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WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 18, 1848.

For the National Era.

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

No. 17.—*History of Catholic Emancipation—The Catholic Committee—The Catholic Board—The Catholic Association of 1823—Its Power—The Hour and the Man—Daniel O'Connell elected for Clare—Alarm in Downing Street—The Duke of Wellington's Decision—Passage of the Emancipation Bill—Services of O'Connell and Richard Lalor Shiel—The latter as an Orator.*

In giving a brief history of the greatest measure of reform agitation in our times, the EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, I shall barely glance at the early efforts of its friends.

Notwithstanding important movements were made in the Catholic Penal Code, in 1779 and 1793, its remaining disabilities were a burden hard to be borne, and were a cloud, shutting out the sun of civil and religious freedom. In the latter year, an association, called the "Catholic Committee," was organized in Dublin, to agitate and petition for Repeal. Though its efforts were spasmodic, and it was ultimately rent in pieces by internal divisions, it was the germ of all future organizations having the same objects. In 1810, the "Catholic Board," having in view a like result by similar means, was formed out of the fragments of the Committee. It soon divided into two parties—one contending for unqualified Emancipation; the other being willing to concede to the King a veto on the appointment of Catholic bishops in Ireland. The former party was led by Daniel O'Connell; the latter by Richard Lalor Shiel. Four years of controversy among themselves, and collision with the Government, led to the dissolution of the Board, by act of Parliament, in 1814. During the succeeding nine years, the agitation for repeal was frequently renewed; and the conduct was characterized by great violence among the politicians in Dublin, and occasional riots and commotions throughout the provinces. Mr. O'Connell being the master spirit of the Emancipators. In the years 1822-3, Ireland seemed verging towards revolution. The remedies which the British Government prescribed for her political and religious diseases were insurrection, martial law, suspensions of the *habeas corpus*, capital trials, hangings, and transportation, administered by the baton of the police and the bayonets of the soldiery. During these nine years of discontent, violence, and blood, a few friends in the House of Commons remained true to Ireland, almost every session compelling a division on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

The year 1823 saw a bright star of promise arise on the dark and troubled horizon of Hibernia. The exigencies of the times had healed the feuds of hostile factions among the Emancipationists, and they closed hands in defence of their common objective. In May, of that year, O'Connell and Shiel, who had long been estranged from each other, accidentally met among the mountains of Wicklow, at the house of a friend. A reconciliation took place, and they resolved to form a league for the deliverance of their enslaved Catholic countrymen. The same month, they organized the "Catholic Association," in Dublin, on the plan of Shiel, including all persons, of whatever sect or party, who approved its objects. It early enrolled some of the first minds in the island, who commenced an agitation which was soon felt in the fatherest corner of the Kingdom, nor stopped till it brought back responses from France, Germany, the United States, Canada, the East Indies, and other distant countries. It made the realm vocal with its orators, crowded Parliament with its petitions, and cantered its tractsover the Continent. O'Connell and Shiel were the life and soul of the Association; the former being its chief manager, the latter its most brilliant advocate.

Undoubtedly some of the transactions of this powerful and almost omnipotent body were of an inflammatory character. Its great concentration and power, and its fear of the effects of the oppressed Irish, and, by exciting the hope of relief, withdrew from them the temptation to illegal acts of violence. The justice of its object, and the contempt which its petitions received from Parliament, ultimately rallied to its standard the whole of the Catholics and an influential portion of the dissenting Protestants of Ireland. Alarmed at its power, the session of March, 1825, after a stormy debate, passed an act terminating its existence, immediately after the adjournment of Parliament, the Association was reorganized, with a constitution which did not come within the law. At the session of 1826, finding that the agitation could not be silenced, various efforts were made to ameliorate the condition of Ireland. After spending five months in vehement discussion, Parliament abandoned the country to the rage of party spirit, and it was left for the well-directed labors of the Association to preserve it from plunging into anarchy and revolution.

At the general election in the summer of 1826, the friends of Emancipation took the field and achieved some signal triumphs in returning members to Parliament. The Irish tenantry, the "forty-shilling freeholders," who had ever been supple instruments in the hands of the Protestant landlord, to perpetuate his domination and their chains, had, by the labors of the Association, been converted into an engine to overthrow the oppressors. They now voted with the Emancipators.

Canning rose to power in 1827. His professed regard for Catholic relief induced Ireland to wait and see what would come from his ministry. His early death quenched all hope of succor from his administration. After the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts the next year, a struggle for partial relief to the Catholics, which resulted successfully in the Commons, but was defeated in the Lords, only stimulated the friends of Emancipation to take a bolder step. The hour to strike the decisive blow had come, and it brought with it the man.

In 1828, Mr. Fitzgerald, the member for Clare, received a place in the Cabinet, thus vacating his seat in the Commons. He was a candidate for reelection. The Catholic Association requested Mr. O'Connell to become a candidate for the vacancy, and in his own person seek to establish the right of Catholics to sit in Parliament. He immediately issued an address to the electors of Clare, in which, among other things, he said: "Fellow-Countrymen, your country wants a representative. I respectfully solicit your suffrages, to raise me to that station. . . . You will be told I am not qualified to be elected. I am qualified to vote; I am qualified to be elected, and to be your representative. It is true that, as a Catholic, I cannot, and of course never will, take the oaths at present prescribed to members of Parliament. But the authority which created those oaths can abrogate them. And I entertain a confident hope that, if you elect me, the moral weight of our united voice will see the necessity of removing from the chosen representative of the people an obstacle which would prevent him from doing his duty to his King and to his country." He gave a summary of the wrongs of Ireland, and concluded with a thrilling appeal to his countrymen.

The address fell like a thunderbolt upon the enemies of Emancipation. The friends of Fitzgerald would not believe it was the intention of O'Connell to seriously contest the canvass. The speedy arrival of two of his agents in Clare dispelled their doubts. The county was in a boil of excitement. The day of election approached, Shiel addressed a concourse of electors. His eloquence inspires with enthusiasm their hearts. The time for the arrival of the great agitator himself is fixed. An immense throng hails him, with banners, music, and shontings. The trial day comes, and the candidates appear before assembled thousands of the electors. Fitzgerald delivers an able speech. O'Connell rises and addresses a concourse of electors in which every the passions of the peasantry so force sate wave when swept by the wing of the tempest. A violent contest ensues, and at its close the high-sheriff declares that "Daniel O'Connell, Esq., is duly elected a member of the Commons House of Parliament for the county of Clare."

This unexpected result produced dismay into the councils of Downing street; for they knew that O'Connell was soon to appear in London and demand his seat in Parliament. His fame was no stranger to the place where his person was unknown. His reputation had long ago penetrated every mansion and cabin in the realm. The agitation of the past year had greatly broad had shaken Ireland from Cape Clear to the Giant's Causeway, had ever and anon caused the walls of St. Stephen's to tremble. And now, what seemed so terrible in the distance, was to be brought to its very doors. Parliament was not in session; but it had been announced that ministers would oppose Mr. O'Connell's entrance into the Commons. The declaration drove Ireland to the brink of civil war. The commander of the forces conveyed to the ministry the alarming intelligence, that the troops were fraternizing with the people, and their loyalty could not be relied on in the event of an outbreak. All minds not besotted with bigotry felt that the great right for which the agitation had contended must be conceded. The Duke of Wellington, then at the head of the Government, saw that the hour had come when either his prejudices or his place must be surrendered. He decided that the former must yield. Parliament was convened on the 5th of March, 1829. On the first day of the session, Mr. Peel moved that the House go into committee, "to take into consideration the civil disabilities of his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects." After two days' debate, it prevailed. A bill of Emancipation was introduced. Ancient hatred was aroused, and in five days sent in a thousand petitions against its passage. The bill passed, after a severe struggle, and Mr. Peel carried it to the Lords. A fierce conflict ensued, but it was forced through by the Iron Duke. On the 13th of April it received the royal assent, and was hailed with joy by the friends of religious freedom, whilst bigotry went growling to its den.

Mr. O'Connell appeared in the House to claim his seat. Having been elected before the act of Emancipation, he claimed to take the oaths he were tendered to him. He declined to take them. After tedious hearings before the Committee of Elections, extending through several weeks, and a powerful address at the bar of the House in support of his own right, his seat was declared vacant. He returned to Ireland, and was everywhere hailed as "The Liberator of Ireland." After walking over the course of Clare, he repaired to Westminster, and "the member for all Ireland" took his seat in the British House of Commons.

For this gaunt concession to the genius of Toleration, the age is indebted to the Catholic Association, organized and sustained by O'Connell and Shiel, the Castor and Pollux of Emancipation. No two men were more perfect antagonisms in the prime elements of their characters, and no two more harmoniously blended in the accomplishment of a common object. Each supplied what was wanting in the other. O'Connell was unsurpassed in planning, organizing, and executing, and his unique and vigorous eloquence could utter to the bosom of his country, and to society, Shiel was rich in the highest gifts of oratory, ornate, classical, impassioned, and could rouse the enthusiasm and intoxicate the imaginations of the refined classes of his countrymen. The one contributed to the work, the learning and skill of an acute lawyer, the knowledge of a well-read historian of his country, an intimate acquaintance with all the details of the great question at issue, and business capacities of the first order. The other gave to it a transcendent intellect, adorned with the genius of a poet, the graces of a rhetorician, and the embellishments of a polite scholar. Both consecrated to it intense nationality of feeling, quenchless patriotism, and indomitable courage. Each yielded to the other the exclusive occupancy of the peculiar field of labor to which his talents were best adapted.

MR. SHIEL was born in 1791. In his youth, he won a high literary reputation as the author of two tragedies, *Evadne* and *The Apostate*, and some beautiful essays in the periodicals. His early acquired an enviable reputation at the Dublin bar as an advocate. But "the gauge and measure of the man" were known to a comparatively small circle till his splendid oratorical displays, from 1824 to 1829, in defence of the principles and objects of the Catholic Association, made his fame co-extensive with the empire. The result of his services had been complete. He was to himself what he so graphically said of Grattan, "The people of Ireland saw the pinnacles of the Establishment shattered by the lightning of his eloquence." The Emancipation bill opened to him the doors of Parliament. He entered its hall in 1831, heralded by a reputation surpassing that of his whole most orators have been content to leave that field of their triumphs. It is the highest proof of the solidity of his reputation, that in this new arena he increased the brilliancy of his fame, being a marked exception to the rule, that orators who have become famous at the bar, or the hustings, or on the platform, have failed to meet the public expectation on encountering the severer tests of the House of Commons.

Several years ago, I heard Mr. Shiel deliver a speech in Parliament, and I retain a vivid impression of his power. He seemed the very embodiment of all that was gorgeous and beautiful in the arts of rhetoric and oratory. I had heard Choate, Hoffman, Everett, Prentiss, and Preston, in that style of eloquence in which they excel; he surpassed them all. His sentences rushed forth with the velocity of a mountain torrent, while the silver tone and a half he raised downupon the House a ceaseless shower of metaphor, simile, declamation, and appeal, lighted with the brilliant flashes of wit, and mingled with the glittering hail of sarcasm. He belongs not to the best school of oratory, but is master of that in which he was trained. There is no rant or fustian in his speeches, but he does sometimes indulge in tinsel. Though polished in the extreme, they are pure ore, and sparkle with real gems. His ornaments are lavishly put on, but are never selected from the tinsel and mock diamond mine. His defect is, that he too much discards logic, and revels in rhetoric. In discussing even an appropriation bill, he opened with a description of the Pyramids, the bridge of the Chancellor of the Exchequer than from the perennial springs of Helicon. He aims to reach the heart, not through the reason, but the reason and the heart through the imagination. He is no more like Brougham or Webster, than a brilliant charge of Murat at the head of his cavalry is like a steady fire from a park of artillery.

As a specimen of his oratory, I subjoin an extract from one of his speeches. In 1837, Lord Lyndhurst declared, in the Upper House, that the Irish were "alienes in blood and religion." Shortly after, Mr. Shiel thus repelled the charge in the Commons. Lord L. was a listener.

"Where was Arthur, Duke of Wellington, when those words were uttered? Methinks he should have stood up and declaim them.

'The battles, sieges, fortunes that he passed'

ought to have come back upon him. He ought to have remembered that, from the earliest achievement in which he displayed his military genius, which has placed him foremost in the annals of modern warfare, down to that last and engrossing one in which he has made the Pyrenees and Garonne from Assaye to Waterloo—the Irish soldiers, with whom your armies were filled, were the inseparable auxiliaries to the glory with which his unparalleled successes have been crowned. Where were the athletic arms that drove your bayonets at Vimiera through the phalanxes that never reeled in the shock of war before? Where the desperate valor climbed the steeps and filled the mouths of Badajos? All, all his victories should have rushed and crowded into his memory—Talavera, Busaco, Badajos, Salamanca, Almera, Toulouse—and, last of all, the greatest. Tell me, for you were there—I appeal to the gallant officer before me, (pointing to Sir Henry Hardinge,) who bears in his generous heart in an intrepid breast—tell me, for you must needs remember, on that day when the destiny of nations was suspended on the issue, while death fell in showers upon them; when the artillery of France, levelled with the precision of a mathematical science, plied upon them; when her legions, incited by the voice, inspired by the example of their mighty leader, rushed again and again to the contest; tell me if for an instant they did hesitate for an instant to be lost, the 'aliens' blanched? And when, at length, the moment for the last decisive movement came, when the word was given, the king wearily checked, was at last let loose; when, with words familiar but immortal, the great captain exclaimed, 'Up, lads, and at them'—tell me if Catholic Ireland with less heroic valor than the natives of your own glorious isle precipitated herself upon the foe? The blood of England, Scotland, Ireland, flowed from the same wounds and fell cold. When the chill morning dawned, their dead lay cold and stark together. In the same deep pit their bodies were cast to rot. The green grass is now breaking on their commingled dust. The dew falls from heaven upon their union in the grave. Portsmouth every peril, in the glory shall we not participate? And shall we be told, as a requital, that we are estranged from the noble country for whose salvation our life-blood was poured out?"

Though approaching the verge of good taste, occasion of the present effect of such an outburst gushing from the lips of Shiel, the inspiration standing in drops on his knotted locks, his eye kindling with Milesian fire, every feature of his expressive countenance instinct with passion, every limb of his small but symmetrical frame trembling with emotion, he chrill but musical voice barking every emphatic word!

Since he entered Parliament, Mr. Shiel has acted with the liberal Whigs, has held office under Lord John Russell, and has generally declined the lead of Mr. O'Connell. He stood aloof from the Repeal agitation, though he defended O'Connell, when on trial for Conspiracy some two or three years ago, with the ability and eloquence of his brightest days. H. B. S.

OBITUARY.

☞ We can bear testimony to the estimable character of the subject of the following short biographical notice.—*Ed. Era.*

KEAN LAKE MESSROWS, O., Nov. 27, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I have just returned from the performance of a solemn duty. With an unusual number of citizens I accompanied our worthy friend, David Monroe, to the grave, yesterday, to deposit his living, "*where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.*" His death was on the wise: On his return—there being an opening in the side-walk—he fell into the cellar, and fractured his spine. He lingered a few days, and died on the 20th. His head received the most fatal injury. It is supposed he had not been long dead when he was discovered, and every possible aid rendered by friends and physicians, but all in vain. He remained nearly speechless until Saturday about 12 o'clock, when, at his own house, he departed this life, aged about sixty-five years.

