteristic is manifested equally in his weapons of war and his instruments of peace, whether they are to be used in the field, or in the workshop, or on the sea—the fire-arm, the axe, the plough, the railroad, the clipper ship, the steam engine, and the printing press. His railroads cost less and are less perfect than those in other countries, but he builds ten miles where they have only three. He moves passengers and freights on such roads and in his ships with less safety, but with greater cheapness and velocity. He prepares his newspapers, his magazines, and his treatises, with less care, but he prints an hundred for one. If the European has failed to give him a necessary principle, or to embody it in a practical machine, he finds out the one, or constructs the other promptly for himself. He wanted machines for working up his forests, and he invented the saw-gang, and the grooving and planing machines; for cleaning his cotton, and he invented the gin; for harvesting his wheat, and he invented the reaper. He needed mechanical force to navigate his long rivers and broad lakes, and he converted the steam engine into a marine power. He needed despatch in communicating intelligence, and he placed his lightning-rod horizontally, and beating it into a wire, converted it into a writing telegraph.

Fifty years ago, there was no American Science and no American Literature. Now, there is an American tenancy in every intellectual department, and none acknowledge its presence and usefulness more freely than those whose fame has least to fear from competition.

It seems to me that this intellectual development of the United States is due chiefly to the adoption of the great idea of universal emulation. Our Constitutions and laws open every department of human enterprise and ambition to all citizens, without respect to birth, or class, or condition, and steadily though cautiously exert a power quite effective in preventing any accidental social inequality from becoming fixed and permanent.

There still remains the question, whether the moral development is co-ordinate with those of physical power and mind in the United States. A Republic may be safe, even though it be weak, and though it be in a considerable degree intellectually inactive, as is seen in Switzerland; but a Republic cannot exist without virtue.

It will not suffice to examine the question through the lens of traditional prejudice. In all nations, a kind of reverence is paid to antiquity. There is no one that does not trace its lineage from the gods, or from those who were especially favored by gods. Every people has had its age of gold, or Augustan age, or heroic age—an age, alas! forever passed. These prejudices are not altogether unwholesome. Although they produce a conviction of declining virtue, which is unfavorable to generous emulation, yet a People at once ignorant and irreverential would necessarily become licentious. Nevertheless, such prejudices ought to be modified. It is not true, that in the period of a nation's rise from disorder to refinement, it is not able to continually surpass itself. We see the present plainly, distinctly, with all its coarse outlines, its rough inequalities, its dark blots, and its glaring deformities. We hear all its tumultuous sounds and jarring discords. We see and hear the past, through a distance which reduces all its inequalities to a plane, mellows all its shades into a pleasing hue, and subdues even its hoarsest voices into harmony. In our own case, the prejudice is less erroneous than in most others. The Revolutionary age was truly a heroic one. Its exigencies called forth the genius and the talents and the virtues of society, and they ripened amid the hardships of a long and severe trial. But there were selfishness, and vice, and factions, then, as now, although comparatively subdued and repressed. You have only to consult impartial history, to learn that neither public faith, nor public loyalty, nor private virtue, culminated at that period in our own country,* while a mere glance at the literature, or at the stage, or at the politics, of any European country, in any previous age, reveals the fact that it was marked, more distinctly than the present, by licentious morals and mean ambition.

Reasoning *a priori* again, as we did in another case, it is only just to infer in favor of the United States an improvement of morals from their established progress in knowledge and power; otherwise, the philosophy of society is misunderstood, and we must change all our courses, and henceforth seek safety in imbecility, and virtue in superstition and ignorance.

What shall be the test of the national morals? Shall it be the eccentricity of crimes? Certainly not; for then we must compare the criminal eccentricity of to-day with that of yesterday.

Loyalty to the State is a public virtue. Was it ever deeper-toned or more universal than it is now? I know there are ebullitions of passion and discontent, sometimes breaking out into disorder and violence; but was faction ever more effectually disarmed and harmless than it is now? There is a loyalty that springs from the affection that we bear to our native soil. This we have, as strong as any people. But it is not the soil alone, nor yet the soil beneath our feet and the skies over our heads, that constitute our country. It is its freedom, equality, justice, greatness, and glory. Who among us is so low as to be insensible of an interest in them? Four hundred thousand natives of other lands every year voluntarily renounce their own sovereigns, and swear fealty to our own. Who has ever known an American to transfer his allegiance to a foreign Power?

The spirit of the laws, in any country, is a true index to the morals of a people, just in proportion to the power they exercise in making them. Who complains, here or elsewhere, that crime or immorality blots our statute-books with licentious enactments?

The characters of a country's magistrates, legislators, and captains, chosen by a people, reflect their own. It is true, that in the earnest canvassing which so frequently-recurring elections require, suspicion often follows the magistrate, and scandal follows in the footsteps of the statesman. Yet, when his course has been finished, what magistrate has left a name tarnished by corruption, or what statesman has left an act or an opinion so erroneous that decent charity cannot excuse, though it may disapprove. What chieftain ever tempered military triumph with so much moderation as he who, when he had placed our standard on the battlements of the capital of Mexico, not only received an offer of supreme authority from the conquered nation, but declined it?

The manners of a nation are the outward form of its inner life. Where is woman held in so chivalrous respect, and where does she deserve that eminence better? Where is property more safe, commercial honor better sustained, or human life more sacred?

Moderation is a virtue in private and in public life. Has not the great increase of private wealth manifested itself, chiefly, in widening the circle of education and elevating the standard of popular intelligence? With forces which, if combined and directed by ambition, would subjugate this Continent at once, we have made only two very short wars; the one confessedly a war of defence, and the other ended by paying for a peace, and for a domain already fully conquered.

Where lies the secret of the increase of virtue which has thus been established? I think it will be found in the entire emancipation of the consciences of men from either direct or indirect control, by established ecclesiastical or political systems. Religious classes, like political parties, have been left to compete in the great work of moral education, and to entitle themselves to the confidence and affection of society, by the purity of their faith and of morals.

I am well aware that some, who may be willing to adopt the general conclusions of this argument, will object that it is not altogether sustained by the action of the Government itself, however true it may be that it is sustained by the great action of society. I cannot enter a field where truth is to be sought amongst the disputations of passion and prejudice. I may say, however, in reply, first, that the Governments of the United States, although more perfect than any other, and although they embrace the great ideas of the age more fully than any other, are, nevertheless, like all other Governments, founded on compromises of some abstract truths and of some natural rights.

As Government is impressed by its Constitution, so it must necessarily act. This may suffice to explain the phenomenon complained of. But it is true, also, that no Government ever did altogether act out, purely and for a long period, the spirit of its original Constitution. Hence it is that we are so well told by Bolingbroke, that every nation must perpetually renew its Constitution, or perish. Hence, moreover, it is a great excellence of our system, that sovereignty resides, not in Congress and the President, nor yet in the Governments of the States, but in the People of the United States. If the sovereign be just and firm and uncorrupted, the Governments can always be brought back from any aberration, and even the Constitutions themselves, if in any degree imperfect, can be amended. This great idea of the sovereignty of the People over their Governments glimmers in the British system, while it fills our own with a broad and glowing light.

"Let not your King and Parliament in one,
"Much less apart, mistake themselves for that
"Which is most worthy to be thought upon,
"Nor think they are essentially the STATE.
"Let them not fancy that the authority
"And privileges on them bestowed,
"Conferr'd, are to set up a majesty,
"Or a power or a glory of their own;
"But let them know it was for a deeper life
"Which they but represent;
"That there's on earth a yet augustcr thing,
"Veil'd though it be, than Parliament or King."

Gentlemen, you are devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, in order that you may impart it to the State. What Fenelon was to France, you are to your country. Before you teach, let me enjoin upon you to study well the capacity and the disposition of the American People. I have tried to prove to you only that they are youthful, vigorous, and apt, and, therefore, that they are worthy, and will make noble uses of your best instructions.

* "I ought not to object to your reverence for "your fathers, as you call them, meaning, I "presume, the Government and those concerned "in the direction of public affairs; much less "could I be displeased at your numbering me "among them. But, to tell you a very great secret, as far as I am capable of comparing the "merits of different periods, I have no reason to "believe that we were better than you are. We "had as many poor creatures and selfish beings, "in proportion, among us, as you have among "you; nor were there then more enlightened "men, or in greater number, in proportion, than "there are now."—*John Adams's Letter to Josiah Quincy, Feb. 9, 1811.*

VETO OF THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL.

The following message was on Friday received by the House of Representatives. Its import was understood, but it was not read prior to the adjournment:

WASHINGTON, *August* 4, 1854.