Our departed friend was a native of Scotland, and resided in Edinburgh, where he was born of Cooperanqus. Being a man of intelligence, and understanding that there was a settled gospel ministry, according to his views, near Leith, he embarked, with a small family, for America, making Xenia his point of destination, where he arrived in 1819, and where he spent the remainder of his days.

Being an ingenious mechanic, he was soon established in profitable business, and prospered in worldly things. He was economical and industrious, which enabled him to be liberal in every good work. While he was economical, he was not penurious; and though liberal, he was not ostentatious. As to his living, perhaps no one came nearer the true medium; everything necessary for comfort and decency was freely enjoyed without extravagance; in all this he had an excellent helpmeet. With him there was no want of generous hospitality, especially towards poor strangers. If they were naked, he clothed them; if they were hungry, he fed them; if they fell among thieves, he acted the part of the good Samaritan.

He possessed a good degree of moral courage; and, regardless of popular opinion, he would do right. He was a faithful citizen of his adopted country, and pleased with the *principles* of liberty, but grieved with the *practice of slavery*, and was among the first to associate for its overthrow. Hence he was called an Abolitionist; but, with all the odium attached to the name, he prospered in the use of constitutional means that the yoke might be *broken and the oppressed go free*; and from an intimate knowledge of the facts, certainly no one in Congress could exert more conscientious influence. His purse and his time were always ready in the cause of humanity, and although not a public speaker, yet he could, in a more private way, *open his mouth for the dumb*, and, regardless of pro-slavery taunts, he would *plead the cause of the poor and needy.*

A Clarkson is gone—a Morriss is gone—and a Munroe is gone; yet my faith is strong that a sovereign Ruler will raise up other instruments to fill such places in the church, that we not be distant when the jubilee shall sound, and liberty be proclaimed *throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof.*

YOURS, SINCERELY,
JAMES MORROW.

For the National Era.

THE MAIDEN'S VISION.

In the stilly hour she slept
Where the sunbeams sparkle blind
Flashes o'er the white grape-clusters,
Like the bloom of beauty's hand,

Sits a maiden musing lonely,
Musing on the map of life,
Spread before her, with its valleys,
With its turmoil, sin, and strife.

But, o'er all that solemn picture,
O'Clouds, a shadow, seem to lay
Where the shadows of the Future
Tremble dimly on its face.

Seer she thus—the future veiling—
Truth and Beauty, Love and Peace,
Like the bow from heaven outsmiling,
Ere the tempest-cloud has passed.

Drifting from the cloudy Distance,
Comes a golden form to see—
Labor, with sweet Hope, linked hand in hand
Mongst the noble and the free—

Labor with brown hand sustaining
All that Beauty's soul can yield—
Looking upward, pressing onward,
Never faltering in the field.

From Oppression's shattered dungeon,
Lo, the prisoners unshaved creep!
While the Giant, bound and blinded,
Hideth by the curtained deep.

See! another form of beauty,
Hearing gifts and dower sweet,
Dazzlingly the sunbeams scattering!
Fall the stranger's shining feet.

Each was captive's head and sighs,
Sighed for Freedom. The Years passed,
Every one the bondsman's bearer,
"Year of Jubilee" was at last.—

And o'er all a sweet bird singeth,
And the warbler none can see;
But in dreamless slumbers of Heaven
Are bending in such melody.

Hush thy breathing, careless gazer!
Stay thy footstep wanting sigh,
Lest thy sighs be heard in heaven
Hung before her raptures, eye.

Say not that the bright bird
Which her spirit-form is, dreams yet,
In this world of doubt and darkness,
Never, never may be met.

Know ye not that sliding angels
Hover round the earnest heart,
Gleaned of human joys and human breathings
Of the true Life to impart?

Teaching there the immortal Lesson,
Faith in God and love to man;
Lighting from the sacred altars
Fires which unseen wings shall fan!

Know ye not the soul illumined
By this Lesson, Faith and Love,
In another yearning bosom
May the sacred seed be planted?

Till the wonderous radiance, spending
Fills old Earth's benighted walls,
And, like unto the Angel-Seer's vanishing,
Error's dusky mantle falls!

Mock not, then, the maiden's vision,
While one living spark is given,
While within one human breast
Burns the infinite fire of Heaven.

H. L. B.

Vallambrosa, Ohio.

THE TREASURY REPORT.

This important document is of great length, and, for the convenience of those who do not like to wade through a dozen columns of details, we make an abstract of it.

The report opens with a statement of the receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1848. The receipts from customs, public lands, loans, and all other sources, amount to the sum of $58,394,701 84; the expenditures to $55,241,106 84, leaving a balance in the Treasury, July 1st, of $153,534 60. These statements, together with those of the estimates for the current fiscal year, have been all based on the President's message.

A comparison of the amount of revenue under the present tariff, with that received under the tariff of 1842, is made, with a elaborate argument in favor of low duties, and opposed to the protective system, which the Secretary denounces as "agrarian, and a war upon property."

The report then goes on to speak of the coast survey on the Pacific, and recommends that collection districts be established at San Diego, Monterey, Puget Sound, and Puget Sound. The immense commerce that is expected to arise between our Pacific coast and the Asiatic nations is referred to as a reason for the establishment as well as our revenue, a number of additional steamships is recommended for use on that ocean, as well as on the Atlantic and the Gulf. The importance of fostering our commerce with Asia is also urged, as it will be the precursor of Christianity among her heathen nations, and in the same paragraph the Secretary refers to the immence wealth that would be added to our commercial population.

Some additional legislation is recommended in regard to the passage of our fabrics across the Isthmus of Panama; and, to prevent frauds on the revenue, the appointment of agents or consuls for Chagres and other Isthmian ports.

The Secretary renews his recommendations for reciprocal free trade between the Canadas and the United States, and intimates that a similar treaty between our Republic and Mexico is also recommended, and the prospect held out that it will soon be brought about.

A Branch Mint in the city of New York is again strongly urged upon Congress, and a number of statements are made to show the necessity for one.

The loan of $16,000,000, authorized by the act of 21st March, is referred to, and the amount of premium obtained, which is stated to be $487,168 66. The public debt for each year, from 1790 down to 1848, is referred to for the sake of comparison, and the result is highly favorable to the present condition of our finances and resources. The public debt at the present time, including the loan yet to be paid in, is $65,278,450,41.

The public lands amounted to 1,402,217,839 acres, worth, at $1.25 per acre, $1,802,772,296. Regarding them, however, as worth only 25 cents per acre, their value is $350,554,459.

Some former recommendations, in regard to the Government stocks, bounty land scrip, &c., are renewed. The Secretary recommends that the Department be authorized to purchase, at market rates, any portion of the public debt of 28.000.000, of the act of 28th January, 1847. A purchase of this kind, to the amount of $30,000, was recently made under authority of the Department, by the Collector of New York.

The coast survey has been carried on with zeal and effect in the past year, and important discovery have been made in the character of the coast and in the various currents. Improvements in the light house system are recommended. Improvements in the standard system of weights and measures are also suggested. A grant of a section of land in every quarter township of Oregon, New Mexico, and California, for purposes of education, is strongly urged.

The gold region of California is referred to, and the establishment of a branch mint at San Francisco is very strongly urged upon Congress. A scientific commission, to make a geological survey of the Territory, is also recommended.

A special report on the warehousing system is promised. In the mean time it is stated that the value of foreign goods warehoused, from August, 1846, to September 30th, 1848, is about forty-four millions of dollars.

Some improvements are recommended in the organization of the Treasury Department, which it is not necessary to describe here. The report closes with an earnest prayer for the continuance of the blessings of Heaven, that the nation may be blessed us."—*Philadelphia Republic.*

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1848.

SENATE.

SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO.

Mr. Benton said that a Senator from Delaware [Mr. Clayton] and himself had received a communication from New Mexico, taking into consideration the condition of that country, with the request that they should present it to the Senate of the United States.

Mr. B. then sent to the Secretary a memorial of the People of New Mexico, assembled in convention at Santa Fe, October 14th, 1848, praying Congress to organize a Territorial Government in that country. The memorial contains, among other, the following clauses, viz:

"We respectfully but firmly protest against the dismemberment of our Territory in favor of Texas, or for any other purpose.

"We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders; and, until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against their introduction among us."

Mr. Benton moved the printing of the memorial, and its reference to the Committee on Territories.

Mr. Clayton seconded this motion, and expressed his intention of laboring assiduously to obtain the organization of a Territorial Government over New Mexico.

The Vice President was about to put the question, when

Mr. Calhoun rose and said he had no objection to the reference proposed, but he desired to express the opinion, that for that Territory, under all the circumstances of the case, to send such a petition to the Congress of the United States, was disrespectful, and bordered on insolence. He wished to exclude from among them the very men who had conquered them. Mr. C., however, could not wonder at this representation coming from a country from which it had come, upon the floor of the Senate.

Mr. Benton replied with some warmth, and, on behalf of himself and the Senator from Delaware, disclaimed for the petitioners any intention to be disrespectful or insolent. He thought the application of such an epithet entirely gratuitous.

Mr. Calhoun said it was not at all strange that the Senator from Missouri and the Senator from Delaware should look upon the petition in that light. He (Mr. C.) looked upon the rights of the people of the Southern States, who were proposed to be excluded from New Mexico. He maintained, as a high constitutional principle, that the right of the South to go there with their property was as unquestionable as their right to hold their property in the States where it was held. He belonged to the United States—to Carolina or Virginia, as much as to New York or to Massachusetts.

Mr. Rusk rose, not to go into a general discussion of the merits of the memorial, and all the subjects connected therewith, but, as a citizen of Texas, to enter indisputable claim to all of the territory of New Mexico this side of the Rio Grande—a title which, upon examination, would be found to be valid, not only by the laws of nations and the facts as they exist.

Mr. Benton disclaimed any intention to provoke debate at the present time. The memorial presented questions which would occupy much of their time, when they should come up in their place, and there was no necessity for anticipating them. He (Mr. B.) had presented the petition, avoiding a single remark relative to its contents, further than was required by the Parliamentary rules.

But, sir, (said Mr. B.) it has been assailed, and epithets applied to it. The Senator from South Carolina has said it was natural for me to think of that petition, as I do, and that it was right to think of it as he did. Well, sir, the only opinion that I expressed about it was, that it was a petition of rights. I presumed it was so, when I presented; that those petitioners were not subject to the imputation of insolence for presenting it. And now, sir, since it has been persisted in, I will say, that the part of that petition to which the term "insolent" applies, in the opinion of the Senator from South Carolina, is that part which relates to the subject of slavery. I will say, sir, (perhaps without knowing it) these petitioners have used the very words of the General Assembly of Virginia in her resolutions, which I read out of the American Revolution. And though George III did not grant that petition, yet I never heard that it was thought insolent in the General Assembly of Virginia to present it.

Mr. Calhoun said he had made no complaint of the manner in which the petition had been presented, but to its matter. The Southern States claimed the right, under the Constitution, to go into any portion of the territory conquered by the arms of the Union, and there to establish their troops drawn from that portion of the country; and now, to pray for the exclusion of his constituents from that country, was the height of insolence.

After some few remarks, made in an excited tone, concerning upon the misunderstanding of an expression used by the Senator from South Carolina—

Mr. Benton again denied the charge of "insolence." He maintained the petitioners right of the people of New Mexico—conquered or unconquered, coming into our nation by peaceful means, or coming into it therefore as a part of Texas, in any view of the matter—to present their petition. Every subject in their memorial was a fair subject for legislation, and they had presented them in respectful language. They had asked for what is a right to do, and Mr. B. would not have the term "insolent" applied to them, without saying, in a way that should be understood, that the expression was gratuitous and unfounded.

Mr. Calhoun had remarked upon the petition itself, and not upon its printing or reference. He did not hold the petitioners responsible. He did he consider the Senator from Missouri or the Senator from Delaware responsible for its contents. He meant to oppose the proposition, that the people occupying a territory belonging to the United States in its Federal capacity, asking Congress to exclude his constituents from the States from said territory, was insolent; and whether the Senator from Missouri agreed with him or not, was to Mr. C. a matter of perfect indifference.

Mr. Westcott expressed his doubt of the soundness of the position, and called for the proof that the people of New Mexico authorized the convention of the people of New Mexico, authorized in all respects to represent and to speak for the 75,000 or 100,000 souls residing in said Territory. He was of the opinion that the Convention was a got-up concern, convened by a few individuals, and from interested motives.

Mr. Clayton said he had hoped that the debate had occurred. Surely it had not been provoked by anything which had fallen from his lips or the lips of the Senator from Delaware. They had consulted together relative to the memorial, and had resolved to present it, have it read, and, as it contained nothing upon its face disrespectful, to ask its reference to the appropriate committee, and that it be printed. The honorable Senator from Florida [Mr. Westcott] had prejudiced the interests of the petitioners, by insisting that the paper, which they had sent here, was an imposition. Why, sir, said Mr. C., it comes accredited by the Senator from Missouri and myself, and by letters from gentlemen residing in the Territory, as we believe, from every evidence, that it is a genuine petition from a great number of persons who had assembled at Santa Fe, for the purpose of obtaining of the American Congress protection as a people. They are without law and without protection, and they humbly and respectfully ask the American Congress to give them the protection of a civil Government. That is their great object. As to the imposition which the honorable gentleman from Florida suspects, there is not a shadow of evidence or a shadow of reason to suspect such a thing. The petition is signed by a gentleman declaring himself to be the President of the Convention. It is countersigned by another gentleman representing himself to be the Secretary of the Convention; and it is additionally accredited to us by the names of some twelve or fifteen other persons, who I suppose thought that the addition of their names would at least give dignity to the statement of the President and Secretary of the Convention, that they were the officers of a Convention duly assembled for the purpose stated.

Now, Mr. President, I deprecate any discussion upon the two questions which are most calculated to excite any discussion, while the petition is in this preliminary stage—the question whether it shall be restricted in that Territory, and the question whether the limits of the Territory shall be on this side of the Rio Grande, or whether they shall stop with the river. These matters may be appropriately discussed when the committee to which the petition will be referred can make their report, and state propositions distinctly for the consideration of the American Senate. But now, sir, there is no question before the Senate. A debate upon the matter can only have the effect to prejudge the claims of the petitioners to have a civil Government. My views upon one great question stated in the memorial are perfectly well known to the Senator from South Carolina and to the Senator from Florida. I do submit to the gentlemen from South Caroline, that, upon full consideration, he will reconsider the charge of insolence. I think the imputation is direct, disrespectful, he is greatly mistaken, as I think. If it is insolent, it of course must be disrespectful; and if it is disrespectful, the fault of the Senators upon this floor—if it is disrespectful to any portion of the Senators upon this floor—it ought not to be received, much less to be referred and printed. But it is not; there is not a word of it calculated to excite any such feeling. These gentlemen say they are opposed to the introduction of slavery. Now, whether they are abolitionists, or whatever they are, they have a right to say that—here they not? Why, sir, if a petition was sent here, signed by some fifteen gentlemen, who desired that slavery should be introduced there, would any gentleman rise and say that it was disrespectful to one-half the Senate, or to one-half the country? Why, sir, if any one, which has claimed through the whole campaign that there shall be no slavery either in California or in New Mexico?