To the House of Representatives:

I have received the bill entitled "An act making appropriations for the repair, preservation, and completion, of certain public works heretofore commenced under the authority of law." It reaches me in the expiring hours of the session, and time does not allow full opportunity for examining and considering its provisions, or of stating at length the reasons which forbid me to give it my signature. It belongs to that class of measures which are commonly known as internal improvements by the General Government, and which, from a very early period, have been deemed of doubtful constitutionality and expediency, and have thus failed to obtain the approbation of successive Chief Magistrates.

On such an examination of this bill as it has been in my power to make, I recognise in it certain provisions national in their character, and which, if they stood alone, it would be compatible with my conviction of public duty to assent to; but at the same time it embraces others which are merely local, and not, in my judgment, warranted by any safe or true construction of the Constitution.

To make proper and sound discriminations between these different provisions would require a deliberate discussion of general principles, as well as a careful scrutiny of details, for the purpose of rightfully applying those principles to each separate item of appropriation. Public opinion with regard to the value and importance of internal improvements in the country is undivided. There is a disposition, on all hands, to have them prosecuted with energy, and to see the benefits sought to be attained by them fully realized.

The prominent point of difference between those who have been regarded as the friends of a system of internal improvements by the General Government, and those adverse to such a system, has been one of constitutional power, though more or less connected with considerations of expediency. My own judgment, it is well known, has, on both grounds, been opposed to a "general system of internal improvements" by the Federal Government. I have entertained the most serious doubts, from the inherent difficulties of its application, as well as from past unsatisfactory experience, whether the power could be so exercised by the General Government as to render its use advantageous either to the country at large or effectual for the accomplishment of the object contemplated.

I shall consider it incumbent on me to present to Congress, at its next session, a matured view of the whole subject, and to endeavor to define, approximately at least, and according to my own convictions, what appropriations of this nature by the General Government the great interests of the United States require, and the Constitution will admit and sanction, in case no substitute should be devised capable of reconciling differences, both of constitutionality and expediency.

In the absence of the requisite means and time for duly considering the whole subject at present, and discussing such possible substitute, it becomes necessary to return this bill to the House of Representatives, in which it originated, and, for the reasons thus briefly submitted to the consideration of Congress, to withhold from it my approval.

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

From the Boston Commonwealth.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT UNCONSTITUTIONAL.

Several weeks ago, Judge A. D. Smith, of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, discharged from custody Sherman M. Booth, accused of rescuing a slave, upon the ground that the Fugitive Slave Act was unconstitutional and void. Judge Smith's decision is a document of great clearness and ability, and we intended, before this time, to publish it, or at least that part of it in which he so clearly shows that Congress has no right whatever to pass any such statute, and vindicates the necessity of the State authorities standing up firmly against the usurpations of the General Government. An appeal was taken from the decision to the full bench, and on the 19th inst., at Madison, Chief Justice Edward V. Whiton, delivered the opinion of the Court, (Justice Crawford only dissenting,) sustaining the decision of Judge Smith, and re-affirming the order discharging Mr. Booth. The New York *Tribune* of yesterday contains the decision in full. It occupies three columns of that paper, about half of which space, however, is occupied with incidental and collateral questions, (some of them very important, such as, for instance, the right of a State Court to take a person out of the custody of the United States officers.)

Approaching the question of constitutionality, the Court consider the argument of counsel that it has been settled by decisions of the Supreme Court in reference to the statute of 1793. The Court held that there are certain points of difference between the law of 1793 and the act of 1850, which are essential; and that, therefore, a decision of the constitutionality of one, does not, of necessity, embrace the other—except, perhaps, as to the question of the *power of Congress.* This point, so ably argued by Judge Smith, is passed over by the whole Court. They consider, in the first place, the Constitution to be violated, because the act attempts to vest judicial powers in officers created by Congress, and unknown to the Constitution; and, in the second place, withholds from the person claimed the right to a trial by jury, before he can be delivered up to the claimant.

Upon the second point, the Court quote the words of the Constitution, that no person shall be deprived of his life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; and also the language of judicial decisions, that "due process of law" means "by indictment, or presentment of good and lawful men." The plea that slaves are not persons, within the meaning of the Constitution, does not avail, because persons who are *free* are liable to be arrested and deprived of their liberty without trial by their peers. We quote the reasoning on this point, being the conclusion of the decision:

"It will be observed, that the claimant can go before any Court of record, or any Judge thereof, in vacation, and make satisfactory proof to such Court or Judge in vacation, of the escape, and that the person escaping owes service or labor to such party.

"It then becomes the duty of the Court to cause a record to be made of the matters so proved, and also a description of the person escaping, and such record being exhibited to any Judge, Commissioner, or other officer authorized by law to cause persons escaping from service or labor to be delivered up, shall be held and taken to be conclusive evidence of the fact of escape, and that the service or labor of the person escaping is due to the party in such record mentioned. This testimony is taken and this record is made in the absence of the person to be affected by the proceeding; he has no opportunity to cross-examine the witnesses who depose to the facts which are thus conclusively proved; but without his knowledge, evidence is manufactured, which, by virtue of this act, proves beyond question that he is a slave, and that he has escaped from servitude.

"We are at a loss to perceive how this proceeding, by virtue of which a freeman becomes a slave, can be justly called 'due process of law,' in the sense in which that language is used in the Constitution. We are aware that it has been said that the proceedings before the Commissioner do not determine the question of freedom or slavery, that the fugitive is only sent back to the State from which he is alleged to have escaped; and when he reaches there, he is a freeman or a slave, as his *status* shall be determined by the local law. It is further said that these proceedings are analogous to those by which the fugitive from justice is delivered up, to be taken to the State from which he has escaped; that a person may be arrested by virtue merely of indictment, founded on an affidavit, made before a magistrate, charging him with treason, felony, or other crime, committed in in some other State; and that, upon the production of a copy of the indictment or affidavit certified as authentic by the Governor or Chief Magistrate of the State or Territory from which he fled, he shall be delivered up, to be taken back.

"It is said, that as this proceeding does not deprive the person of his liberty in the sense in which that term is used in the Constitution, but merely delivers him up, to be taken to the State where, according to the indictment or affidavit, the offence was committed, to be dealt with according to the local law, so neither do these proceedings accomplish more than the mere transfer of the alleged fugitive to the State where, as is claimed, he owes service or labor, by force of the local law. We think this is a mistaken view of the question. The fugitive from justice is delivered to an agent appointed by the Governor of the State where the offence is alleged to have been committed, without any adjudication upon the question of his guilt or innocence; in other words, he is delivered to the officer of the law, and is in the custody of the law, for the purpose of being taken to the State where alone he can be tried for the alleged offence. But the case is very different with the alleged fugitive from labor. There is an adjudication before the Commissioner that he owes service or labor, and that he has escaped. By force of the act of Congress under consideration, the record made in the State from which he is said to have escaped, is conclusive evidence that his status is that of a slave.

"The Commissioner is obliged, if his identity is proved, so to adjudge, and the certificate which is given to the claimant is given because the Commissioner has so adjudged. Moreover, the Commissioner can only give the certificate to the claimant, who must be the person to whom the labor or service is due, his agent or attorney, and it is given to him for that reason. It is not material to inquire what the condition of the person will be when he has been taken to the State where the labor or service is said to be due. He may regain his freedom; but it he does, it will be by force of the law of the State, and not by virtue of the act of Congress under consideration; for under that he has been adjudged a slave, and by force of it he has been taken as a slave, by the person adjudged to be his owner, his agent or attorney, from the State where he was arrested to the State from which he is alleged to have escaped.

"We are therefore obliged to conclude that the alleged fugitive from labor is taken back to the State from which he is said to have escaped, not as a person merely charged with being a slave, but as a person who has been proved and adjudged to be a slave, and, as we believe, without due process of law—without having his rights passed upon and determined by a jury of his peers. We think it essential that his right should be maintained by all courts and all tribunals, and for the reasons above given we must affirm the order made in this case, discharging the relator."

We hail this decision of a highly respectable State Court, as evidence of a tendency in public sentiment towards a healthy state on this subject. As the United States Court is at present constituted, it is the agent of the slaveholding power, and must be expected to conform in its decisions to the will of that power. But the judicial opinion of the country at large is rapidly changing. Judge Hoar, in his recent charge, clearly indicated his opinion of the unconstitutionality of the act; many eminent ex-Judges, like Hornblower, of New Jersey, and Hutchinson, of Vermont, and lawyers of the highest rank, like Charles G. Loring and Robert Rantoul, jr., have held the same opinion.

Encouraged by this bold opinion of the Wisconsin Court, we cannot doubt that before long the Northern courts generally will come to the same conclusion; and then, in face of the mass of judicial opinion in the largest section of the country, the law cannot stand, but must be materially modified or repealed. Let it be pronounced by the Judges unconstitutional, as it has been adjudged by the people to be inhuman and wicked, and it will soon be swept away from the statute book which it disgraces.

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

The session of Thursday continued until five o'clock this morning, when a recess was taken until nine.

In the Senate, the Naval Appropriation bill occupied a large portion of the sitting. Among the amendments rejected was one to pay $113,600 to the Pacific Mail Steamer Company, for the use of their propeller Columbus in the public service against the filibusters in Lower California. The vote was 11 to 30. An amendment was agreed to, appropriating $100,000 for a naval depot on the right bank of the Mississippi, near New Orleans. The item for the Memphis navy yard was rejected. An amendment to provide for a retired list of officers was adopted. An amendment to incorporate into the naval service of the United States the surviving officers of the late Texas navy, was rejected; but another amendment, giving them full pay from the time of annexation to the present period, was adopted. The bill was then passed. The Light-house bill was also passed.

In the House, Mr. Hunt's resolution to remove from office the Clerk, for allowing alterations to be made in the Minnesota Land bill, was finally rejected—yeas 18, nays 154

The House agreed to the report of the Committee of Conference on the disagreeing votes upon the bill authorizing the extension of the Alexandria and Washington Railroad. This bill now provides, that if the first-named company shall not make the extension in two years, then the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company shall have the privilege to do so.

The Senate's proposition to increase the pay of the clerks in the city post office was agreed to by the House.

A bill was reported, in accordance with a recommendation of the President, to carry into effect the Reciprocity Treaty with Great Britain.

The committee to which was referred certain accusations against Mr. Bayly, of Virginia, reported that the accuser had wholly failed to establish his charge.

Senate, Friday, August 4, 1854.

Numerous private bills were passed.

Also, House bill to graduate and reduce the price of public lands.

House bill to carry into effect the treaty between the United States and Great Britain, signed 5th June, 1854.

A resolution to pay the *Union, Intelligencer* and *Sentinel*, for speeches and debates published by them, respectively, was rejected.

The report of the Judiciary Committee, that Mr. Williams is not entitled to retain his seat in the Senate of the United States, was concurred in.

Subsequently, on motion by Mr. Dodge, the vote was reconsidered.

Mr. Williams explained the grounds on which he claimed his seat; and then the report was again concurred in.

A large number of House bills were acted on, and passed.

At half past 11, the resolution for extending the time for the adjournment of Congress to Monday next, was returned, and the amendments of the House concurred in.

Mr. Houston offered a resolution calling for information respecting Indian treaties; which was adopted.

A resolution amending the rules was debated till half past 12, when it was postponed, and the Senate proceeded to consider Executive business.

All the appropriation bills were finally disposed of, except the Ocean Mail Steamer one. The point in difference between the two Houses was the refusal of the Senate to agree with the proposition to give the notice for the discontinuance of the contract with the Collins line.

Mr. Pratt moved that the Senate recede.

Messrs. Bayard and Seward opposed the motion.

Mr. Seward having avowed his intention to speak till after 4 o'clock,

The Senate, a few minutes before 2 o'clock, adjourned till to-morrow at 12 o'clock.

House of Representatives, August 4, 1854.

The House re-assembled at 9 A. M.

The Ocean Mail Steamer Appropriation bill being received from the Senate, was taken up; but no quorum voted upon it.

The report of the Committee of Conference on the Army Appropriation bill was presented and agreed to.

The Committee of Conference on the Navy Appropriation bill made a report, stating that they could not agree, and that the navy reform clause was the obstacle in the way. A new committee was subsequently appointed.

The Committee of Conference on the River and Harbor Appropriation bill made a report, stating that they had reduced the Senate's amendments in the sum of $15,000. The report was agreed to.

The House took up the Ocean Mail Appropriation bill, and rejected the Senate's amendments thereto.

The House reconsidered the vote by which the bill to carry into effect the Reciprocity Treaty had been referred to the Committee of the Whole; and it was taken up and passed.

The Committee of Conference on the Post Office Appropriation bill reported that they had agreed upon all the amendments except that allowing a special commission to the postmaster at Washington on franked documents.

Before any action was had on this report,

A resolution was adopted, extending the adjournment to eight o'clock on Monday morning, provided no motion except to adjourn shall be entertained by either House after 4 o'clock to-day.

[The effect of this will be to extend legislation to four o'clock, P. M., and to give the Clerks until eight A. M., on Monday, to perfect their records.]

Mr. Olds proceeded to explain, on behalf of the Committee of Conference, the Post Office Appropriation bill, when the committee were instructed to agree to the clause respecting compensation to the postmaster of Washington, provided that its operation be limited to one year.

At five minutes before twelve o'clock, the second Committee of Conference on the Navy Appropriation bill made a report; which was adopted, and the bill was passed.

Mr. Stanton, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted a report on the Gardner case, accompanied with a bill to prevent frauds; which bill was read twice and referred, and the bill and report were ordered to be printed. The report was also accompanied with a series of resolutions, which were adopted, requiring the prosecution of all persons implicated with Dr. Gardner and Mears in the frauds committed by them, as agents, attorneys, or confederates.

The Post Office Appropriation bill was finally reported, as directed, and the report was concurred in.

The bills upon the Speaker's table being taken up, and read a first time, those not objected to were referred appropriately. Among those objected to was the Homestead or Graduation bill, returned from the Senate with its amendments.

PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL APPARATUS.

THE subscriber manufactures almost all kinds of apparatus, and will always be happy to correspond with such as may need anything in that line. Having been for years a practical teacher of those sciences, he has unusual advantages in knowing the actual wants of teachers. Price catalogues sent, gratis, on application. Goods shipped to all parts of the United States and Canadas.

He refers, by permission, to Professor J. Foster, of Union College, N. Y.; Rt. Rev. A. Potter, Bishop of Penn.

C. B. WARRING, A. M.,
June 29—26t Poughkeepsie, New York.

GRATIS!

A FEW words on the rational treatment, without medicine, of local weakness, nervous debility, loss of memory, love of solitude, self-distrust, dizziness, pimples on the face, and other infirmities of man. By this entirely new and highly successful treatment, every one is enabled to cure himself perfectly, and at the least possible cost. Sent to any address, post free, in sealed envelope, by remitting (post paid) two postage stamps, to DR. B. DE LANEY,
Aug. 3. 17 Lispenard street, New York.

COMMUNICATION FROM THE "SPIRITS."

☞ One of the "mediums" was recently put communication with the spirit of the celebrated and eccentric Dr. Abernethy, to inquire what was the best of all medicines for diseases of the Lungs? Loud and distinct raps upon the table, slowly but promptly, spelt out *A-y-e-r'-s C-h-e-r-r-y P-e-c-t-o-r-a-l.*

WHAT THE NEW YORK CITY FOLKS SAY OF
DR. McLANE'S CELEBRATED VERMIFUGE.

NEW YORK, *August* 25, 1852.

☞ This is to certify that I am well acquainted with a man, fifty years of age, for many years a resident of this city, who has been at times extremely ill, but could not tell from what cause, unless it was worms. He told his attending physician his suspicions, but the physician at once ridiculed the idea, and refused to attend him any longer. His son then mentioned Dr. McLane's Vermifuge, and asked him if he would take it; his reply was, I must take something to get relief, or die.

They at once procured a bottle of Dr. McLane's celebrated Vermifuge, and took one half at one dose. The result was, he passed upwards of *three quarts of worms*, cut up in every form. He got well immediately, and is now enjoying most excellent health; and, like the good Samaritan of old, is endeavoring to relieve his unfortunate neighbors. He makes it his business to hunt up and select all cases similar to his own, that may be given over by the regular physicians, and induces them to try Dr McLane's Vermifuge. So far he has induced more than twenty persons to take the Vermifuge, and in every case with the most happy results. He is well satisfied that Dr. McLane's Vermifuge is far superior to any other known remedy, and that, if more generally known, would not fail to save many valuable lives.

For further particulars, inquire of Mrs. Hardie, 124½ Cannon street, New York city.

P. S. The above valuable remedy, also Dr. McLane's celebrated Liver Pills, can now be had at all respectable Drug Stores in this city.

☞ Purchasers will please be careful to ask for, and take none but, Dr. McLANE'S VERMIFUGE. All others, in comparison, are worthless. 1

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BY Mrs. H. BEECHER STOWE, Author of Uncle Tom's Cabin. Comprised in two volumes, duodecimo. Illustrated with nearly one hundred highly finished wood engravings, from designs by Billings. Price two dollars.

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☞ Copies sent per mail, post paid, on receipt of two dollars. For sale by all Booksellers.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, & CO.,
July 24—2aw4w Publishers, Boston.

Important Work for the Present Time!
HISTORY OF CUBA: ITS PAST AND PRESENT.
BY MATURIN M. BALLOU.