Mr. President, I sought to discharge my duty merely by stating my disposition to give that paper form of civil proceeding. I regret that any observation should have fallen from any quarter calculated to injure the great cause of the petitioners to be claim that a civil Government shall be extended over them. I, for my part, without further opposition, (if there has been any opposition,) the memorial will be printed.

Mr. Calhoun said, that, if the President, in relation to the charge of disrespect. The position of the Senator was this: that if the petition is disrespectful to the Senate, it ought not to be received. If disrespectful to our constituents, the same rule applies as if disrespectful to the Senators. Well, sir, many years ago I took the ground that the Senate had no right to reject a petition, if it is disrespectful to our constituents is disrespectful to the Senate, and ought not to be received. When Abolition petitions were first presented here, that was the ground I took; and the Secretary will remember that I called upon him to take out two or three of those petitions, and read them to the Senate. They were abusive to the South in the extreme—called us thieves, and applied other epithets of the same character. I then applied to gentlemen on this side of the aisle, that that was disrespectful to our constituents, and therefore disrespectful to the Senate. But my appeal was in vain; they voted me down, and received the petitions. I hope, then, this petition will not be received, for the very reason that it is disrespectful to the constituents of one-half of the country.

But I do not wish to make a point of that. I rose to express my sentiments; and I shall ever rise when any proposition is made that I what indicate the honor of those I represent. I call it the height of insolence for the people recently subjected to the jurisdiction of the Congress of the American Congress to exclude from its territory one-half of the people of the nation to which that territory belongs. It does not belong to the North as the North, or to the South as the South. It belongs to the thirty States; and is it not a piece of insolence that they should come here and present such a petition? Sir, if I should take the ground which my own feelings dictated, I would have moved to lay the petition on the table; but, let it go!

Mr. Benton. As the Senator from South Carolina reiterates, in the most formal manner, his decision that the petition is insolent, and that it is such a one as ought not to be received, because it affects the interest of, or is disrespectful to, half the States of the Union, I desire, sir, that he should state the ground of his opinion in case; and if he will make a motion to reject the petition, I will give way. I pause to give the gentleman an opportunity.

Mr. Calhoun. I make no motion, sir!

Mr. Benton. Then, sir, I move that the petition be printed, and upon that question I ask the yeas and nays. I have heard nothing to change the ground which my own feelings dictated, I would have moved to lay the petition on the table; but, let it go!

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Mr. Foote rose to a critical analysis of the term "Convention," instructing the Senate with reference to its proceedings in various applications, and illustrating by reference to conventional assemblages, both civil and ecclesiastical.

Mr. P. concluded with some remarks relative to the authenticity of the memorial, intimating that he believed it to have been gotten up by politicians, as a clap-trap, for political effect.

After some further remarks by Mr. Westcott,

Mr. Foote, and Mr. Clayton, in the course of which the latter gentleman stated that the proceedings of the Convention in question had been published for weeks all over the country—

Mr. Hale rose and said: Mr. President, as this subject has created some debate at this unusual hour of the day, I hope I may be allowed to say a few words. I am as good a time to meet the great question involved as at any other. It is unusual to take up an important question in this way; but, inasmuch as a debate has been entered into, and as the petition presented to us has been criticised, and the motives of its signers and advocates impugned, it is proper that I should make a few remarks relative thereto; and, sir, as the petition has been denominated insolent, I do not know but I may subject myself to a charge of the same character by the amendment which I propose to offer. The amendment is, that the petition be referred to the Committee on Territories, with *instructions* to report a bill for the organization of a Territorial Government, in accordance with the suggestions of the memorial. Now, sir, let me say one word in regard to the character of this memorial. I have heard it said, that it seems to have been directed by the honorable gentlemen from Mississippi and Florida, is, that it does not come to us in the authenticated as the proceedings of a regular convention. I, for one, if I understood the Senator from Mississippi aright, that this term had assumed a pretty definite and settled meaning among us. I did not hear the convention we understood a number of men regularly elected as representatives of a people. I think, sir, if the honorable gentleman will look back to the history of this country, which enjoys a very much higher stage of civilization and a great deal more learning upon this matter of conventions, than had from time to time been assembled in Europe, he will find that this term is not so well understood even in this country as he would suppose, and there might easily be a little ignorance on the land where they have not been drilled so thoroughly. The great Empire State of New York—and they have had as much discussion upon this matter of conventions as any people—could not choose a delegate that was competent to throw her vote in a regular convention for the nomination of a President. The fact was that the voter in not any better understood here than in New Mexico. In South Carolina they could choose a man in two minutes to represent her vote; but in New York they could not choose a man to throw one; and we might well exercise a little forbearance towards the ignorant people in New Mexico. Perhaps, sir, this is the first time they have undertaken to hold a convention, and that may be the reason. Perhaps it was the Free Soil party in New Mexico who had a convention and sent this petition here. It is possible, sir, that is may be the Democratic party, and it is not utterly impossible that it was a convention of the Whig party, for they are "in favor of Free Soil," and the restriction of slavery, in many parts of the country. I am not sure but we ought to have a Committee on Conventions—a subject may be properly investigated and reported upon.

This, sir, is a petition asking legislation upon a most serious subject—a subject upon which the honorable Senator from Mississippi has well said that the public mind has been greatly agitated, and upon which it will contin

Freedley, Fries, Giddings, Gott, Greeley, Gregory, Grinnell, Hale, Nathan K. Hall, Hammons, James G. Hampton, Henley, Henry, Hubbard, Hudson, Hunt, Irvin, Jenkins, James H. Johnson, Kellogg, Daniel P. King, Lahm, William T. Lawrence, Sidney Lawrence, Levin, Lincoln, Lord, Lyndo, Maclay, McClelland, McIlvaine, Job Mann, Marsh, Marvin, Morris, Mullin, Nelson, Nicoll, Palfrey, Pennoyer, Peck, Petrie, Pollock, Putnam, Reynolds, Richey, Robinson, Rockhill, Julius Rockwell, John A. Rockwell, Root, Rumsey, St. John, Sherrill, Silvester, Slingerland, Smart, Caleb B. Smith, Robert Smith, Truman Smith, Starkweather, Stuart Strohm, Strong, Tallmadge, Taylor, Thomas, James Thompson, Richard W. Thompson, William Thompson, Thurston, Tuck, Venton, Warren, Wentworth, White, Wick, Wiley, Wilmot, Wilson, Woodward—107.

NAYS—Messrs. Adams, Atkinson, Barringer, Barrow, Bayly, Beale, Bocock, Botts, Boyd, Boydon, Williams R. Brown, Charles Brown, Albert G. Brown, Buckner, Burt, Chase, Thomas F. Clark, Clingman, Howell Cobb, Williamson R. W. Cobb, Cranston, Crozier, Daniel, Donnell, Garnett Duncan, Alexander Duncan, Flournoy, Fowler, Fulton, Gaines, Gentry, Goggin, Green, Willard P. Hall, Harralson, Harmanson, Harris, Hill, Hilliard, Isaac E. Holmes, Hunter, Inge, Charles J. Ingersoll, Ives, Andrew Johnson, Robert W. Johnson, Geo. W. Jones, John W. Jones, Kaufman, Kennon, La Sere, Leidler, Ligon, Lumpkin, McDowell, McKay, McLane, Meade, Miller, Morehead, Morse, Murphy, Outlaw, Pendleton, Peyton, Phelps, Preston, Rhett, Richardson, Sawyer, Shepperd, Stanton, Thibodeaux, Thomas, Jacob Thompson, John B. Thompson, Robert A. Thompson, Tompkins, Venable, Wallace, Woodward—80.

Mr. Robinson moved to reconsider the vote, wish a view to debate the resolution; and pending this motion,

The House adjourned.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, appeared in his seat to-day.

Numerous petitions were presented and referred.

Mr. Benton, from the Committee on Military Affairs, to whom the subject had been referred, reported "A bill to make compensation for the transportation of troops and supplies, for a limited time, over the Isthmus of Panama."

The bill proposes to pay Aspinwall & Co., of New York, a reasonable compensation for the service alluded to, provided the company completes a railroad across the Isthmus within three years from the 1st of June next.

On motion of Mr. Benton, the bill was made the special order for Monday next.

THE SEVENTH CENSUS.

Mr. Cameron, in pursuance of previous notice, asked and obtained leave to introduce a bill for taking the seventh census, or enumeration of the people of the United States; which was read twice, and referred to a select committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Cameron, Davis of Massachusetts, Butler, Underwood, and Badger.

DISEASE OF A REPRESENTATIVE.

A message was received from the House of Representatives, announcing the death of the Hon. Alexander D. Sims, a Representative in Congress from the State of South Carolina, and the action of the House in relation thereto.

After a few remarks by Mr. Butler, the usual resolutions of respect were adopted, and

The Senate adjourned to Monday next.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Mr. Bridges, of Pennsylvania, appeared in his seat to-day.

OBITUARY.

Immediately after the meeting of the House, Mr. Wallace, of South Carolina, rose, and in a few appropriate remarks announced the death of Alexander D. Sims, a Representative in Congress from the State of South Carolina, who died at Fingueree, South Carolina, on the 16th of November last, and the obsequies of his remains. Mr. W. submitted the customary resolutions, which were agreed to, and

The House adjourned.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1848.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

After a session of about two hours, which was consumed in action upon private bills,

The House adjourned to Monday next.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 21, 1848.

NOTICE.

All communications to the *Era*, whether on business of the paper, or for publication, should be addressed to

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

FOREIGN NEWS.

Few persons can find time to wade through the distracting details of the foreign news now constantly brought to our shores. We are making arrangements to present such a weekly digest as may satisfy all our readers.

NEXT NUMBER

will close our 2d volume. It will contain a complete index. We have on hand some rich contributions from Grace Greenwood and Mrs. Southworth.

Bring along the subscribers.

REMOVAL.

We have removed our publication office to a more central situation, on 7th street, a few doors below the General Post Office, opposite the Odd Fellows' Hall; and our printing office to 6th street, a few doors below Pennsylvania avenue.

THIS SESSION OF CONGRESS

will be, from present indications, an exciting one. Our reports will be impartial and as full as the great majority of our readers will desire. After we have gone through the pressure of materials now perplexing us, more attention will be paid to the Literary and Miscellaneous departments of the paper.

☞ The letter of our correspondent in Cincinnati, entitled "Westerniana in Random Epistles," was not received till another letter, disposing of the same topics, had been printed.

☞ The Voice of the Aged.—A venerable friend of Freedom in Vermont, writes: "I think we have not paid that attention to the moral and religious bearing of the Slave question, which its importance demands. Slavery is a violation of moral obligation, and it should be pressed and pressed again upon the Southern conscience. I am old and feeble, and can now do but little; but I would cheer on those who are strong for the war. There is much to encourage, nothing to discourage. Victory will come in the best time. May you live to see it?"

☞ What one man can do.—A zealous Free Soil man at Deep Run, Connecticut, in a humorous letter to us a few days ago, incidentally shows what one man can do when he is in earnest. He writes: "I notice by your paper, that any *clergyman*, sending four names, with the money, is entitled to a copy gratis. Now, I am not a clergyman," [Never mind that,] "but I do feel an interest in the noble cause in which you are engaged; and, although a journeyman mechanic, I tried, during the late canvass, to do something for Free Soil, by way of circulating papers and documents. I spent several days in obtaining subscribers and readers to the Campaign of Freedom, and our own Free Soil Advocate, and made a market for three hundred or four hundred weekly, in seven or eight different towns, partly gratis."

How much the cause of Human Progress owes to men of this earnestness of purpose, who do good for the *love* of it, and not the *profit* of it.

☞ Shawneen.—The friend among the Shawnees, who sends us some Indian subscribers, will confer a favor on us by carrying out his intention, and giving us a general history of matters in the Indian country.

☞ No Mistake.—A correspondent, writing from Ohio, says—"It is said that your article on the power of the Vice President, stating that he had nothing to do with appointing the Standing Committees in the Senate, is not correct. Will you inform your readers how the Committees are constituted?"

We are mistaken. Formerly, the Standing Committees were appointed by the Vice President. Of late years, they have uniformly been constituted by the Senate. The following is an extract from the official proceedings of the Senate on Tuesday, the 12th:

"Mr. King submitted the following resolution; which was considered, by unanimous consent, and agreed to:

"*Resolved*, That the Committees on Military and Naval Affairs shall consist of seven members each, during the present session.

"The Senate proceeded to the appointment of the Standing Committees.

"Mr. King moved a suspension of the rules, in order that the balloting for the members of the several Standing Committees might be dispensed with.

"The Vice President suggested that, by the unanimous consent of the Senate, the balloting could be dispensed with.

"Mr. King then proposed that, as the Chairmen of the several Standing Committees had been agreed to, the entire list of Committees be read, and the vote taken upon them *viva voce*, and so with the remainder of the members of the several Committees.

"No objection being made, the names of the gentlemen composing the Committees were read and agreed to."

This is silly plain enough.

☞ Consolatory.—A correspondent, in allusion to the hits we have occasionally received from old soldiers, tells a good anecdote, as follows:

"Colonel Smith, of New Hampshire, was serving under General Stark at the battle of Bennington, in 1777; and, during the heat of the action, a musket ball grazed the top of his right ear. A moment after, another carried away the bottom of the left ear. The former touched Smith, and he coolly remarked, 'I believe my head is in about the *right place!*' The *Era* has to stand an occasional shot from the North as well as the South, and it is in the right place."

MOVEMENTS IN CONGRESS—PARTY TACTICS.

Wednesday, the 13th instant, was a lively day in Congress. Movements in relation to slavery, of great importance, were made in both Houses, a report of which may be found on our fourth page.

THE SENATE.

The memorial from the citizens of New Mexico, presented by Messrs. Benton and Clayton, is carefully worded, and entirely respectful. They pray for the establishment of a Territorial Government, against the dissemination of their Territory, and for protection against the introduction of slaves. Their language is—

"We do not desire to have domestic slavery within our borders, and, until the time shall arrive for our admission into the Union as a State, we desire to be protected by Congress against its introduction among us."

Precisely a similar prayer was presented by the people of Virginia, when a Colony, to the King of England. Could a petition be more reasonable, more respectful? Have not these people of New Mexico, who were guarded by the Government, from which we wrested their territory, against the evil of slavery, a perfect right to pray from our Government the same boon? Could they imagine that it would be deemed unreasonable or disrespectful, to ask this small boon of a Government, professing to rank first among the Republics of the world?