GIVING a Political, Historical, and Statistical account of the Island, from its first discovery to the present day. To be comprised in one volume, duodecimo. Finely illustrated with engravings, from original drawings taken on the Island

In depicting the manners, customs, peculiarities, products, and local characteristics of the Island of Cuba, the author has been guided by personal observation, aided by copious notes taken on the spot, and among the people he describes

The work is fresh in its character, and brings the history of the Island up to the *present hour*, showing in a clear, impartial light, its great wealth and political importance, the extraordinary oppression and taxation under which it has suffered, the fertility of its soil, and the glory of its fruits and flowers, with a statistical record of its staple productions, and a history of its slave trade and slave population.

Mr. Ballou was for some time a resident of Cuba, and has been a careful student in the history of the Island.—*Sat. Eve Gazette.*

We know of no one more capable of furnishing a useful and readable volume of the kind, than Mr. Ballou.—*Boston Post.*

Mr. Ballou spent several months upon the Island, and, with his habits of study and reflection, must have obtained copious materials, which he is well qualified to convert into an interesting and valuable work.—*Boston Journal.*

☞ The above work is in active preparation, and will be issued in a few days.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, & CO.,
July 24—2aw3w Publishers, Boston.

KANSAS AND NEBRASKA.

IN PRESS, the History and Geography of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, with an account of the Native Tribes, and the emigration now in progress thither, with a Map. Prepared with the assistance of the officers of the Emigrant Aid Society, from unpublished documents, and from the travels of the French voyagers, Lewis and Clarke, Pike, Long, Bonneville, Fremont, Emory, Abert, Stevens, and others.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

To be comprised in one volume, duodecimo, and published under the sanction of the Emigrant Aid Society.

The work will be issued in August. Price, in muslin, 75 cents; in paper covers, 56 cents.

☞ Orders from the trade respectfully solicited.

PHILLIPS, SAMPSON, & CO.,
July 24—2aw4w Publishers, Boston.

AYER'S CHERRY PECTORAL,
FOR THE RAPID CURE OF
COUGHS, COLDS, HOARSENESS, BRONCHITIS, WHOOPING COUGH, CROUP, ASTHMA, AND CONSUMPTION.

TO CURE A COLD, WITH HEADACHE AND SORENESS OF THE BODY, take the Cherry Pectoral on going to bed, and wrap up warm, to sweat during the night.

FOR A COLD AND COUGH, take it morning, noon, and evening, according to directions on the bottle, and the difficulty will soon be removed. None will long suffer from this trouble, when they find it can be so readily cured. Persons afflicted with a seated cough, which breaks them of their rest at night, will find, by taking the Cherry Pectoral on going to bed, they may be sure of sound, unbroken sleep, and consequent refreshing rest. Great relief from suffering, and an ultimate cure, is afforded to thousands who are thus afflicted, by this invaluable remedy.

From its agreeable effect in these cases, many find themselves unwilling to forego its use when the necessity for it has ceased.

TO SINGERS AND PUBLIC SPEAKERS this remedy is invaluable, as by its action on the throat and lungs, when taken in small quantities, it removes all hoarseness in a few hours, and wonderfully increases the power and flexibility of the voice.

ASTHMA is generally much relieved, and often wholly cured, by Cherry Pectoral. But there are some cases so obstinate as to yield entirely to no medicine. Cherry Pectoral will cure them, if they can be cured.

BRONCHITIS, or irritation of the throat and upper portion of the lungs, may be cured by taking Cherry Pectoral in small and frequent doses. The uncomfortable oppression is soon relieved.

FOR CROUP. Give an emetic of antimony, to be followed by large and frequent doses of the Cherry Pectoral, until it subdues the disease. If taken in season, it will not fail to cure

WHOOPING COUGH may be broken up, and soon cured, by the use of Cherry Pectoral.

THE INFLUENZA is speedily removed by this remedy. Numerous instances have been noticed where whole families were protected from any serious consequences, while their neighbors, without the Cherry Pectoral, were suffering from the disease.

Repeated instances are reported here of patients who have been cured from

LIVER COMPLAINTS, by this remedy—so many that there can be no question of its healing power on these diseases. It should be perseveringly taken until the pain in the side and other unpleasant symptoms cease.

FOR CONSUMPTION in its earliest stages, it should be taken under the advice of a good Physician if possible, and in every case with a careful regard to the printed *directions* on the bottle. If judiciously used, and the patient is carefully nursed meantime it will seldom fail to subdue the disease.

FOR SETTLED CONSUMPTION, in its worst form, the Cherry Pectoral should be given in doses adapted to what the patient requires and can bear. It always affords some relief, and not unfrequently cures those who are considered past all cure. There are many thousands, scattered all over the country, who feel and say that they owe their lives and present health to the Cherry Pectoral.

This remedy is offered to the community with the confidence we feel in an article which seldom fails to realize the happiest effects that can be desired. So wide is the field of its usefulness, and so numerous the cases of its cures, that almost every section of the country abounds in persons publicly known, who have been restored from alarming and even desperate diseases of the lungs, by its use. When once tried its superiority over every other medicine of its kind is too apparent to escape observation; and where its virtues are known, the public no longer hesitate what antidote to employ for the distressing and dangerous affections of the pulmonary organs, which are incident to our climate. And not only in formidable attacks upon the lungs, but for the milder varieties of colds, coughs, hoarseness, etc., and for children it is the pleasantest and safest medicine that can be obtained. No family should be without it, and those who have used it never will.

Prepared by J. C. AYER, Chemist, Lowell, Mass. Sold in Washington by Z. D. GILMAN, and by all Druggists and Dealers in Medicine everywhere.
Aug. 1—3m

GEORGE W. JULIAN,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Centreville, Indiana,

WILL attend to the securing and collecting of claims, and all other business intrusted to his care, in the counties of Wayne, Randolph, Henry, Union, and Fayette, and in the Supreme and Federal Courts at Indianapolis. Dec. 22.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

HOMESTEAD BILL.

SPEECH OF MR. CHASE, IN THE SENATE.

Wednesday, July 12, 1854.

On motion by Mr. WALKER, the Senate, as in Committee of the Whole, resumed the consideration of the House bill "to grant a homestead of one hundred and sixty acres of the public lands to actual settlers"—the pending question being on the amendment of Mr. CLAYTON, to strike out the sixth section, which is in the following words:

"Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That any individual now a citizen of the United States or Territories, and not a citizen of the United States, but at the time of making such acquisition for the benefit of this act, shall have filed a declaration of intention, as required by the naturalization laws of the United States, and shall become a citizen of the same before the issuance of the patent, as made and provided for in this act, shall be placed upon an equal footing with the native-born citizen of the United States."

Mr. CHASE. I desire to submit a remark or two, and then to offer an amendment, with the view of perfecting the sixth section, before the motion to strike out shall be taken. I do it at this time, because, if the motion to strike out shall not prevail, and the section is retained, no motion will afterwards be in order to amend it until the bill is reported to the Senate.

I cannot agree with the Senator from Iowa, [Mr. DODGE] that all amendments are inexpedient. I am, on the contrary, in favor of reasonable and proper amendments. Such amendments will not endanger the final passage of the bill. I have no doubt that the Senate will cheerfully agree to such amendments as commend themselves, by their obvious propriety, to its approbation. But, sir, if it should be otherwise, with any unfriendly purpose towards the bill. I do not regard it as perfect—far from it. I do not know that any Senator entirely approves it. But if I can get no better bill, I shall vote for this; because it carries out, to a great extent, that great cardinal doctrine of public policy first announced in this Chamber, perhaps, by the late Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Webster,] to whom the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Case] referred yesterday, but I regard the public lands as the sacred property, covering adverse appeals this floor, in the Senator from Wisconsin. Of that policy I heartily approve. When first announced, I declared my adhesion to it. I persevere in it to-day. I regard the public lands as the sacred property of the people, and Congress merely as a trustee. The people are the *cestuis qui trust*—the beneficiaries of this estate, and the whole duty of Congress is performed by such a disposal of the lands for the benefit of the people as an equitable discharge of the trust requires. To convert a portion of these lands for the benefit of the indigent income in the several States I regard as a reasonable exercise of the trust power vested in Congress by the Constitution. I therefore voted for the bill making provision for the aforementioned class. I regard the grant of limited portions of these lands to actual settlers as a wise and beneficent exercise of the same trust power. I shall therefore vote for this bill.

And now, sir, if those public benefits constitute a valid reason for these grants to actual settlers, that reason applies as strongly to immigrants coming into the country after the passage of the act, as it does to those already here. There is no substantial reason which commends itself to the judgment of a statesman for any such discrimination. There is a sound and efficient ground of distinction between citizens in fact or in intention, and aliens who have no design to become citizens, but no reason at all for any such distinction among immigrants who do intend to become citizens. The section, as it stands, draws a line between immigrants already arrived and immigrants to arrive hereafter. Those who arrive to-day are to have the benefit of the act; those who arrive to-morrow, if the bill in the mean time should become a law, will be excluded from the benefit. Can anybody assign a sensible reason for such a discrimination between (if I may be allowed to coin a phrase) the ante-venients and the post-venients.