Mr. Calhoun took fire, and denounced the memorial as insolent, on the ground that these subjugated people were presuming for the protection from their Territory of the very men who had conquered it. For the debate that followed this violent denunciation, we refer the reader to our report (on the first page) Mr. Benton replied to Mr. Calhoun with dignity and severity, and exposed the small effort of Mr. Westcott, of Florida, to mislead the people with regard to the character of the petition. Mr. Calhoun, it will be seen, did not think at first of questioning the genuineness of the memorial. He was too indignant to think of resorting to any finesse to discredit it. Mr. Westcott, more cool, saw the blunder of his leader, but, always bent on going with him who goes furthest for slavery, he tried to throw doubts on the genuineness of the paper, and cross-questioned Mr. Clayton, as if he had been arguing a petty case before a county court Mr. Foote improved on this hint, branched out into a learned dissertation on Conventions, and at last convinced himself that the document was not what it pretended to be.

A more ridiculous exhibition we have never seen in the American Senate. The design of Mr Calhoun and his friends was palpable. Foreseeing that the question of Slavery-Extension is to occupy much of the time of this session, the presentation of this memorial furnished, as they thought, an opportunity to denounce the slave-holding spirit, exciting the attention and feeling of the South, and compelling all of its Senators, under fear of their constituencies, to unite at once in unbroken pro-slavery phalanx. Jealous of the apparent harmony between the Northern and Southern Whigs induced by the election of General Taylor, they thought that they can get up a Slavery question, the better for them in every respect. If the Whig Senators from the South show indifference, or place themselves in antagonism to slavery, the fact is duly reported to the South, and used by every anti-Whig journal in that section to undermine the Whig party as false to Southern interests. If, on the other hand, they show a willingness to take the stand ground, the unity of the Whigs in Congress is broken up, the harmony of their councils, the efficiency of their party action are destroyed, and slaveholding demands are enforced by slaveholding unity. The vote on the printing shows this to be the philosophy of their action. Of the fourteen who voted against the printing of the memorial, Judge Berrien is the only one who has the needle to the pole, was the only Whig; though several slaveholding Democrats, not Calhoun men, voted in the affirmative.

Were we an advocate of slavery interests, we should pray to be delivered from the hindering help of Mr. Calhoun and his clique. What is to be gained to slavery by continually stretching its demands to an extent which large proportions of slaveholders will not sustain, and by raising issue on points where defeat is sure to result from division in their ranks, we are unable to see. But, certainly the anti-slavery men have no reason to complain. They are under obligations to Mr. Calhoun for giving them every opportunities to strengthen themselves on preliminary questions, and carry distraction into the ranks of their opponents.

HOUSE.

While the Senate was engaged in talking about slavery, the House was acting on it. Two movements were made, which served to test its disposition, and disclose the policy of the old party managers. The first was by Mr. Palfrey, who asked leave to introduce a bill for the repeal of all acts of Congress or parts of acts establishing or maintaining slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia. Mr. Holmes, of South Carolina, objected, and the question being taken by yeas and nays, the vote stood, for granting leave, 70, against it, 81. It will be observed that only 151 members out of 228 voted. The House was not full, and some in their seats, refused to vote. Had all the members voted, it is doubtful what would have been the result. It will be observed in our report, that very few Democrats of the North and West opposed the motion for leave. A few Northern and Western Whigs are recorded in the negative, among whom we note, Richard W. Thompson, a kind of anti-slavery Taylor man from Indiana. Many of the Taylor men from the free States were incensed at Mr. Palfrey for introducing the subject, and shut their hands upon this question. It interfered with certain party calculations. A very anti-slavery member from Vermont intimated that Mr. Palfrey had an eye merely to the advancement of his own special interests in the election to be held in a few days for Congress, in his District.

But, another bombshell was impending. Mr Root brought forward a resolution, that the Committee on the Territories be instructed to report to this House, with as little delay as practicable, a bill or bills, providing a Territorial Government for each of the Territories of New Mexico and California, and excluding slavery therefrom. This was decidedly irregular. It had not been agreed upon in caucus. It was out in the programme of the Taylor party. How to get rid of the dangerous missile, without an explosion, was a delicate problem. Root moved the previous question. Hall, of Missouri, moved to lay on the table; Giddings, that there be a call of the House. The Clerk called the roll—187 members answered to their names, and further proceedings in the call were dispensed with. The motion to lay on the table was lost—yeas 85, nays 102. If the previous question was seconded, the members passing through the tellers. Just as the operation was commencing, Mr. Vinton, a very anti-slavery Taylor member from Ohio, arose, apparently much excited, and demanded of the Speaker, whether the resolution required the committee to report such bills, with the slavery-restriction, or not? The question was put, *in the expectancy of doing so*. The Speaker replied that it *required the committee to report them*. Then, exclaimed Mr. Vinton, "I shall vote against the previous question" That is, he was willing to have the committee instructed to *inquire into the expediency* of reporting bills excluding slavery from the Territories, but nothing more.

We were under the impression that the Taylor men at the North considered the Wilmot Proviso a settled question among themselves. But, it seems that one of them, who has always been deemed anti-slavery, wishes it to be regarded as an open question, and was unwilling to have his party in Congress committed upon it! Mark that!

Mr. Vinton's example was followed, and we observed many leading Whigs voting *nay* to the previous question. By the help of the Northern and Western Democrats, however, the previous question was sustained, and every member brought to a direct vote on the resolution—very unpleasant to many, no doubt. To be taken down to the *ayes* or *nays* bull-ring, is a species of political butchery which gentlemen ought not to attempt upon each other.

Of course, when it became necessary to answer *yes* or *nay*, there was little apprehension as to the result. But one Taylor man, and here and there a stray Cass man from the North, ventured to record their names in the negative. Rhode Island had her honor of furnishing that courageous Whig, in the person of Mr. Cranston, in whose mind a change seems to have been going on, similar to the change which proved so fatal to the political prospects of another illustrious individual. Richard W. Thompson voted the time in the affirmative, and one of the mischievous echoes from Hull's camp, in Indiana, was heard to pronounce uttered thereupon, by some Southern friend:—"Ah, Thompson," he cried, "you are a backslider—you have not done as well as you did this morning!" We rend a whole volume of meaning in that.

Putting this and all the other indications we had observed together, the policy of the managers appears to be, to shut up the Wilmot Proviso question upon us at once. Last session, when the Clayton Compromise was on its way to the House, Northern Whigs assured their Southern friends that its passage through that body would place them at a great disadvantage in the Presidential struggle then commencing, and endanger the prospects of General Taylor at the North. Judge Stephens wrote to Mr. Clayton, urging the Compromise on the table, and sight Southern Whigs aided to give effect to the motion. "Help me and I will help you," is regarded as a fraternal duty in all associations. Let us imagine the tacit understanding in the brotherhood of Taylor men, this session. "We have elected our candidate—let us keep possession of the Whig party. We cannot make a new tariff, so as to help the great capitalists of the East, and the great planters of the South who, with a surplus of slave labor, and an excess of cotton, are seeking to build up their infant manufactures. Let us, then, keep down every question, sectional or distracting in its nature, calculated to awaken discord and dissensions among us. You helped us last session, with the Compromise, and stave off all discussion—it would seem fair that we reciprocate that courtesy, this session."

Does not this look like the truth? Think a little further. There be many expectants among Congressmen, of comfortable appointments at home or abroad. Why compel these gentlemen to make their mark on obnoxious questions, where to vote *aye* would ruin them with their constituencies, and to vote *yes* might endanger their standing with the Powers that are to be? "Lie low—and keep dark" is a safe policy. Let there be no agitation. Let the ordinary party issues have full discussion, and suppress all vexed questions. The President, you know, will vote any thing we might do for freedom, if it should have the rare luck to run the gauntlet in the Senate. Let the whole Territorial question go over till the next Congress. By that time, we shall all know our destinations—the wheel of fortune will have turned out its prizes and blanks, and—the people of the Territories of New Mexico and California will have severally organized *State* Governments, so that all that will then be necessary to do will be, to admit them without any dangerous discussion at all about slavery—for, you know, we are all agreed, North and South, that *States* may *exclude* or *permit* slavery, without interference by the General Government. But, if action this session be insisted upon, there is the new dodge of Douglas—how would that do?

Do our readers understand the game?

Now, it so happens that the Free Soil Whigs and Democrats in Congress have the power to disturb these calculations, and compel the old Hunkers of all parties to put their views on record from time to time. This is a pleasant consideration.

SHALL THE PEOPLE BE CHEATED?

The great issue presented during the late Presidential canvass was that of Slavery-Restriction. General Taylor could not have been elected if his Northern friends had not succeeded, by dint of bold assertions, sophistical constructions, and private letters, in producing the general impression that the veto power would never be used by him to prevent the passage of a bill enacting the Wilmot Proviso. The testimony of the great majority of the People at the ballot-box was, a testimony in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. This was a measure which they well understood, about which there could be no mistake, the only safe and effectual safeguard they knew that could be interposed against the extension of slavery. In support of this they recorded their judgment and will so clearly, emphatically, repeatedly, that no representative from the free States, unless he has made up his mind to disown allegiance to them and expect nothing from them, dares openly and directly to oppose it.

But, it is quite possible to oppose a measure covertly, indirectly, under the show of devotion to its principle. The majority of the members of Congress, at this session, if compelled to vote *yea* or *nay*, without cover or concealment, on a direct proposition to exclude slavery from our Territories, will not dare to vote *nay*. But, precisely this compulsion is what the majority will seek most anxiously to avoid. Would to God that the People could know the caucussings and contrivances of the men whom they have chosen to represent their will, and in whom they are reposing full confidence!

In another place, we have given a glimpse at the faithlessness of some of the leading Whigs in the House, from the free States. There are Democrats from the North and West equally faithless. In the newspaper report in Monday's table, those who voted against the resolution of Mr. Root, to instruct the Committee on the Territories to report a bill providing Territorial Governments for California and New Mexico, and excluding slavery, record but one Democratic *nay*. This is a great mistake. Seven Democrats from the free States voted in the negative, viz: J. Cummins Kennon, Jun., Miller, and Sawyer, of Ohio, Murphy, of New York, Richardson, of Illinois, and Leffler, of Iowa; and eleven were absent or refused to vote—Birdsall and Collins, of New York, Bridges and Brodhead, of Pennsylvania, Clark and Williams, of Maine, Edsall of New Jersey, Ficklin, McClernand, and Turner, of Illinois, Pettit, of Indiana. Of these, six or seven are utterly *unreliable*. Williams, of Maine, is constantly dodging: his son, we believe, was made a midshipman at the last session! Ficklin, Turner, and McClernand, are probably under the influence of Douglas, whose hill we have unmasked in another place.

We know that it is the policy of the leaders of the Whigs and Democrats in Congress to "kill off" the anti-slavery men of the Free Soil party if they can unite on a plan for adjusting the question of slavery this session, this object, they think, will be accomplished. But the plan must be such as to "keep the word of promise to the ear" of the Northern people; such as will not damage materially their standing with their constituencies—in a word, they may succeed in imposing upon the People for a genuine Free Soil measure.

We learn that this subject has been under consideration among the managers ever since the session commenced—that there have been frequent caucussings and countings of noses—that the bill of Douglas has been supposed to afford a clue to lead the old Hunkers of both parties out of their perplexities—that the opinion of it has been trying the fidelity of Free Soil men, and Wilmot Proviso Democrats and Whigs in the House—that at one time many, if not a great majority, of the leading Whigs were disposed to regard it with favor—that among these were Vinton, of Ohio, and Greeley, of New York, and we have no doubt that the former still cherishes that kind mind, or that the latter will not give it his support, provided Douglas defies the eastern boundary of the new State!!

Now, if all these things do not alarm the friends of Free Territory in all parties, then they are doomed. Let them look to it. Letters innumerable are passing from Washington. Efforts will be made, no doubt, to still agitate the country, subsidize the press, to prevent any action by the State Legislatures. Will not the People awake? It is a fact, but we fear they will find it out too late, that the men who represent them in Congress, cannot all be depended upon. Their conduct at this session, will furnish a clue to them, and let them know that acquiescence in the schemes of Slavery plotters against Liberty will be political *felo de se*.

What makes the faltering policy of these half-hearted men more criminal, is the fact, that many Southern men were making up their minds to acquiesce in the Wilmot Proviso policy, as a thing settled upon—not to be avoided. All the auspices were favorable to the cause of Human Liberty. And now we say, if Slavery triumph, it will triumph not by the power of the slaveholders, but through the loathsome treachery of Northern and Western members of Congress. Who they are, time may show.

For the National Era.

SLEIVENAMON.

Wild the night: on the wind, as it freshens amain,
Sound the rushing of waters, the dashing of rain;
In the narrow ravine, the torrents in billows meet roll,
They are waiting the hour to meet brother with brother!

For brothers are they, and the brotherhood claim
In hunger to death, and with famine in vain
They meet but in darkness, they shrink at the dawning,
And hide them away from the fearful morning.

Through the gloomy ravine, see them steal to the light,
With their skeleton limbs and their faces of white!
Will they hunger no more? Will they hide in our villas,
When they hear the wild cries of the Irish Guerrillas?

Cold hands grasp our throats, cold eyes of despair
Glean wild in the fire-light, while pleading the hard hair;
God pity and pardon the children of sorrow,
We pine at the thought—what shall we do on the morrow!

They smother the fire, lest its low lurid light
Should call to the first those not summoned to night;
For the outcast is desperate, and the outcast is power
Dare murmur of wrongs in the ear of the stronger!

They had homes, these wild men, but death swept them away,
Their famine, the fever, made sunn of their prey,
Round each sister hearth the law gave them, stood like a demon,
But the hunted area's in the pass of Sleivenamon!

Their utterance is rapid, vehement, and wild—
Who would dream in such dark hearts love ever had smiled!
That the hard eye was wet when the strong arm was clasping
The dead wife whom baby lay starving and gasping!

On lonely Sleivenamon and visions arise,
Of his darling's last smile, and his child's patient eyes;
Hardened not always, the pulse, fever-fraught he feels
And the heart strong in love is now stronger in hatred.

And what if next midnight the mansion shall flame!
The plunder is myth, the hatred is cause;
He hies him away to the dark mountain gorges,
And laughs to the fetters which bind his forgeo!

Mount guard in your castles, look well to your bolts,
To the corn of your harvest, the herds of your stalls,
For the poor and the wronged shall be dumbly no longer,
And the wolves of your hills are the Children of Hunger!

E. H. W.

Amesbury, Massachusetts.

SENATOR DIX AND THE AMISTAD CLAIM.

In reply to a correspondent in New York: Senator Dix voted *against* the amendment to the General Appropriation bill of last session, allowing the claim of $50,000 for the Amistad negroes. The amendment was carried by a majority of 3—In the House it was stricken out—and the Senate then receded. The list of *yeas* and *nays* on the amendment we copy from the Journal of August 3, 1848:

Yeas—Atchison, Atherton, Badger, Bell, Butler, Davis of Mississippi, Dayton, Dickinson, Dodge, Downs, Foote, Hannegan, Hunter, Johnson of Louisiana, Johnson of Maryland, King, Lewis, Mangum, Mason, Pearce, Sebastian, Turney, Westcott, Yulee—24.

Nays—Baldwin, Benton, Bright, Clarke, Clayton, Corwin, Davis of Massachusetts, Dix, Greene, Hale, Hamlin, Houston, Johnson of Maryland, Metcalfe, Miller, Niles, Rusk, Spruance, Underwood, Upham, Walker—21.