Sir, the principle for which I contend now, of non-discrimination between different classes of immigrants intending to become citizens, was sanctioned in the recent Kansas and Nebraska act. I congratulated the country at the time with the expression of my hope that all such immigrants, without distinction, to the elective franchise. I was glad to witness that breaking down of old prejudices against immigrants coming into this country, which led to a reaction against the Know Nothing party, in favor of retaining the clause which allowed them to vote in the Territories. That vote recognised no such narrow and illiberal discrimination as this bill now makes. It went upon a sound reason. It allowed all to vote after declaration of intention, and taking the oath prescribed by the act. It excluded none, whether arrived before or after the passage of the act. It made no distinction between those who might, and those who might not, possess the right of suffrage, except the distinction between those who should manifest a disposition to become citizens, and a readiness to qualify themselves for the exercise of the elective franchise, under the provisions of the act, and those who might not be ready to become citizens, or to qualify themselves. I do not say that I approved the qualification required. The oath to support the provisions of an act of Congress, though not unprecedented, might, in my judgment, to be required. I speak only now of the principle of discrimination. I approve the principle of that bill, so far as it refused to discriminate between immigrants on the ground of difference as to date of arrival in the country. I desire to have no such discrimination made in this bill. I want no discrimination upon any principle which will not approve itself to sound, just, and logical mind. I have, therefore, prepared an amendment which, if adopted, will remove from the bill those words which deny its benefits to aftercomers, and will secure its equal operation in favor of all immigrants who intend to become citizens of the country.

It is not necessary for me to say anything at this stage of the discussion in respect to the extension of the benefits of this bill to immigrants. But I may be allowed to remark that I do not see that any harm has, as yet, resulted to our country from foreign immigration. That some immigrants, and, possibly, some classes of immigrants, have rendered themselves obnoxious to a public sentiment, justly jealous of the introduction of ecclesiastical influence into our politics, may be true. But the general masses of the immigration are liable to no such imputation. They are represented in every department of your industry. They are engaged in our commerce, in your manufactures, and in your agriculture. Some of them represent the national sovereignty abroad; others of them worthily and honorably represent the sovereignty of States upon this floor. The immigrants, whose cause I plead, are as intelligent, as worthy, as useful, and as respectable, as any other portion of our population. Far from grooting them upon their arrival on our shores with the harsh and odious discrimination of this bill, I would bid them all welcome, and receive them as brothers. By the manifestation of a generous confidence, by a fair, manly, honorable treatment of them, I would endeavor to convince them of the expediency and necessity of divesting themselves, as speedily as possible, of their foreign character, and of putting on, with the rights and privileges, the sentiments also, of American citizens. Thus, sir, I would Americanize them by generosity and justice. Once Americanized in mind and heart, no more jealous mind need entertain no apprehensions of evil from their coming among us, and sharing in all our privileges.

I will now submit the amendment which I have indicated.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That amendment will not now be in order. The yeas and nays have been demanded on the amendment of the Senator from Delaware.

Mr. CLAYTON. Let my amendment be read for information.

It was read. It is, to strike out the words "now a resident of any one of the States or Territories, and" and to insert between the words "shall be" and "a citizen" the words "who;" so as to make the sixth section read:

"That if any individual, not a citizen of the United States, but who at the time of making such application for the benefit of this act, shall have filed a declaration of intention," &c.

FREE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The Free Democrats of Allegheny county, Pennsylvania, met in Convention on Wednesday morning, July 9, at the Court House, and organized by calling George W. Jackson, Esq., to the Chair. Judge Heath was chosen Vice President, and Messrs. Robert Straw and J. Heron Foster, Secretaries.

On motion of Dr. Gazzam, a committee consisting of Dr. Gazzam, Dr. Kennedy, David Reed, James Robb, and George Wilson, was appointed by the Chair to draft resolutions and prepare business for the Convention.

The committee retired, and, after a short absence, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which were amended as follows, and adopted:

Whereas the only purpose of the Free Democracy is to establish in practice the principles from time to time avowed and adopted by Conventions representing said party; and whereas the late Whig Convention *of this county* did adopt substantially the platform of the Free Democracy, and pledged their nominees to all the principles and principles therein contained; but we have seen no indication of an intention on the part of the State organization of either the Whig or Democratic party to abandon the platform adopted by the Baltimore Whig Convention;

Whereas our adoption of any ticket pledged by the last authoritative declarations of the party nominating it to the support of either of the Baltimore platforms, would be a virtual disowval of the principles of Free Democracy which we cannot make; but we rejoice to know and acknowledge that tens of thousands of Whigs and Democrats have left, or are prepared to leave, the pro-slavery platforms, and are determined to rally under the banner of free and act for liberty and law, and to sustain the Constitution as our forefathers understood it, and to support the Union on the principles upon which it was formed; therefore,

Resolved, That to all such we hold forth the right hand of fellowship, and pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in the formation of a party of freedom, regardless of past differences and past names, and of present or former organizations.

Resolved, That we approve of and commend the patriotic course recently pursued by the Republicans of Michigan; and we, the Free Democrats of Allegheny county, are not only willing to pursue a similar course, by recommending the withdrawal (under similar circumstances) of the Free Democratic State ticket in Pennsylvania; but, as an earnest of what we are willing to do in State politics, we do hereby unanimously nominate as our candidates the persons recently nominated by the Whigs of Allegheny on their county ticket—the Whigs of this county having taken a decided stand in favor of true Democracy, while Douglas Democrats hold forth no hope of their shaking off the incubus of the Slave Power.

Resolved, That this meeting, such has been the record of the Whigs of this county, and while a disposition to pursue a like course probably prevails with a large majority of individual Whigs, great of the river Schuylkill; yet, as in their combined action they have made a State party controlled by the slaveholding interests of Philadelphia, the Whig party of Pennsylvania has furnished no evidence that their State candidates will either repudiate the Baltimore platform or oppose the aggressive Slave Power, except that on two points that at the present time arrest the attention of the North; therefore it is our duty to continue to support the Free Soil State ticket; and we call upon our Democratic friends to do the same, and cheerfully agree to such amendments as commend themselves, by their obvious propriety, to its approbation. But, sir, if it should be otherwise, with any unfriendly purpose towards the bill. I do not regard it as perfect—far from it. I do not know that any Senator entirely approves it. But if I can get no better bill, I shall vote for this; because it carries out, to a great extent, that great cardinal doctrine of public policy first announced in this Chamber, perhaps, by the late Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. Webster,] to whom the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Case] referred yesterday, but I regard the public lands as the sacred property, covering adverse appeals this floor, in the Senator from Wisconsin. Of that policy I heartily approve. When first announced, I declared my adhesion to it. I persevere in it to-day. I regard the public lands as the sacred property of the people, and Congress merely as a trustee. The people are the *cestuis qui trust*—the beneficiaries of this estate, and the whole duty of Congress is performed by such a disposal of the lands for the benefit of the people as an equitable discharge of the trust requires. To convert a portion of these lands for the benefit of the indigent income in the several States I regard as a reasonable exercise of the trust power vested in Congress by the Constitution. I therefore voted for the bill making provision for the aforementioned class. I regard the grant of limited portions of these lands to actual settlers as a wise and beneficent exercise of the same trust power. I shall therefore vote for this bill.

And now, sir, I wish to say a few words in reply to the observation which fell from the Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. ADAMS] He says that immigrants from other lands ought not to share the benefits of this measure. They have rendered no services, he alleges, to the country, and therefore have no claim upon the bounty of the Government. There would be force in this argument if these grants could be regarded as rewards for services performed; but then the argument would exclude from the benefits of the bill all, whether native or foreigners, who have not rendered actual service to the public. The bill proposes no grants upon considerations of this nature; the argument, therefore, if good at all, is good against the whole bill. But it is not valid at all. These grants are not rewards for services rendered; they form part of a system of disposing of the public land. They are for the benefit of the whole people represented by the Government, as well as for the individual grantees. The public lands may be regarded, under one point of view, as a vast quantity of unemployed machinery in the possession of a great capitalist. It is capital, I mean, in the public lands, but is idle and unproductive for want of hands to work it. It is the business of a wise capitalist to bring his machinery into use. It is the part of a wise Government to bring the public lands into use, to convert this idle, hidden wealth, and add its treasures to the general resources of the country. Every either upon the public lands, under the provisions of this act, in the course of the five years which must elapse before he can claim a patent, will more than pay for the land he occupies in the shape of duties upon goods consumed, or by the contributions which his labors furnish to the wealth and strength of the country.