Correspondence of the New York Tribune.

CASE OF THE PEARL PRISONERS.

WASHINGTON, *December* 5, 1848.

The Circuit Court of this District, the supreme tribunal in all criminal cases—for in criminal cases no writ of error lies in this District to the Supreme Court of the United States—has been engaged for more than a week past on two cases—Daniel Drayton, plaintiff in error, *vs.* the United States.

These writs of error are brought to review and reverse the conviction of Drayton in the Criminal Court of this District for one hundred indictments for the larceny of slaves. They are a part of the 345 Pearl cases, of the trial of which, last summer, before the Criminal Court here, I sent you a long letter.

The counsel for Drayton in those trials filed no less than twelve bills of exceptions in each case to the rulings of the Judge, by which the cases were tried. The argument of those writs of error before the Circuit Court of the United States, occupied no less than seven days—so numerous and important were the errors alleged to be committed by the Judge below. Both cases were opened for the plaintiff in error, by Richard Hildreth, Esq. of Boston, and by the District Attorney and J. H. Bradley, Esq., an eminent lawyer of this city, retained on behalf of the prosecution. The counsel for Drayton in the first case was made in the first case by Hon. Horace Mann, and in the second case by J. Mandeville Carlisle, Esq., a young and rising lawyer of this city, of great promise.

Besides other points of great interest, such as the constitutionality of Slavery in the District of Columbia, called in the Pearl cases, a presumption of Slavery, and the amount and character of the evidence necessary to establish the fact of servitude in the District, the whole doctrine of the law of larceny was gone into in the fullest manner, especially the application of that doctrine to the subject of slaves. Mr. Hildreth, in his opening, denounced the instructions of Judge Crawford on that point, as not only bad English and bad law, but as exhibiting the appearance of an attempt at legal *double-dealing*, in preserving the sound form of legal words, but intended to convey, and actually conveying to the jury, a totally false and unfounded idea of the law. He denounced Judge Crawford's definition of larceny as false and "rotten," as supported by a single adjudged case in any court, or by any tried treatise of any pretensions, and, in the most emphatic manner, as false and perfidious, in positive and direct contradiction to the whole course of legislation in every slave State of the Union, and to every case on the subject to be found in the books; the boldest attempt at judicial legislation of which he had any knowledge. My District Attorney, when he came to reply, seemed in the opposite counsel of an indicorous and unfounded attack on the personal character of the Judge.

Mr. Hildreth, in the opening of the second case, denied explicitly that he had made any personal attack on the Judge. He had attacked his instructions and his law; it was these, and not the Judge personally, that he had pronounced "rotten." Of the Judge personally he had said but one thing; and that was, that he was a Pennsylvanian. And why had he said that? To explain how it happened that the Judge had given instructions, not only in contradiction to the whole tenor of the common law, but to the whole course of Southern legislation—a blunder into which a Judge educated at the South would not have been so likely to fall.

One of the points made for the prisoner was, that it was necessary to prove the servitude of the negroes alleged to be stolen, by something more than the claim of the master. And the case was likened to that of a burglar charged for stealing doors. Now, doors being animals wild by nature, there can be no property in them sufficient to sustain an indictment for larceny, at least not unless they are *tamed* and *gentled*, so as to be foxes caught and subjected. While Mr. Mann was proving this illustration, the District Attorney wrote the following on a slip, and passed them along to the prisoner's counsel:

To illustrate the point he's making—
Foxes are wild animals, and free to roam;
A fox, he says, cannot be stolen,
But a young fox he can sell 'em.
Parcelm bounds my brains in pieces,
At least so far as to the taking.

The counsel rose and read the following retort courteous was written on the back of the same paper, which was left on the table for the District Attorney's serious consideration:

Young stealing animal, and slave-hunting in doors,
I beg leave to suggest do not run on all-fours;
Foxes do not steal—the thing is impossible to conceive,
But Mr. District Attorney, out-hounding the hounds,
Hunts no more, unless he puts his pocket to fill,
On three hundred indictments, *at ten dollars a bill*.

The Court was adjourned for a fortnight, to take time to throw up its opinion. Very little doubt is felt of the reversal of the convictions. Another case against Sayres, the master of the vessel, upon which he was fined the very *moderate* sum of $1,800, with costs of two months, and to be imprisoned for stealing the slaves, yet remains to be considered. That case involves also some very interesting points.

THE DOUGLAS PROJECT EXPOSED.

People may wonder, but it is true nevertheless, that the insidious project of Mr. Douglas for settling the Territorial question, is regarded with favor by members of Congress, who ought to be prepared to put down every juggle contrived to cheat Freedom out of its patrimony. Other members contemplate the possibility of modifying the project, so as to save the way at last for the admission of Texas, and from which admission without going through the intermediate territorial condition. The great object is, to get rid of the agitation of Slavery, and the least possible cars is manifested by these tacticians to afford any positive, substantial safeguard to our new empire against the introduction of Slavery.

We tell the nonslaveholders of the north, you will be betrayed this session by the men in whom you trust, unless you bring to bear on Congress a pressure of Public Sentiment that shall forbid all compromise, all dodging, all jugglery, all indirection, and compel your Representatives to stand fast by the plain Anti-Slavery proviso of the Jefferson Ordinance of 1787.

California, in 1842, contained, it is said, about 25,000 civilized people, one-half of them christianized Indians, participating in civil Government. New Mexico, according to the best accounts, embraces a population of from 75,000 to 100,000 people, only one-fourth, of the white race, the rest being civilized Indians, or the descendants of Indians and white men. The two Territories have always had distinct and separate institutions and populations.

And yet, the proposition of Senator Douglas contemplates the fusion of these alien elements under one State Government, without the slightest regard to the views or wishes of these distant people!

Again: The smaller portion of the population is at one extremity of California, the larger at the opposite extremity of New Mexico—both Territories comprise an area of 516,078 square miles, or 337,000,000 acres—eight times as much as all New England, 123,000,000 acres more than were comprised in the area of the original thirteen States of the Union! Yet this immense population would organize the two portions of this population, separated by intervening deserts and mountains, at two extremes of an aggregate territory more extensive by 171,854 square miles than the whole of the original States of this Union, as one State, under one State Government! Could anything be devised more improbable, or impracticable?

New Mexico, as we have seen, contains about three times the population of California, but the former is to merge its name in the State of California! How judicious this treatment of a new population conquered by our arms, and which can only be consolidated by honest dealing!

But the Mexicans are accustomed to Slave Government. It provides for a kind of provisional Government, to be instituted by the United States; that provisional Government controls the entire preliminary movement for the calling of a Convention to form a State constitution, which is then to be submitted to Congress, with an application for admission into the Union. During the existence of this Provisional Government, the Territories are open to the incursions of Slavery, and good care is taken to secure the appointment and management of this machinery, in the hands of President Polk, should the bill be forced through this session.

Look at the details. These immense Territories, far greater than the area of our original Union, are to be divided into two judicial districts, with a United States judge, attorney, and marshal, for each—and these functionaries are to be "appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate." Who is the President? James K. Polk, who has pledged himself to veto any bill excluding slavery from these Territories; and the slaveholding party in the Senate is strong enough, were he wanting, to prevent the appointment of any judge, attorney, or marshal, not favorable to its pretensions. To show that all its vigilance and energy would be aroused, we have but to ascertain the functions of these judicial officers. We shall see that they are to be executive officers—officers under the Executive Power in Washington. Wednesday, the 13th, Mr. Douglas sent to the Chair the following, which he intends to propose at the proper time as an amendment to the bill admitting California into the Union as a State; it was ordered to be printed:

"Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted*, That the district courts of the Territories of Oregon and Utah, provided to be appointed, are hereby authorized and empowered to *try all said territory into election districts*, and to cause the qualified voters of said Territories to elect a Convention to form a Constitution for the said State of California, and *to apportion the number of delegates to said districts according to the number of qualified voters*, and to prescribe the manner in which *they may be able to obtain; to prescribe the time and place of holding the elections, and to designate the persons to preside at the same; and to prescribe the time and place for the assembling of said Convention.*

"Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted*, That all citizens of the United States, resident within the limits of said Territory, including all Mexican citizens who have become citizens of the United States under the eighth article of the treaty referred to in the first section of this act, shall be entitled to vote at said election, and to elect the constitutional Convention: *Provided, That no person who shall have participated in any white male institutions who shall have attained the age of twenty-one years.*"

The fifth section, as will be seen by examining the words we have placed in italics, occurs to us as the most dangerous and objectionable of the entire series of preliminary movements to the organization of a Constitution. They may appoint the Convention at such time and place as shall subserve any particular purpose of their own. They may appoint delegates so as to secure a majority in the Convention of their own political friends, and thus virtually exclude and admit at the ballot-box whom they please. And such they should prove false to the policy of the parties that appointed them, the sixth section moreover provides for the exclusion of one-half of the voting population of California, and three-fourths of the voting population of New Mexico—whose voice, it is well understood, would prohibit Slavery in the Territories.

And this informal attempt to open the door to the introduction of Slavery into our new empire, under the cover of a State Government, to be organized virtually by the Government in Washington, is coolly proposed in the American Senate as a compromise, on which all contending parties may fraternally harmonize! And Wilmot Proviso Whigs and Democrats are preparing to consider it seriously, when every honest man in Congress, whatever his views on the general question of Slavery, should blush at the bare suspicion that he could be brought to give it countenance.

A characteristic episode took place on the presentation of this beautiful amendment. Mr. Douglas intimated his judgment that the whole bill should go to the Committee on Territories.

"Mr. Butler suggested that the Committee on Territories was not the proper committee to which this subject should be referred. The Senator from Illinois proposed to bring in California as a State, and hence, according to the usage of the body, it should go to the Committee on the Judiciary. He was not influenced by personal considerations in making this suggestion, inasmuch as he was a member of both committees, but by a sense of propriety.

"Mr. Douglas briefly replied, that in other cases of a like character, such bills had been referred to the Committee on Territories, and hence he had given this the same direction; but he was not tenacious on the subject."

We know that, Mr. Douglas. You would be quite willing to see your bill put out to such nurses. Does the reader want an explanation? Here it is:

The Committee on Territories is composed as follows: Mr. Douglas, chairman; Messrs. Bright, Clayton, Butler, and Davis of Massachusetts. It so happens, that three out of the five are not entirely reliable, standing Southern representatives of the word. Whereas, the Committee on the Judiciary is so constituted, that if the precious devies of Mr. Douglas were not entirely perfect, every flaw would at once be detected by men members are—Mr. Butler, (chairman:) Messrs. Berrien, Westcott, Downs, Dayton—all of them, except the last, standing Southern representatives among the most ultra slaveholders of the Senate!

But the two sentinels over the claims of Slavery talked the matter over, as if they were the most artless gentlemen in the world, with no ulterior object whatever.

We repeat what we have often said, that there is no hope of our Government from which Liberty has less to hope, and more to fear, than from the Senate of the United States.

AN ANALYSIS OF TWO IMPORTANT VOTES IN THE HOUSE.

Dr. Palfrey last week (see proceedings) asked leave to introduce a bill as follows:

AN ACT to repeal all acts of Congress establishing or maintaining slavery and the slave trade within the District of Columbia.

Be it enacted, &c., That all acts, and parts of acts, of Congress, heretofore passed, by which the institution of domestic slavery or the slave trade within the District of Columbia has been established, or continued, or maintained, or is now upheld or supported, be, and the same are hereby, repealed.

The question was taken on the motion to grant leave to introduce the bill, and it was decided in the negative. We have present the following table of the votes of the members and the absentees or non-voters from the free States:

DEMOCRATS.	YEAS.	
Darling, Wis.		Smart, Me.
Dickinson, O.		Starkweather, N. Y.
Faran, O.		Stuart, Mich.
Johnson, N. H.		Sawyer, O.
Lawrence, N. Y.		Took, N. H.
Lord, N. Y.		Thurston, R. I.
Lahm, O.		Thompson, Iowa.
Morris, O.		Thompson, Pa.
McClelland, Mich.		Wentworth, Ill.
Pensleo, N. H.		Wilmot, Pa.—21.
Petrie, N. Y.		
	NAYS.	
Brown, Pa.		Miller, O.
Clark, Me		McClernand, Ill.
Cummins, Pa.		Richardson, Ill.
C. J. Ingersoll, Pa.		Robinson, Ia.
Kennon, O.		Smith, Ill.
Lynde, Wis.		Strong, Pa.
Leffler, Iowa.		Wiley, Md.—15.
Mann, Pa.		
	ABSENT.	
Birdsall, N. Y.		Jenkins, N. Y.
Bridges, Pa.		Murphy, N. Y.
Brodhead, Pa.		Maclay, N. Y.
Bingham, N. Y.		Nicoll, N. Y.
Clapp, Me.		Peck, Vt.
Collins, N. Y.		Pettit, Ia.
Cummins, O.		Richey, O.
Edsall, N. J.		Rockhill, Ia.
Fries, O.		Turner, Ill.
Hammons, Me.		Wick, Ia.
Henley, Ia.		Williams, Me.—68.

WHIGS.	YEAS.	
Abbott, Mass.		Lawrence, N. Y.
Belcher, Me.		Marvin, N. Y.
Blackmar, N. Y.		Mullen, N. Y.
Blanchard, Pa.		Palfrey, Mass.
Collam

nance of this privilege! The People should look to this matter. Let them tell their representatives that they will not submit any longer to a system which takes money out of their pockets, to pay for the correspondence of those representatives—that they can see no more reason in paying five cents postage, while their representatives pay nothing, than they would in a law to tax them so much per head to enable the Honorable Mr. Fiddlestocks to send a cart-load of Buncombe speeches to his constituents, gratis, that they might see how proper it was for them to reelect him.

In recommending a uniform rate of one cent on newspapers, the Postmaster General insists that they should be pre-paid. He certainly could not have weighed the consequences of such a policy. It is obviously unnecessary. That pre-payment should be insisted on in parcels is reasonable, for it is quite common for them to remain dead in the office; but newspapers are almost always taken out, and when they are not, if the Postmasters do their duty, and advise the publishers of the fact, the mail is instantly relieved from their burthen. The easiest way to receive postage on newspapers is, to collect it from those who take them. One cent a week, to each subscriber for a weekly paper, is a tax readily paid, and nobody would feel it. Suppose pre-payment required, the tax would inevitably fall upon the publisher. He would have to pay an enormous sum for which he could expect no remuneration from his subscribers. They would not be willing to pay $2.50 for paper worth only $2.00. Say that our paper is 1,000 copies, the postage on them could be $130, which we must pay over in gold or silver to the post office in this city every week, before our papers could be mailed—or, $6,760 a year! If this simple presentation does not show every reader the utter impracticability, and, we must say, absurdity, of such a measure, he must be dull beyond all conception. There is not a publisher in the country that could survive such an imposition; and, as to the Post Office itself, the result would be, the loss of nearly all the revenue accruing from newspapers.

For the National Era.

ALDA.

MISS ALICE CAREY.

You would have loved her, had you seen,
The beauty of her life was empty!
The sweet sky never wet with showers
A look of cold indifference lowers
As sunny as the lovely sheen
Of her loose hair.