And now, sir, if those public benefits constitute a valid reason for these grants to actual settlers, that reason applies as strongly to immigrants coming into the country after the passage of the act, as it does to those already here. There is no substantial reason which commends itself to the judgment of a statesman for any such discrimination. There is a sound and efficient ground of distinction between citizens in fact or in intention, and aliens who have no design to become citizens, but no reason at all for any such distinction among immigrants who do intend to become citizens. The section, as it stands, draws a line between immigrants already arrived and immigrants to arrive hereafter. Those who arrive to-day are to have the benefit of the act; those who arrive to-morrow, if the bill in the mean time should become law, will be excluded from the benefit. Can anybody assign a sensible reason for such a discrimination between (if I may be allowed to coin a phrase) the ante-venients and the post-venients.

Sir, the principle for which I contend now, of non-discrimination between different classes of immigrants intending to become citizens, was sanctioned in the recent Kansas and Nebraska act. I congratulated the country at the time with the expression of my hope that all such immigrants, without distinction, to the elective franchise. I was glad to witness that breaking down of old prejudices against immigrants coming into this country, which led to a reaction against the Know Nothing party, in favor of retaining the clause which allowed them to vote in the Territories. That vote recognised no such narrow and illiberal discrimination as this bill now makes. It went upon a sound reason. It allowed all to vote after declaration of intention, and taking the oath prescribed by the act. It excluded none, whether arrived before or after the passage of the act. It made no distinction between those who might, and those who might not, possess the right of suffrage, except the distinction between those who should manifest a disposition to become citizens, and a readiness to qualify themselves for the exercise of the elective franchise, under the provisions of the act, and those who might not be ready to become citizens, or to qualify themselves. I do not say that I approved the qualification required. The oath to support the provisions of an act of Congress, though not unprecedented, might, in my judgment, to be required. I speak only now of the principle of discrimination. I approve the principle of that bill, so far as it refused to discriminate between immigrants on the ground of difference as to date of arrival in the country. I desire to have no such discrimination made in this bill. I want no discrimination upon any principle which will not approve itself to sound, just, and logical mind. I have, therefore, prepared an amendment which, if adopted, will remove from the bill those words which deny its benefits to afterconers, and will secure its equal operation in favor of all immigrants who intend to become citizens of the country.

It is not necessary for me to say anything at this stage of the discussion in respect to the extension of the benefits of this bill to immigrants. But I may be allowed to remark that I do not see that any harm has, as yet, resulted to our country from foreign immigration. That

CONGRESS.

THIRTY-THIRD CONGRESS—FIRST SESSION.

Senate, Tuesday, August 1, 1854.

The resolution, yesterday reported by Mr. Foot, to pay for certain services of a messenger to the Committee on Public Lands, was considered and agreed to.

Mr. Norris reported a bill to incorporate the Friends' Aid Society, in the District of Columbia.

On motion by Mr. Bright, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill authorizing the President to take charge of the Louisville and Portland Canal until the next meeting of Congress; and the same was considered and passed.

Mr. Houston then addressed the Senate till after 12 o'clock, in defence of his political conduct in the Republic of Texas, and in repelling personal assaults upon him, contained in a book entitled the History of Texas, Mexico, and the United States, by Gen. Thomas Jefferson Green.

Mr. Mason submitted the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the President be requested to inform the Senate (if in his opinion it be not incompatible with the public interest) whether anything has arisen since the date of his message to the House of Representatives, of the 15th March last, concerning our relations with the Government of Spain, which, in his opinion, may *dispense* with the suggestions therein contained, touching the propriety of "provisional measures" by Congress, to meet any exigency that may arise in the recess of Congress, affecting those relations.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the River and Harbor bill.

The question pending was on the amendment of Mr. Toombs, to strike out relating to the Portland and Louisville Canal; and the same was rejected—yeas 15, nays 30.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, moved to increase the appropriation for improving the Des Moines Rapids, from $18,000 to $100,00; agreed to—yeas 28, nays 18.

Mr. Mallory moved to add an appropriation of $12,000, for a canal across the Isthmus of Florida. Lost—yeas 19, nays 26.

The bill, as amended, was then reported to the Senate, and the amendments made in Committee of the Whole were concurred in.

Mr. Rusk moved to amend, by adding $44,000 for the Brazos river. Debated and adopted.

Other amendments were offered.

The bill was then passed—yeas 31, nays 17.

The Senate proceeded to the consideration of Executive business.

House of Representatives, August 1, 1854.

The House was called to order at 10 o'clock.

Mr. Perkins, of Louisiana, reported bill to remodel the Diplomatic and Consular systems of the United States. Read twice, and referred to the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Sollers reported a resolution, to print 20,000 extra copies of the Report of the special committee on the guano trade. Referred to the Committee on Printing.

The Speaker presented to the House the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution. Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

On motion of Mr. English, the Committee on Printing was instructed to inquire into the expediency of printing 20,000 copies of the said report.

On motion of Mr. Hunt, Senate bill to establish a port of delivery at Lakeport, on Lake Pontchartrain, and for other purposes, was taken up, read a third time, and passed.

Mr. Walsworth, of Massachusetts, from the Committee on Commerce, reported back the following Senate bills; which were severally read a third time and passed:

An act creating a collection district in Texas and Navy Yard.

An act constituting Tuscumbia, in the State of Alabama, a port of delivery, with an amendment;

An act constituting Madison, Indiana, a port of delivery.

The Speaker stated the question to be on the motion yesterday made by Mr. Cobb, to suspend the rules, to enable him to report, from the Committee on Public Lands, a bill granting lands to Alabama, for railroad purposes.

Mr. Cobb consented to the postponement of the subject until to-morrow.

The House, at forty minutes past ten o'clock, went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, (Mr. Orr in the chair,) and resumed the consideration of the Senate's amendments to the Civil and Diplomatic bill.

The Senate amendments, especially those in regard to custom houses and marine hospitals, have been generally concurred in, notwithstanding the adverse recommendation of the Committee of Ways and Means.

Senate, Wednesday, August 2, 1854.

Mr. Brown moved to take up the bill for the relief of Abigail Stafford. Lost.

Mr. Slidell submitted a resolution, that all unfinished business at this session be continued over until the next session. Adopted.

Mr. Seward reported a bill, changing the name of the American-built brig Glamorgan, to the Wizard; and the same was considered, and passed.

Mr. Butler, from the Judiciary Committee, to which was referred the question of Mr. Williams's right to retain his seat, as a Senator from New Hampshire, reported that he was not entitled to the seat, and the report was laid on the table, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Fish presented the memorial of American citizens, whose property has been destroyed by the recent bombardment of San Juan, praying indemnity for the losses sustained by them. Referred.

Mr. Fish, from the select committee on the subject of the great mortality on board emigrant vessels, reported a bill for the better preservation of the health of those on emigrant ships arriving in the United States.

Mr. Dodge, of Iowa, reported a bill granting the right of way to the Benicia and Marysville Railroad Company, through certain public lands in California; and the same was considered, and passed.

The Fortification bill was taken up.

Mr. Hunter opposed any amendment of the bill, as the House would not pass it again.

Mr. Weller moved, as an amendment, which received only eight votes.

The bill was then passed—yeas 35, nays 9.

Mr. Hunter moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the Post Office Appropriation bill.

Messrs. Mason and Seward opposed the motion, they desiring an Executive session.

Mr. Hunter's motion was agreed to—yeas 19, nays 17.

Mr. Cass moved an amendment, omitting throughout the whole year the mail between Charleston, Key West, and Havana. Adopted.

Also, an amendment allowing the postmaster at Washington city a commission of one mill per pound of the public printing which passe through that office annually, out of which he shall pay his employees $250 each per annum.

This was debated, and agreed to—yeas 27, nays 11.

Other amendments were offered and debated.

A proposition to establish a daily mail between Cairo (Illinois) and New Orleans, was under discussion when our report closed.

House of Representatives, August 2, 1854.

Mr. Faulkner, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported back Senate bill granting the right of way over, and depot grounds on, the military reservation at Fort Gratiot, Michigan, to the Port Huron and Lake Michigan Railroad Company; when it was read the third time, and passed.

On motion by Mr. Walley, the amendment of the Senate to the bill providing accommodations for the courts of the United States in the districts of Massachusetts, N. York, and Philadelphia, were concurred in.

The Speaker stated the question before the House to be the motion of Mr. Barksdale, to lay on the table the Senate's amendments to the Civil and Diplomatic bill, the effect of which, if agreed to, would be to defeat the bill.

Mr. Barksdale withdrew his motion.

Mr. Wheeler renewed it, and it was rejected.

The Clerk then proceeded to read out the numbers of the different amendments, and upon each there was any objection to, separate votes were taken; the others were reserved, to be agreed to in the aggregate.

Among the amendments concurred in were the following:

For furnishing lamps and lamp posts from Sixteenth to Seventeenth streets, on Pennsylvania avenue, in front of Lafayette square, $500.