Over the sweetness her soft hands
Twined tenderly the creeping vines;
Out in the woodland's shady gloom
Loved she to gather summer blooms,
And where, from yonder valley lands,
The river ran,

The rain was falling when she died,
The sky was dismal with its gloom,
And autumn's melancholy blight
Shook down the yellow leaves that night,
And mournfully the low winds sighed
About her tomb.

At midnight, near the gray old tower
That lift itself lordly pile on high,
Was heard the dismal raven's croak,
From the dark shadows of the oak,
And with her pale arms full of flowers,
The dead went by!

An old man now, with thin white hair,
Oft counts his beads beneath that tree;
Sometimes when moonlight gleams bright,
And sometimes in the lonesome night,
He fancies the dead girl's voice in prayer,
On bended knee.

A shepherd boy—so runs the tale—
Once, in the pleasant hours he basks,
Crossed the sweet maid, her lap all full
Of lilies pied, and cowslips bell,
Weaving up lilies, red and pale,
For her long locks.

Sweetly the sweetest lit the towers,
When, homeward riding from the chase,
Down from his steed—that steed had been kept
A courtier gay, whose dark plumes swept
A cloud of mystery round with flowers,
And love-lit face.

Summer is gone—the summer low,
With dark wings darkening—sighs are loud;
Alda, so more the gray old towers
Shut from the heaven's sweet border flowers—
Comb back the locks of golden glow,
And bring the shroud.

LEWIS'S FREE SOIL, SLAVERY, AND TERRITORIAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES. For sale at the Standard Office, New York.

This map shows, at one once, the comparative extent of the Free and Slave States and Territories of the Union, and embraces a great deal of matter statistical and illustrative. It ought to be hung up by every fireside in the country, as a continual memento of the short-comings of our Republicanism.

ITEMS.

THE DEMOCRACY, by submitting to the guidance of the Slaveholders, have lost their two principal States, New York and Pennsylvania, without making anything in the South. They see this, and some of their newspapers are grumbling rather fiercely, indicating a disposition to yell themselves of Slavery dictation. The organ of the Administration strokes them down gently, and talks to them in soothing terms of the fidelity of the "Mother of States" to the party, and of the constancy of the great body of the Democrats in the South. We shall see whether such coaxing will avail to retain the Democratic party of the free States as the humble ally of the Slave Power.

Perhaps it may have learned from the *Union* that it can get along very well without Pennsylvania and New York—perhaps, too, it may be able to get along charmingly at the next election without a single free State, giving up everything for the sake of keeping company with the preponderant democracy of South Carolina, Alabama, and Texas.

WILLIS'S MUSE was seized with a fit of admiration just before the election, and favored the public, through the medium of the *Home Journal*, with *genius*, with a notable song, in glorification of the hero of Buena Vista, the most remarkable assignment of which is contained in the following extract:

"*Now, if you'd like to know the school*
Where Presidents best learn to rule
Zach's life is just THE VERY ONE
Of the school of Washington and Jackson."

The meaning of which is, that, according to God's will, the best qualified men for the Presidency of the United States are those whose lives have been spent in the *camp*. A very pretty sentiment for the Bard of the Great Peace Party!

"OLD ZACH HAS COME."—The Taylor men resort to all sorts of expressions to show their profound admiration of the wonderful revolution in the political world. One says it will greatly "strengthen respectable men;" another, that the "hero of ages of the Republic has come again;" other, that we are now to have "a golden era;" another sings of "the jubilee; another, of the rising glories of "a millennium;" but some, agonizing for words to express all they feel, write down in great staring capitals, "OLD ZACH HAS COME!"

SOMETHING FOR EXPECTANTS.—As our city will soon be crowded with office-hunters, with the most intense desire to take care of the country and to be taken care of by it, we commend to their attention the history of Peter Brush, as written by the late Joseph C. Neale, of Philadelphia:

"THE USED-UP POLITICIAN.—Peter Brush was in a dilapidated condition—out at the elbows, out at the knees, out of pocket and out of spirits, and out in the browns—not a cent to spare in every respect. He sat on the curb-stone, leaning his head upon his hands, his elbow being placed upon a stepping stone. Mr. Brush had for some time been silent, absorbed in deep thought, which he relieved at intervals by spitting through his teeth, forlornly, into the gutter. At length, heaving a deep sigh, he said:

"'They need to tell me, put not your trust in princes, and I harvit. None of 'em ever wanted to borrow money of me, and I never put on airs to borrow nothing of them. Princes! pooh! put not your trust in politicianers! Them's my sentiments. There's no two mediums about that. Havn't I been serving my country like a patriot for this five years; going to meetings; hurrying my day-lights out, and getting blue as blazes; havn't I broken down, got licked fifteen times carried I don't know how many black eyes and broken noses for the good of the Commonwealth and the purity of legal rights, and for what? Why for 'bix.

"'If any good has come of it, the country has put the whole in her pocket, and swindled me out of my earnings. Princes! pooh! princes never put their hands in their pockets to pay for anything. The demand, however, is not, up to the present moment, extensive; but, as holders supply the market sparingly, full prices are obtained. The sale this week reaches 5,000 to 6,000 bales.

THE POPE.—Paris advices of December 1 have come to hand. They state that the Pope had left Rome secretly, and was on his way to France.

Prince of Canino.—The news of the death of Ibrahim Pacha is confirmed.

ELECTIONS.

INDIANA.—James Whitcomb, Governor of Indiana, has been elected United States Senator for six years, in the place of Mr. Hannegan, from the 4th of March next. Mr. Hannegan's pro-slavery course doomed him. Mr. Whitcomb's position in regard to the Wilmot Proviso is defined in his late message to the Legislature, as follows:

"The acquisition of this territory has given rise to a question now occupying too large a space in the public mind to be passed over in silence. It directs into opposite channels the energies of the establishment of the necessary organic laws, must occupy the early attention of Congress; and the question is, shall this territory hereafter be free or slave territory?

"Decided as the opinion of the people of Indiana is, against the institution of human slavery, yet I do not feel satisfied that it would be proper, not to interfere with the constitutional rights of any of our sister States on this subject. They have the glorious Union which was framed by the Conscript Fathers of the earlier days of the Republic, and to which, under Providence, we are indebted for our present enhance and all the blessings of the earth. But the present question does not regard Slavery in the States or in any State. It refers solely to the propriety of its extension into territory now free. Slavery in this territory has come to us free; it is now free, and in my opinion it should be made free, and that Congress should so declare, and so provide, and so adopted to continue it free. Nor do I think our Southern brethren would, in that case, have any well-founded cause of complaint."

Hon. J. Dodge and George W. Jones have been elected United States Senators from Iowa, both Democrats.

VIRGINIA.—John B. Floyd, of Washington county, (a Democrat,) has been elected Governor of Virginia.

FURTHER ELECTION RETURNS.

ARKANSAS.

The official returns in Arkansas foot up as follows:

Cass	9,300
Taylor	7,588
Cass's majority	1,712
Total vote	16,888
1844.	
Polk	9,546
Clay	5,504
Polk's majority	4,042
Total vote	15,050
Democratic loss	246
Whig gain	2,084

The voters of the State must number over 20,000. A large number of Democratic voters staid at home, being dissatisfied with a Northern candidate.

ILLINOIS.

Taylor	53,215
Cass	56,629
Van Buren	15,804
Total vote	125,648
Cass's majority over Taylor	3,414
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	12,390
1844.	
Polk	58,599
Clay	45,750
Birney	3,576
Total vote	107,919
Polk over Clay	12,849
Democratic loss since 1844	1,970
Whig gain	7,465
Absolute majority for the Democrats in 1844	9,279
Absolute majority *against* the Democrats in 1848	12,390

In the face of this, the majority of Representatives from Illinois in Congress we fear, are on the point of betraying the cause of Freedom.

MICHIGAN.

Taylor	23,949
Cass	30,687
Van Buren	10,389
Total vote	65,025
Cass over Taylor	6,738
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass	3,651
1844.	
Polk	27,703
Clay	24,237
Birney	3,632
Total vote	55,572
Increase of Democratic vote in 4 years	2,984
Loss of Whig vote	297
Increase on Liberty vote	6,757
Increase of total vote	9,453

IOWA.

Taylor	10,557
Cass	12,051
Van Buren	1,126
Scattering	100
Total vote	24,724
Cass over Taylor	1,494
Taylor and all others over Cass	622
Democratic majority in 1846	816
Democratic loss in 2 years	1,438

TOTAL FREE SOIL VOTE.

The Total Free Soil Vote in the Union is 390,000, including the votes of Messrs. Gerrit Smith, and scattering votes. We shall soon publish it.

OHIO LEGISLATURE.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, *December* 15, 1848.

DR. BAILEY: I came to this capital on Friday last, on private business, and may stay some weeks. So long as I do stay, I will occasionally transmit you the spirit of what I hear, and what I see, as revelously changed. It makes one feel quite old to observe the great trees that have grown since our young days. When in 1839, at Massillon, I proposed the Liberty party, even Anti-Slavery was greatly incensed. It was the perfect jest of the knowing ones. Now, Whiggery, in the midst of liberty gains, is seen to be a dwarf in Free Soil band and upturned eye, she humbly implores, put them Free-Soilers, into our hands, as thou kidst the Anti-Slavery men, our gage is departed from us forever! And Democracy, then Seroor than the untamed lion, is now very desirous to take the Free Soil ewe lamb to its bosom. Free Soil Let us trust ourselves to ourselves! Let God only be our counsellor! Let all that will, come to our platform! Let all that will not, be against us!

You and your reader have doubtless seen the difficulty in organizing the Legislature. It is mere party strife. If Pugh and Pierce, the members from Hamilton county, are admitted, the Cass Democrats will have a majority of one on joint ballot, provided one Democratic Free Soil Senator and two Democratic Free Soil members shall go with them—a matter very uncertain if Pugh and Pierce should be rejected, all the Taylor Whigs and Whig Free Soilers could, on joint ballot, give a majority of two. But, horror of horrors! Dr. Townsend, of Lorain, an old and tried Liberty man, will do just as he thinks right! and over him the wand of Whiggery has lost all its power. So things are.

In the Senate, the Whigs intended, after many ballotings, to have elected Mr. Beaver; but, before they got quite at it, the Democrats, without the smallest preconcert of action with him, put in Mr. Beaver, and have so labored and bribed on either of them. It is quite enough to say they are both Free-Soilers—men who are no disgrace, even to a party.

The House is yet unorganized. It may be expected to organize about Monday. Then we shall have a long, dull debate on contested elections, as a Committee has been to provide, that all cases of contest which cannot be settled in a single day, shall be referred back to the people. They can do it cheaper—better.

Each of the old parties manifests the strongest possible affection for the Free Soil party. It is hoped it is all disinterested and true. Yet I have no confidence in the old leaders, and especially in the Taylor leaders. Men who professed much Anti-Slavery, and yet electioneered and voted for General Taylor, have lost confidence very long, before I could have the least confidence in them.

A. B.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

GIBSON SQUARE, LONDON, *Dec.* 1, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: In the perusal of your paper of November 9th, I noticed an interesting article from Judge McLean, copied from the Cincinnati Gazette, in which he says the following:

"England has no law prohibiting slavery, and yet 'Somerset,' a slave, was declared to be free, by the Court of King's Bench, when he put his foot upon the soil of England. And on the same principle, if a slave, with the consent of his master, go to a free State, he is made free, not because slavery is prohibited in such States, but because there is no law which sanctions it."

Now, sir, suppose a slave, *without* the consent of his master, go to a free State, is he free? I presume the same principle, and for the same reason, made free?

Again: If the Congress of the United States cannot successfully discharge the Constitutional delivery of a fugitive slave, upon what principle can it be made to appear that they have a right to demand the delivery of a fugitive slave from Canada? *I recollect that four out of the five members of that Committee are from the slaveholding States of this Union,* and, I presume, are not in favor of the passage of a bill that will receive the sanction of this Congress.

The Committee on Territories is free from this geographical objection. I think, therefore, it would be in conformity with past usage, and more appropriate, to refer it to the former, and shall so do unless you object.

I have said, Mr. President, that I was opposed to the organization of all Territories during the present session of Congress. I am still unwilling as I do that there is no great public necessity existing for haste in this matter; and, further, I cannot see with deference and submission to the will of the majority—I mean the Sovereign People decided *anything* in the late National election, it was a reference of this question of Territorial acquisition and organization to the incoming administration." It was in November last bequeathed to them, as a rich political legacy, pregnant with capital, to the incoming administration of this Union. For one, I think it would be in bad taste, and out of place, for this expiring administration to prevent the execution of the will in the manner pointed out by Providence, and, I will be the one were to prejudge and settle the question this session.

Mr. Baldwin. It appears to me, sir, that the question now before the Senate is very different from any that has heretofore occurred with regard to the subject of reference. The question ordinarily presented, when a bill is introduced for the admission of a State, is one which influences the matter of detail, in regard to that of which the public have heretofore been the judge. Question of policy here presented is, whether this Territory, comprised within the limits of our country by the treaty with Mexico, shall be organized into one or more Territorial Governments, or whether it shall be organized into a State Government. The Committee on Territories, from New Mexico, and proposes to establish a State Government over the whole. The people of one portion of the Territory have already applied to Congress to be organized into a Territorial Government. Another portion have asked for a State Government. But the Territory of New Mexico has already transmitted to Congress a petition, which has been presented to the Senate, and, if I mistake not, referred; at all events, the matter is now before the Senate, and whether they shall have a Territorial Government or not. Now, sir, this question of policy appears to me proper for the Territorial Committee to consider and report upon. It does not appear to me that it would be consistent with the action of a Committee constituted for the purpose for which the Judiciary Committee is constituted. The Judiciary Committee are not conversant with matters of this sort, and was established to consider them, rather than legal questions, which are a settled policy.

Mr. Rusk was in favor of a reference of the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary. He also took the present opportunity of making some remarks, in reply to those of the Senator from Illinois, of the memorial presented a day or two since, from a Convention at Santa Fe, praying that slavery may be excluded from California.

Mr. Berrien submitted some additional remarks in relation to the precedents for the reference of the bill under consideration. He also read, [in reply to Mr. Douglas,] that the Judiciary Committee deliberately sanctioned the proposition to violate the Ordinance of 1787, by taking a portion of the Territory of Wisconsin, to make the new State of Minesota, as proposed. The Committee simply reported that bill back without amendment, and without observing that any such provision existed in the bill.

Mr. Butler said, that when the bill alluded to by the Senator from Illinois was before the Judiciary Committee, he (Mr. D.) said to them, "Gentlemen, I stand alone upon the subject of this proposition. I am from a part of the country that has suffered, so far as I know, all the obligations that have been imposed upon it. I solemnly object to this bill; and I ask you to comply with the obligations of the ordinance of 1787." But standing alone in the Committee, the bill was reported to the Senate, and it was passed, in his absence, into a law, or they would not have heard his voice upon the subject. But when the Senator from Illinois [Mr. Bright] said that the Committee on the Judiciary was constituted so that all but one of its members were opposed to the ordinance, do him the justice to say that he insisted upon placing on that Committee a gentleman from the North who was opposed to the ordinance (Mr. D.) in many of his views; and he did this because he was a good lawyer. There had been no design in organizing the Committee.