To reimburse the expenditure made by the Commissioner of Public Buildings for the repair of the Potomac bridge, when injured by fire. $4,500.

For altering the streets and repairing in front of the east wing of the Patent Office, putting up iron railing, flagging footways, putting in order yards, painting new saloons of the Patent Office in fresco, $14,250.

For iron railing and flagging in front of the old portion of the Patent Office building, for altering windows, dressing the granite to make it conform with the front, &c., $5,720.

Among the amendments non-concurred in were the following:

For repair and renewal of the gas-pipes through the Capitol, and fixures necessary for the lighting of such committee rooms therein as need it, and lighting East Capitol street, from the Capitol to Third street, $7,000.

For continuing the work for a supply of water to the cities of Washington and Georgetown, five hundred thousand dollars: *Provided*, that no part of the sum hereby appropriated shall be expended until the Corporations of Washington and Georgetown, or either of them, shall appropriate and pay an amount equal to one-fourth of said sum for the same purpose, and shall agree to pay, in like manner, the same proportion of all future appropriations; and full power and authority are hereby given to said Corporations, respectively, to raise, by loan or otherwise, any sum of money that may be necessary to enable them, or either of them, to make the appropriation herein required; and the said Corporations of Washington and Georgetown, and the inhabitants of said cities, respectively, or the Corporation making the appropriation, and the inhabitants of such city, shall be authorized to use the same ways and means in this behalf that the Washington aqueduct, after supplying the Government establishments in Washington, under such general rules and regulations as may hereafter be prescribed by Congress; and each of said corporations shall have power to charge, and collect of the inhabitants of such city, such reasonable tax or rent for the use of the water as will provide for the regular payment of the interest, and the gradual payment of the principal, of any sum of money which may be raised, under the authority hereby given.

For completing the bridge over the Potomac river, near the Little Falls, $75,000.

For completing the improvement of Pennsylvania avenue, west of Seventeenth street, $9,000.

For grading done by order of Ignatius Mudd, late Commissioner of Public Buildings, in recreation grounds, between Fourteen Third st. east and New Jersey avenue, $484 89.

The amendment appropriating $300,000 for the purchase of the claims, rights, and interests, of the Hudson's Bay Company, in the Territories of Washington and Oregon.

After all the amendments, except that to the title, had been considered separately,

Mr. Letcher, as a test vote, moved to lay them on the table, (and, in effect, the bill also.)

The motion was decided in the negative—yeas 70, nays 113.

The title was then agreed to, as was the whole report of the committee.

The Alabama Railroad bill, postponed for the consideration of the Civil and Diplomatic bill, was then referred to in order, on the motion of Mr. Cobb to suspend the rules for its consideration; and the House refused to suspend the rules.

Mr. Cobb made an ineffectual motion to have the rules suspended, with a view to take up the bill granting land to Alabama for railroad purposes.

Mr. Haven moved to suspend the rules, for the purpose of considering the Senate's amendments to the River and Harbor bill; but the House refused to do so.

It also refused to suspend the rules, on Mr. Dawson's motion, to consider the Senate's amendments to the Homestead bill.

Senate, Thursday, August 3, 1854.

Mr. Hunter, from the Committee on Finance, reported the Ocean Steam Mail Appropriation bill.

Mr. Rockwell submitted a resolution, which was agreed to, calling for certain additional correspondence, by the Hon. G. P. Marsh, touching affairs in Greece.

On motion by Mr. Bright, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill to provide for the surrender of certain bonds of the State of Indiana; and the same was considered and passed.

The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of House bills on the calendar, and bills for the relief of the following named persons were passed:

W. D. Porter, of the navy; the Trustees of Marion, Ohio; John McVey and John F. McNeely; James Walsh; Jesse R. Faulkner; John Green; H. N. Halstead; Benjamin Hammond; Jack Welch; Albro Nipp; Henry Lewis.

On motion by Mr. Bright, the 16th and 17th rules were suspended for the remainder of the session.

The Naval Appropriation bill was again taken up, and numerous amendments were offered and debated. Among them were the following:

For the navy yard at San Francisco, California, $200,000. Adopted.

To pay $113,600 for seventy days' use of a steam propeller, on the Pacific coast, in preventing unlawful expeditions against Mexico. After a long debate, rejected—yeas 11, nays 30.

Other amendments were discussed and rejected. One providing for the appointment of a board of naval officers to examine and report who of the naval officers ought to be dropped, from the rolls of the Navy. Another, by himself, was discussed and rejected—yeas 22, nays 23.

House of Representatives, Aug. 3, 1854.

Mr. Houston desired that a message should be sent to the Senate, asking the return to this House of the Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill, for the correction of an error. [This was subsequently referred to the Committee of Conference.]

A question of some interest arose between Mr. Haven, who desired the taking up of the River and Harbor bill, and Messrs. Orr and Houston, who wished to take up the Homestead bill.

A message was received from the President of the United States, transmitting a copy of the Reciprocity Treaty, and asking such legislation as the House may deem necessary for the consideration of this purpose to be accomplished. Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Campbell, from the select committee on legislative frauds, made a report, exonerating all parties from intentional fraud with respect to the salaries of employees at the Capitol.

On the part of the subject of their investigation, with respect to the Minnesota Railroad Land bill, Mr. Breckinridge presented the report of the majority of the committee, expressing the opinion that fraud was not intended, together with a bill.

Mr. Campbell made a minority report thereon, accompanied by a bill to repeal the 3d section, in which the fraud is alleged to have occurred.

Mr. Breckinridge and Mr. Campbell addressed the House at length, upon the subjects of these reports.

After an unexpected debate,

Mr. Breckinridge called for the previous question on the recommendation of the committee to print the report, and discharge the committee from the further consideration of the subject.

On motion of Mr. Campbell, the question was divided; the committee was discharged, and the reports were ordered to be printed.

The bill reported by the committee was read a second time, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Craige proposed as a substitute Mr. Letcher's bill, repealing the whole bill, which was rejected; and the bill, thus amended, was finally passed.

Mr. Hunt arose to a privileged question; and, as no member on the other side of the House had done so, moved the expulsion of Mr. John W. Forney, late Clerk of this House.

Mr. Stephens, of Georgia, thought no culpability had been shown, and that the action was not necessary.

Mr. Orr said, the reports of the Committee had acquitted the Clerk, as well as all members of this House, of fraudulent intentions. He should have moved his resolution sooner.

The debate upon this resolution is still in progress.

For the National Era.

PROGRESS OF OUR CAUSE IN OHIO.

"Then onward, onward, onward still,
See how our ranks with freemen fill."

FRIEND BAILEY: A short time since I sent you a letter, reporting the aspects of our cause since the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, in the "Democratic" county of Holmes, which, to that party in Ohio, has been what New Hampshire was in the Union. Well, what I said of that county appears to be equally the case in other sections of the State. In our State politics, Ohio may or may not be thoroughly "Democratic," or anti-Bank, &c.; but in "National Democracy," as set forth in the Pro-Slavery features of that bill, a great majority of the people are anything but orthodox, or I am greatly mistaken; and I have endeavored to ascertain the truth, and think I have had an excellent opportunity, so far as I have been. The combined efforts of all the political and *theological* tools of slave-breeders can no longer suppress the indignation of the people at the insolent aggressions of the latter, and the abject servility of the former to their interests. Thank Heaven, our Churches are becoming more aroused than ever on the subject, and, whenever the Church and Slavery will be a doomed institution, notwithstanding the modern "Priests and Levites," (who formerly controlled them almost as much as the Pope and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church do,) it will be owing to the Democrats who have faithfully followed the example of their illustrious predecessors, in the case of the man "who fell among thieves."

Never was the progress of Anti-Slavery sentiment so rapid as at this time in Ohio as now, although there is not so much noisy excitement on the subject; just as streams, when small, near their sources frequently make more noise than when they become much deeper, and wider, and stronger. I have heard, in my own county, (Cuyahoga,) now represented in Congress by the Hon. Edward Wade. Ten years ago, my township, (which was about a fair sample of the whole county,) gave, I think, but *five* Anti-Slavery votes. Last fall, 1,200. By degrees we gained, till, in the county, notwithstanding repeated assurances from our Hunker friends that we were "throwing our votes away," we gave our present Representative a handsome majority over either of the other party candidates; and the next time, if he is willing to go to Congress, (and if he is not, it will not make any difference, for he must go,) we will give him a majority over all the two candidates, should there be any in opposition to him. And as great a revolution as has been accomplished in Cuyahoga, only after a ten years' war, will be accomplished in many other counties in Ohio, before the Anti-Slavery cause will be thoroughly Anti-Slavery as need be. Perhaps nothing short of the villanous attempt to extend or permit Slavery in Kansas and Nebraska would have aroused the people of the free States to the extent it has done. If, in the end, one, I shall not regret its being made, as it is perhaps quite as well to meet the issue, that is sure to come some time, between Freedom and Slavery, now as ever; and if, on account of its results, the South, or some other portion of it, should conclude to leave the Union, the people of the North will generally adopt the sentiment of one of my neighbors, who told another, who was talking of going to Illinois—"Well, Faith, and ye'll leave your dirty eyes behind ye."

H. M. ADDISON.

Tiverton, Coshocton co., Ohio, July 25, 1854.

POLITICS IN OHIO.

An intelligent and reliable correspondent, at Cincinnati, writes to the editor of the *National Era*, on the 1st instant, as follows:

"Our friends in this State are making active preparation for the Congressional contest. Hon. Edward Wade is supported for re-election, in the Cleveland district, by both Whig and Free Soil papers. The Whig, only, perhaps, got three-fourths of all the votes that will be cast. Hon. J. R. Giddings will doubtless be supported for re-election in his district. The country cannot yet spare him from their national counsels. In the Mount Vernon district, Hon. William Sapp (Whig) will probably be the Republican candidate for re-election. That is a strong Democratic district, and he obtained his election before by the Democrats running two candidates. It is more than probable there will be a sufficient secession from the Old Line Democracy, on the Nebraska question, to overcome their usual majority, and re-elect him. Mr. Wade, from the four Ohio members who voted for the bill, declines being a candidate for re-election. He is afraid to come before the people, and have them pass judgment on his treacherous conduct. Hon. Wm. F. Hunter, formerly a member of Congress, and an able and consistent Wilmot Proviso man, will probably be the Republican candidate.

"The present member, Hon. Mr. Olds will be a candidate for re-election in the Columbus district; and if so, he will have the privilege of staying at home, the next Congress. Hon. Samuel Galloway will be his opponent. He came within a few votes of beating him the last time, and this time he will run doubtedly be elected, by 500 or 1,000 majority. Hon. Lewis D. Campbell will be a candidate again in his district, and will undoubtedly be triumphantly elected.

"An intelligent politician of the city of Piqua informs me that Dr. Dorsey will be the Nebraska candidate for Congress in that district, composed of the counties of Miami, Darke, Shelby, Mercer, Auglaize, &c.; and that the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, Whigs, and Free-Soilers, will support for re-election Mr. Nichols, the present Democratic Representative, who opposed the Nebraska bill, and that they will give him a majority of votes. In Miami county will give 1,000 majority for the Republican ticket; and that intelligent politicians of Darke county say that that county will give 1,000 or 2,000 majority. The manse of the Dorseys, in Piqua, is called the Mosquito-braska swindle, and only a few of the leaders adhere to it.

"In Hamilton county, Hon. J. Scott Harrison will be re-elected, and some true man instead of Phillips.

"Yours for the right, J. E."

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

The royal mail steamer Niagara arrived at Halifax at ten o'clock last night, bringing dates from Liverpool to the 23d inst., one day later than her regular day of sailing.

Austria's conduct continued more doubtful, and is regarded with great suspicion by England and France.

The Greek insurrection was spreading rapidly, under Espartero.

No change had occurred in the condition of Eastern affairs, and none was likely to occur until after further consideration by the English and French Governments of the recent conduct of Austria.

The correspondent of the London *Morning Chronicle* makes the following important communication:

"The colonists of Vienna and Berlin have communicated to the English and French Governments the impression produced upon them by the answer of the Emperor Nicholas to the ultimatum sent by Austria to evacuate the Principalities.

"The German Powers now announce that, in their opinion, the propositions contained in Russia's answer, if not altogether satisfactory, appear sufficiently satisfactory to ground further negotiations; and they propose that the Prague shall be fixed upon as the seat for further conferences.

"They moreover express the opinion that it will not be prudent to call upon Russia to evacuate the Principalities, unless it be at the same time clearly understood that the allied Powers shall stop their movements in advance; in other words, Austria has fallen back into an attitude more pacific."

Accounts from St. Petersburgh state that the Czar is determined not to yield, and that discontent prevailed at the capital.

Russia and Austria have asked France and England to state the conditions on which they are willing to conclude a peace.

In the English House of Lords, the Earl of Harrington asked the Ministers whether they had authorized Lord Westmoreland to state to the Diet of Vienna that the Turkish subjects of Russia would not be allowed to enter the English army, or to follow the standard of the allies.

The Earl of Aberdeen replied, that no instructions had been given.

The Earl of Aberdeen then brought forward the message from the Queen, asking funds for the prosecution of the war against Russia.

Advices received at Paris, from Madrid, to the 18th, state that the insurgents were masters of that city. During the night, the troops engaged acted vigorously against the barricades, for the most part unsuccessfully.

The insurrection is said to be 18th. The *Gazette* publishes a list of new Ministers. Gen. Cavaji has been appointed commander of cavalry. The insurgents were masters at Madrid. The troops engaged against the barricades were fighting in several parts of the capital when the despatch left.

A battle had been fought between General O'Donnell and Gen. Blager, in which the latter was defeated and taken prisoner.

The populace had attacked the palace of Queen Christina, at Salamanca, Granada. The whole of Catalonia had risen, and the Captain General leads the revolutionists, who were fighting at several points.

The Manchester Guardian, of Liverpool, July 22, flour had declined 3s. to 4s. 6d. per barrel. The beef market was unchanged, with a moderate demand at previous rates. Pork was a trifle lower; transactions small and prices firm. The hop market continued very quiet, with no sales at previous rates; hams and shoulders were more freely offered. Lard opened heavy, but improved at the close.

HAVANA.—The Captain General presided at a bull fight on the 23d ult., for the benefit of the Beneficencia, or work-house.

The British sloop of war Espeigle, it is anticipated, will be at Havana again soon, to take her prize, the Grey Eagle, slaver, which the Mixed Commission has awarded to her, to Jamaica.

His Excellency the Captain General has obtained from the Queen permission to take up a public subscription, with which to erect a monument in Havana to the memory of Christopher Columbus, beneath which the ashes of Columbus, which now repose in the Cathedral Church, are to be placed.

THE SAN JUAN OR GREYTOWN AFFAIR.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* gives the following statement of a conversation with Col. Fremont, relative to the causes which led to the recent cowardly and disgraceful destruction of the town of San Juan: G.

"Colonel J. C. Fremont was one of the American citizens present at Greytown at the occurrence of the 'outrage' upon Mr. Borland, for which such fearful retribution has been visited by Captain Hollins upon the town. As he is well known the world over as a cool, clear-headed man, his testimony in the establishment of that transaction, and the facts connected with it, cannot be otherwise than highly interesting at the present time. Upon questioning him on the subject this morning, he very cheerfully communicated the following account of the affair, which is substantially as follows:

"It was quite evident that, for some reason or other, a very strong prejudice existed at Greytown against all Americans; a prejudice amounting, almost to a mania, against their coming to conceal which, no pains whatever were taken. The immediate origin of the difficulty, in which Borland participated, was the homicide of the negro captain of a bungo, or river boat, committed by Captain Scott, of a steamer plying on the river. Notwithstanding published statements directly the reverse, this homicide was considered by the Americans, almost without exception, to be a cool, premeditated murder, without a shadow of palliation. There had been some previous difficulty between Smith and the negro.

"On the day of the homicide, Smith's steamer ran down a bungo, and when the latter threatened to shoot Smith if he broke his boat, the bungo, however, was uninjured. Subsequently the steamer started down the river, and after it had proceeded some distance, put back again, apparently for no other purpose than to run into the bungo; which it did, crushing it like an egg-shell. At this time the negro was sitting in his boat with his gun across his knees. The weight of testimony is, that he was no hostile demonstration against Smith, having neither risen from his seat nor raised his gun, when Smith deliberately shot him. Immediately upon being shot, the poor fellow got up, and while attempting to step from the wreck of his bungo into the boat alongside of it, his strength failed him, and he fell into the river."

Such is the version of the affair by Mr. Fremont. He makes the third witness, whose reports show Captain Smith's conduct to have been criminal in the highest degree. The same writer goes on to give Mr. Fremont's version of the subsequent proceedings, and Mr. Borland's avowed motive for interference.

"A warrant was issued by the Mayor of Greytown for Smith's arrest, and an officer went on board the steamer, as every one knows, but was prevented from getting his prisoner, by the armed force of the steamer's passengers, headed by Borland. In aiding the minister thus to resist the officers, the passengers did not intend to endorse the murder of the negro, or absolve his murderer. On the contrary, it would have been a most unpopular act to have had him hung, on brief notice, by a Committee of Vigilance, had either of the acknowledged leaders proposed it. But Mr. Borland, in a speech he made to the crowd, as well as in private conversation, told them that he would not in any way to recognise the authority of Greytown, (deriving its authority from