Mr. Yulee considered this present a Territorial bill to all intents and purposes, and he would vote for its reference to the Territorial Committee, rather than to the Judiciary. He was allowed to sleep there during the entire session—to be taken up and decided upon by the incoming administration.

Yours, truly,

SINGURANNA.

COLUMBUS, *Dec.* 16, 1848.

THE REVOLUTION IN OHIO—TOWNSEND'S PROPOSITION—THE WHIGS—THE WHIGS.—The Whigs had quite a busy and animated time of it to-day, in discussing Mr. Townsend's proposition. It was finally laid on the table.

The select committee of five, appointed some days ago, to inquire into the causes which led to the disorganization, are to make their report on Monday morning.

The Whigs still continue to meet, call the roll, and adjourn. They occupy the Hall on the left of the Speaker's chair. The Democrats hold possession on the right. They continue in their seats night and day, without adjournment. Some of the Whigs have been absent two days.

A number of the Cass and Butler electors are yet in town. Several distinguished men from Cincinnati are also here.

At present, neither party is inclined to yield, and the organization of the House is as far off as ever.

NEW YORK, *Dec.* 17.

CHOLERA IN NEW YORK.—Four new cases of cholera have occurred at the quarantine in the lower bay, yesterday, with the loss of one man by death. There are now twenty cases under treatment. No case has yet occurred in the city.

CHARLESTON, *Dec.* 16.

The Hon. A. P. Butler has been nominated to the United States Senate from South Carolina, by the Legislature of that State, for six years from the 4th of March next.

The Hon. Mr. Rhett, has been elected to the Illinois Legislature give tokens of electing a Senator to the United States Senate, who is in favor of Free Soil. They repudiate their present Senator, Richard Brewer and Turnbull.

The Washington Union learns from the State Department, that James Bergen and Richard F. Ryan, who were imprisoned in Ireland during the disturbances in that country, by order of the British Government, have been liberated.

SOUTH CAROLINA.—The Legislature has elected W. B. Seabrook, Governor, and W. H. Gist, Lieutenant Governor of the State.

SETTLEMENT OF THE POSTAL TROUBLES.—Among the passengers in the steamship Canada was Mr. G. J. Putnam, who brought with him the agreement of the postal difficulties between Great Britain and the United States.

The rumor of negotiations having been entered upon relative to a protectorate of Cuba by the United States is officially contradicted by the Madrid journals.

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE.

CONTENTS OF No. 240.—Dec. 23, 1848.—Price, twelve cents a number.

1. Music and the Modern Opera.—*Fraser's Magazine.*
2. Beard of Hair.—*Spectator's Miscellany.*
3. Chateaubriand.—*Chambers's Journal.*
4. Gaudy Leaves.—*Ib.*
5. The Pope and Cardinal.—*Ib.*
6. The Marabel D'Aure.—*Sharpe's M' gazine.*
7. The Dark Lady.—*Mr. A. C. Swinburne.*
8. Charles V.—*Hentley's Miscellany.*
9. Epitaph.—*Ib.*
10. University Reform Bill.—*Spectator.*
11. The Peace Congress.—*Ib.*

SHORT ARTICLES.

Ancient City of Hamoran. Pedestrianism in the Brick Yard. Sensitive Plant. Sea Sickness. Indian Mode of Hunting. Brougham's Defence. Wonders of Chemistry.

WASHINGTON, *December* 22, 1848.

Of all the periodical journals devoted to literature and science which abound in Europe and in this country, this has appeared to me to be the most useful. It contains indeed the equivalent only of the current literature of the English language; but this, by its immense extent and comprehension, includes a portraiture of the human mind in the utmost expansion of its powers.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

SOUTHPORT, *November* 23, 1848.

To the Editor of the National Era:

DEAR SIR: In the perusal of your paper of November 9th, I noticed an interesting article from Judge McLean, copied from the Cincinnati Gazette, in which he says the following:

"England has no law prohibiting slavery, and yet 'Somerset,' a slave, was declared to be free, by the Court of King's Bench, when he put his foot upon the soil of England. And on the same principle, if a slave, with the consent of his master, go to a free State, he is made free, not because slavery is prohibited in such States, but because there is no law which sanctions it."

Now, sir, suppose a slave, *without* the consent of his master, go to a free State, is he free? I presume the same principle, and for the same reason, made free?

Again: If the Congress of the United States cannot successfully discharge the Constitutional delivery of a fugitive slave, upon what principle can it be made to appear that they have a right to demand the delivery of a fugitive slave from Canada? Will you favor your readers with some light upon this subject?

It appears to me, if the remarks from Judge McLean, to which I have referred, are correct, that the law of 1793, conferring powers upon the officers of Government to capture and carry back to their masters, persons who have escaped from bondage, is wholly worthless.

Respectfully, &c.,

D. BRAINERD NELSON.

The naval reply made to such questions is, that the Constitution of the United States interposes an exception to this great principle of the common law, by providing that "persons held to service or labor under the law of one State, escaping into another, shall not be released from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up, on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." This provision, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court and all other judicial tribunals in this country, embraces the case of escaping slaves, and secures their recapture. We believe such was the intention of the provision, which is therefore repugnant to natural and rightful of discords between the States.—*Ed. Era.*

THIRTIETH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

MONDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1848.

SENATE.

Mr. Dickinson presented a memorial from Geo. Wilkes, asking the construction of a railroad, by the Government, from the Missouri river to the Pacific, and presenting a plan for the same. Referred.

Mr. Douglas presented a memorial from Henry O. Reilly, asking the aid and authority of Congress to enable him to establish a telegraphic communication between the Mississippi valley, California, and Oregon. Referred.

Mr. Cameron and Mr. Simmons presented several petitions from citizens of Pennsylvania, praying an alteration of the tariff. Also, memorials in favor of a Territorial Government. Referred.

Mr. Douglas introduced a bill granting the right of way, and making a donation of lands to aid in the construction of a railroad to connect the Mississippi with the chain of Northern lakes. Read twice, and referred.

ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA AS A STATE.

On motion of Mr. Berrien, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of the bill for the admission of California, as a State, into the Union; and the question of reference was taken up first on Territories.

Mr. Berrien objected to the reference, and cited several precedents to show that bills of this character should be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Douglas said, that if the general rule had been adhered to, in the admission of new States, to the Judiciary Committee, he should decline to depart from that rule in the present instance. He viewed the matter, however, in a different light. The facts seemed to be, that two years ago, a Territorial Committee had existed in the House of Representatives before it was established in this body. The Committee on Territories was to take charge of bills of this description. So far as he knew, the practice was uniform. There having been a Territorial Committee in the Senate, the practice here obtained of referring bills of this description to the Committee on the Judiciary. A few months after the rule was established here, crowds of Commissioners of Territories, the bills with reference to Iowa and Florida were brought into the Senate—the rule being adopted, I think, in 1844, and the bill referred to the Committee on Territories. In the present session, no mention was made, but the Senate decided the appropriate reference of that bill to be to the Committee on Territories. I examined the journal on Saturday, with the assistance of the Secretaries, and I find it was referred to the Committee on Territories. I mention this to show that it is the Senate, and it passed into a law. I cite it therefore, that the practice to which the Senator referred existed under the old rule, in consequence of the doubts which the Territorial committee and that the last precedent in the Senate was in favor of this new reference.

Mr. Johnson, of Georgia, was of opinion that the decision to which the Senator from Illinois referred, was made with reference to a bill organizing a Territorial Government, and not for the admission of a new *State*. He considered it was proper to refer the present bill to the Judiciary Committee, because of the nature of the peculiar questions which might arise, with reference to the extent of the power to be conferred upon the new State, and which more appropriately belong to a Committee organized for the purpose of taking into consideration judicial questions.

Mr. Butler could not tell how it occurred that the bill for the admission of Wisconsin was referred to the Committee on Territories, unless it was connected with the other bill organizing the Territorial Government of Minesota, out of a portion of the Territory of Wisconsin. He could not, however, see any reason at the present time for deviating from what appeared to be the usual course in the Senate, in the matter of the admission of new States. He knew of no bill that presented so many difficult Constitutional questions as the one now before the Senate, which proposed to give to California, a portion of the Territory of Mexico, reserving to Congress the right hereafter to erect a portion of the same Territory into new States—taking from the Mexicans, a portion of the territorially invested in the State. If that could be done, his opinion was against the supposition, although he could not tell how the decision would be upon the matter; but, if a bill assuming that power to be done was coming before the Senate, then, upon the presumption that the Judiciary Committee would be composed of men of the most distinguished acumen and skill, it seemed to him that precedent, usage, and reason, were all in favor of the reference of such a bill to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Yulee made some remarks tending to show that the Committee on Territories in the Senate was composed of men peculiarly competent to submitted to the Senate by the Delegates in Congress from the several Territories of the United States, and that it was peculiarly to the business of the Territories. Subsequently the question arose in the Senate, as to the proper reference of a bill for the admission of a new State, and it was decided, by yeas and nays, in favor of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. King did not conceive the particular reference of a bill to matter of primary importance. He would merely state, that, during five-and-twenty years' service in the body, he had never known a single instance in which the bill for the organization of a State Government had not been referred to the Judiciary Committee. Why was it, that this struggle was going on in regard to the reference of this bill, when it was known that such bills had been uniformly referred to the Judiciary Committee, with the exception of the isolated case referred to by the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. Douglas. I will merely remark to the Senator from Alabama, that, if he had looked at the Journal, he would find that it was referred, by the course of his twenty-five years in the Senate, a bill of this kind has not been referred to the Territorial Committee; and that reason is simply that there never has been a Territorial Committee until recently. That explains why such bills have never been referred to such a committee—there being no such. And the reason why such reference has been ordered since, is, that there has been such a committee.

Mr. Bright, for his part, desired advised, I am opposed to any legislation looking to the organization of Territorial Governments in either California or New Mexico during this Congress. Nevertheless, I will land my aid in giving every proposition, having this object in view, a proper and legitimate direction. The Senator from Georgia represents the reference of the bill under the action from Illinois to the Committee on the Judiciary. This I regard as a departure from the precedents established by this body; under similar circumstances, upon like propositions. If the Senator from Illinois had proposed by his bill to organize a Territorial Government in California, instead of admitting California *directly* as a State, I apprehend no Senator would have objected to a reference to the Committee on Territories. All would have understood the peculiarities of the subject. But because the bill contemplates an abridged method of disposing of the Territory, instead of the ordinary mode, I cannot see that it is the duty of the Committee on the Judiciary to be proper one to investigate and report upon the measure. Is there a gentleman upon this floor who believes that any bill or proposition, having for its object the organization of any of the Territories of those United States, can be passed upon by Congress without an issue made, *directly*, as to whether slavery shall not be *absolutely* excluded? He who comes to this conclusion must have been an inattentive observer of what passed in this Chamber at the last session. This question arose in regard to Texas. It will arise again, and with increased strength. To send this bill to the Committee on the Judiciary is to send it to a tribunal, from which it will return, and recommitted to the Committee on Territories, in the same manner, and for the same reason, made free?

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Mr. Butler could not tell how it occurred that the bill for the admission of Wisconsin was referred to the Committee on Territories, unless it was connected with the other bill organizing the Territorial Government of Minesota, out of a portion of the Territory of Wisconsin. He could not, however, see any reason at the present time for deviating from what appeared to be the usual course in the Senate, in the matter of the admission of new States. His knew of no bill that presented so many difficult Constitutional questions as the one now before the Senate, which proposed to give to California, a portion of the Territory of Mexico, reserving to Congress the right hereafter to erect a portion of the same Territory into new States—taking from the Mexicans, a portion of the territorially invested in the State. If that could be done, his opinion was against the supposition, although he could not tell how the decision would be upon the matter; but, if a bill assuming that power to be done was coming before the Senate, then, upon the presumption that the Judiciary Committee would be composed of men of the most distinguished acumen and skill, it seemed to him that precedent, usage, and reason, were all in favor of the reference of such a bill to the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. Yulee made some remarks tending to show that the Committee on Territories in the Senate was composed of men peculiarly competent to submitted to the Senate by the Delegates in Congress from the several Territories of the United States, and that it was peculiarly to the business of the Territories. Subsequently the question arose in the Senate, as to the proper reference of a bill for the admission of a new State, and it was decided, by yeas and nays, in favor of the Committee on the Judiciary.

Mr. King did not conceive the particular reference of a bill to matter of primary importance. He would merely state, that, during five-and-twenty years' service in the body, he had never known a single instance in which the bill for the organization of a State Government had not been referred to the Judiciary Committee. Why was it, that this struggle was going on in regard to the reference of this bill, when it was known that such bills had been uniformly referred to the Judiciary Committee, with the exception of the isolated case referred to by the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. Douglas. I will merely remark to the Senator from Alabama, that, if he had looked at the Journal, he would find that it was referred, by the course of his twenty-five years in the Senate, a bill of this kind has not been referred to the Territorial Committee; and that reason is simply that there never has been a Territorial Committee until recently. That explains why such bills have never been referred to such a committee—there being no such. And the reason why such reference has been ordered since, is, that there has been such a committee.

Mr. Bright, for his part, desired advised, I am opposed to any legislation looking to the organization of Territorial Governments in either California or New Mexico during this Congress. Nevertheless, I will land my aid in giving every proposition, having this object in view, a proper and legitimate direction. The Senator from Georgia represents the reference of the bill under the action from Illinois to the Committee on the Judiciary. This I regard as a departure from the precedents established by this body; under similar circumstances, upon like propositions. If the Senator from Illinois had proposed by his bill to organize a Territorial Government in California, instead of admitting California *directly* as a State, I apprehend no Senator would have objected to a reference to the Committee on Territories. All would have understood the peculiarities of the subject. But because the bill contemplates an abridged method of disposing of the Territory, instead of the ordinary mode, I cannot see that it is the duty of the Committee on the Judiciary to be proper one to investigate and report upon the measure. Is there a gentleman upon this floor who believes that any bill or proposition, having for its object the organization of any of the Territories of those United States, can be passed upon by Congress without an issue made, *directly*, as to whether slavery shall not be *absolutely* excluded? He who comes to this conclusion must have been an inattentive observer of what passed in this Chamber at the last session. This question arose in regard to Texas. It will arise again, and with increased strength. To send this bill to the Committee on the Judiciary is to send it to a tribunal, from which it will return, and recommitted to the Committee on Territories, in the same manner, and for the same reason, made free?

Again: If the Congress of the United States cannot successfully discharge the Constitutional delivery of a fugitive slave, upon what principle can it be made to appear that they have a right to demand the delivery of a fugitive slave from Canada? *I recollect that four out of the five members of that Committee are from the slaveholding States of this Union,* and, I presume, are not in favor of the passage of a bill that will receive the sanction of this Congress.

The Committee on Territories is free from this geographical objection. I think, therefore, it would be in conformity with past usage, and more appropriate, to refer it to the former, and shall so do unless you object.

I have said, Mr. President, that I was opposed to the organization of all Territories during the present session of Congress. I am still unwilling as I do that there is no great public necessity existing for haste in this matter; and, further, I cannot see with deference and submission to the will of the majority—I mean the Sovereign People decided *anything* in the late National election, it was a reference of this question of Territorial acquisition and organization to the incoming administration." It was in November last bequeathed to them, as a rich political legacy, pregnant with capital, to the incoming administration of this Union. For one, I think it would be in bad taste, and out of place, for this expiring administration to prevent the execution of the will in the manner pointed out by Providence, and, I will be the one were to prejudge and settle the question this session.

Mr. Baldwin. It appears to me, sir, that the question now before the Senate is very different from any that has heretofore occurred with regard to the subject of reference. The question ordinarily presented, when a bill is introduced for the admission of a State, is one which influences the matter of detail, in regard to that of which the public have heretofore been the judge. Question of policy here presented is, whether this Territory, comprised within the limits of our country by the treaty with Mexico, shall be organized into one or more Territorial Governments, or whether it shall be organized into a State Government. The Committee on Territories, from New Mexico, and proposes to establish a State Government over the whole. The people of one portion of the Territory have already applied to Congress to be organized into a Territorial Government. Another portion have asked for a State Government. But the Territory of New Mexico has already transmitted to Congress a petition, which has been presented to the Senate, and, if I mistake not, referred; at all events, the matter is now before the Senate, and whether they shall have a Territorial Government or not. Now, sir, this question of policy appears to me proper for the Territorial Committee to consider and report upon. It does not appear to me that it would be consistent with the action of a Committee constituted for the purpose for which the Judiciary Committee is constituted. The Judiciary Committee are not conversant with matters of this sort, and was established to consider them, rather than legal questions, which are a settled policy.

Mr. Rusk was in favor of a reference of the bill to the Committee on the Judiciary. He also took the present opportunity of making

THE NATIONAL ERA.

OFFICIAL ELECTION RETURNS.

MAINE.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	1848. V. B.	1848. Cass.	1844. Clay.	1844. Polk.	1844. Birney.
Aroostook	435	963	91	358	307	21
Cumberland	4,736	5,169	1,814	4,663	6,202	465
Franklin	886	1,431	810	1,132	1,049	92
Hancock	2,102	2,217	361	1,803	2,690	105
Kennebec	5,006	2,820	1,656	5,263	3,835	561
Lincoln	3,276	1,271	1,307	3,257	2,650	151
Oxford	1,531	2,601	1,201	1,892	4,253	67
Penobscot	3,921	4,653	1,726	3,366	4,866	695
Piscataquis	837	1,146	551	1,071	1,136	228
Somerset	2,850	2,192	1,006	2,849	2,580	435
Waldo	1,877	2,547	1,159	2,225	3,021	316
Washington	2,500	2,264	470	2,320	2,965	77
York	5,261	4,611	843	5,210	5,417	353
1848.						
Total vote for Taylor					35,929	
Total vote for Cass					40,176	
Total vote for Van Buren					12,174	
1844.						
Total vote for Clay					34,619	
Total vote for Polk					45,619	
Scattering					4,862	

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	1848. V. B.	1848. Cass.	1844. Clay.	1844. Polk.	1844. Birney.
Rockingham	2,972	2,710	2,822	3,427	3,427	584
Strafford	1,912	1,664	995	1,701	1,866	530
Belknap	1,760	610	334	964	1,201	248
Carroll	1,865	539	525	1,292	1,816	233
Merrimack	4,218	1,235	1,076	1,595	3,921	628
Hillsborough	4,775	2,799	1,922	3,124	4,853	670
Cheshire	2,081	1,881	946	2,558	2,070	374
Sullivan	1,068	1,177	552	1,358	1,194	240
Grafton	4,064	1,227	1,101	2,566	4,076	631
Coos	1,282	533	319	348	1,264	108
1848.						
Total vote for Taylor					27,763	
Total vote for Cass					14,781	
Total vote for Van Buren					7,560	
Scattering					1,112	
1844.						
Total vote for Clay					17,865	
Total vote for Polk					27,160	
Total vote for Birney					4,161	

NEW YORK.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	1848. V. B.	1848. Cass.	1844. Clay.	1844. Polk.	1844. Birney.
Albany	7,968	2,837	4,043	7,169	6,247	1,138
Allegany	2,710	970	1,382	3,013	3,640	435
Broome	2,464	777	1,259	2,621	2,506	106
Cattaraugus	2,084	1,256	1,077	2,743	2,624	47
Cayuga	3,485	3,009	1,931	4,020	4,252	275
Chautauque	4,007	1,928	1,911	5,612	3,407	34
Chemung	1,912	2,256	1,000	1,704	2,265	209
Chenango	3,867	1,481	2,636	4,216	4,162	243
Clinton	3,948	2,103	2,121	4,322	4,204	11
Columbia	4,279	1,803	2,946	4,337	4,337	243
Clinton	1,911	1,231	1,472	1,119	2,218	41
Delaware	3,938	2,406	1,916	3,175	4,000	151
Dutchess	5,316	3,295	3,727	5,767	5,957	57
Erie	9,252	2,421	5,064	9,563	9,046	1,011
Essex	2,923	1,119	1,702	2,613	1,290	413
Franklin	2,033	1,211	1,294	1,853	2,000	113
Fulton and Hamilton	1,576	1,602	340	2,107	3,198	140
Genesee	2,290	1,111	1,362	1,704	2,265	209
Greene	2,716	1,425	1,751	2,968	2,859	39
Herkimer	3,420	3,810	999	4,250	4,175	169
Jefferson	4,841	4,242	2,445	5,276	6,201	172
Kings	1,251	1,257	2,464	2,525	2,487	348
Lewis	1,223	1,266	799	1,646	1,665	151
Livingston	3,730	2,100	2,979	3,773	3,710	210
Madison	3,398	2,226	2,583	3,848	4,000	1,011
Monroe	6,539	4,971	1,443	6,653	5,611	430
Montgomery	2,928	1,602	1,968	2,924	3,215	97
New York	29,901	5,106	18,973	26,365	26,236	707
Niagara	2,933	1,293	1,194	3,100	2,599	109
Oneida	6,033	3,816	3,686	6,983	7,72	1,144
Onondaga	4,981	4,546	2,239	6,105	6,873	722
Ontario	3,848	2,867	1,272	4,808	3,648	435
Orange	4,771	4,131	3,617	6,026	5,342	37
Orleans	2,462	1,232	918	2,600	2,587	276
Oswego	3,665	4,251	1,134	3,771	4,380	261
Otsego	4,201	2,670	3,270	4,743	4,615	—
Putnam	818	415	596	979	1,721	—
Queens	2,444	800	1,931	2,630	2,631	41
Rensselaer	6,341	2,931	2,885	6,360	5,931	181
Richmond	1,000	100	1,000	1,000	1,000	100
Rockland	910	265	1,064	794	1,679	1
Saratoga	4,618	1,805	3,255	4,350	4,315	119
Schenectady	1,216	441	1,068	1,814	1,679	31
Schoharie	2,721	1,251	2,481	3,253	3,252	111
Seneca	1,767	1,553	1,260	2,327	2,540	148
St. Lawrence	5,267	4,215	613	4,973	6,000	668
Steuben	4,357	3,623	2,975	5,285	5,245	143
Suffolk	2,107	1,401	1,651	2,657	3,275	14
Sullivan	1,078	1,104	1,274	1,270	1,961	31
Tioga	1,782	789	1,893	1,899	2,848	90
Tompkins	3,003	2,222	1,270	3,253	3,165	147
Ulster	4,8 9	2,277	3,209	4,804	4,782	42
Washington	4,407	3,033	3,274	4,250	4,375	226
Warren	1,176	618	1,019	1,739	1,241	19
Wayne	3,662	2,664	797	3,053	4,005	74
Westchester	4,412	1,212	2,140	4,258	4,412	41
Wyoming	2,281	1,624	1,537	2,754	2,441	1
Yates	1,651	1,653	822	2,056	2,110	207
Total vote for Taylor					218,603	
Total vote for Van Buren					120,510	
Total vote for Cass					114,318	
Total vote for Clay					232,482	
Total vote for Polk					237,588	
Total vote for Birney					15,812	
Taylor's majority over Cass					104,285	
Taylor's majority over Van Buren					98,093	
Van Buren's majority over Cass					6,192	
Cass and Van Buren over Taylor					16,225	
Polk over Clay in 1844					5,106	
The Gerrit Smith ticket received					2,345	
Total vote in 1844 was					485,889	
Total vote now					455,976	
Less than the vote of 1844					29,906	
Taylor's vote less than Clay's					13,879	
Cass, Van Buren, and Smith, less than Polk					215	

We are indebted to the *Albany Evening Journal* for the above returns.

OHIO.

Counties.	1848. Taylor.	1848. V. B.	1848. Cass.	1844. Clay.	1844. Polk.	1844. Birney.
Adams	1,259	196	1,699	1,252	1,611	67
Allen	738	9	1,270	1,215	1,138	2
Ashtabula	1,124	2,867	878	3,383	1,123	237
Athens	1,896	1,891	1,594	2,050	1,821	1,138
Ashland	1,341	276	2,419	(new county.)		
Auglaize	427	15	1,151	(new county.)		
Belmont	2,723	543	2,952	3,140	2,811	184
Brown	1,771	933	2,537	2,819	2,241	57
Butler	1,959	381	3,636	2,158	3,841	81
Carroll	1,453	346	1,206	1,731	1,589	46
Champaign	1,876	1,056	1,653	2,257	2,050	91
Clark	2,506	398	1,278	2,477	1,157	43
Clermont	2,594	404	2,628	2,912	2,822	105
Clinton	1,253	535	1,122	1,726	1,133	172
Columbiana	3,916	173	3,277	3,964	3,966	75
Coshocton	1,814	137	2,422	1,885	2,284	60
Crawford	862	1,011	1,284	1,257	1,160	61
Cuyahoga	1,776	2,994	2,368	3,331	2,380	312
Darke	1,765	123	2,757	2,446	1,888	23
Delaware	1,966	388	1,574	2,548	2,017	18
Defiance	304	94	627	(new county.)		
Erie	1,460	681	969	2,524	1,161	65
Fairfield	2,629	42	3,515	2,542	3,037	15
Fayette	1,125	128	987	1,337	1,067	57
Franklin	3,199	284	3,029	2,965	2,868	72
Fulton	1,000	1,251	1,464	1,371	1,464	35
Geauga	872	1,273	922	2,274	1,101	223
Greene	2,168	646	1,256	2,422	2,327	195
Guernsey	2,274	489	2,504	2,746	2,628	218
Hamilton	9,181	16,656	4,931	9,731	9,325	1,035
Hancock	1,016	23	1,761	907	1,247	48
Hardin	555	44	1,000	1,000	1,000	25
Harrison	1,564	543	1,653	2,039	1,795	97
Henry	1,117	17	1,297	229	245	1
Highland	2,414	1,114	2,221	2,822	2,551	114
Hocking	866	33	1,319	719	1,383	2
Holmes	1,147	45	1,281	1,484	1,161	65
Huron	1,856	876	1,726	2,534	2,136	138
Jackson	987	51	1,198	1,337	1,164	48
Jefferson	2,146	455	2,291	2,5 5	2,324	80
Knox	1,940	2,016	1,953	2,966	2,966	161
Lake	777	294	745	1,016	901	169
Lawrence	1,661	57	745	1,860	1,450	2
Licking	3,030	551	3,162	3,110	3,381	294
Logan	1,016	173	1,197	1,235	1,215	53
Lorain	647	1,616	1,673	2,165	1,775	61
Lucas	1,298	327	1,197	1,467	881	12
Madison	1,253	99	1,223	1,282	1,275	27
Marion	1,000	55	1,153	1,625	1,081	88
Medina	1,341	1,107	1,748	2,241	1,721	221
Meigs	1,227	366	1,014	1,241	880	41
Miami	909	16	1,641	1,641	1,641	1
Monroe	2,546	223	1,227	2,572	1,652	113
Montgomery	3,261	1,011	3,329	3,388	3,161	114
Morgan	2,335	2,426	1,000	2,000	2,000	100
Muskingum	4,427	228	3,390	4,489	3,196	96
Morrow	1,166	26	1,000	(new county.)		
Mahoning	720	1,042	1,823	1,000	1,000	100
Ottawa	190	45	231	241	233	9
Perry	1,883	19	2,162	1,977	2,227	1
Paulding	70	—	178	63	162	—
Pike	1,206	19	1,094	976	1,000	1
Pike	33	13	2,909	840	830	16
Portage	1,270	1,127	2,340	2,340	2,340	244
Preble	3,106	314	2,519	2,252	1,798	70
Putnam	392	1	1,257	1,257	1,257	1
Richland	2,081	187	2,477	3,443	2,574	111
Ross	2,874	174	3,464	3,391	3,383	90
Sandusky	921	123	1,148	1,167	1,216	43
Scioto	1,236	13	1,268	1,516	1,261	—
Seneca	1,575	283	2,177	2,177	2,177	1
Shelby	1,021	49	1,129	1,020	1,114	26
Stark	4,283	2,070	4,256	4,256	4,256	34
Summit	1,995	1,668	1,815	2,841	2,026	181
Trumbull	1,561	2,275	1,561	3,561	2,561	734
Tuscarawas	2,661	161	2,553	2,606	2,535	30
Union	1,016	1,214	1,000	1,000	1,000	100
Van Wert	223	—	341	158	270	—
Warren	2,526	1,264	1,264	2,526	2,526	85
Washington	2,079	461	1,930	2,194	1,546	181
Wayne	2,400	1,000	2,300	2,753	2,765	75
Williams	338	151	1,100	1,100	1,100	—
Wood	647	29	636	676	676	—
Wyandotte	501	40	1,019	(new county.)		
Total vote for Taylor					138,396	
Total vote for Van Buren					35,456	
Total vote for Cass					154,096	
Total vote for Clay					155,113	
Total vote for Polk					149,061	
Total vote for Birney					8,050	
Cass over Taylor					15,700	
Taylor and Van Buren over Cass					18,990	
Clay over Polk					6,052	

The above table does not include the vote of Pennington township, Licking county, from which no returns were received. We have not yet seen any return of the vote for the Gerrit Smith ticket. It is undoubtedly very light.

NEGRO RISING.

An event has just occurred in Arkansas, on one of the large plantations of Colonel Cole, which resembles strikingly remote as of the upheavings and popular struggles for freedom, in the petty principalities of the European continent. Col. William Polk, the owner of the plantation, and of its laborers, recently died. Very soon after this event, his slaves, amounting, it is said, to some three hundred, rose in open rebellion, helped themselves to what food and clothing they desired, and asserted their freedom. Such, at least, is the substance of information communicated by letter to the editor of the Memphis Appeal, by a gentleman from Walnut Bend, the scene of the disturbance. And there seems nothing unreasonable in the account. It is just what happens in the petty sovereignties of Europe every little while, on the death of the sovereign or master, and only what is happening just now in many of them without such death. The Appeal says, on the authority named, that "some efforts were made by the few white persons about the premises to restrain them, but these were of no avail. The negroes declared that their late master promised them if they served him faithfully during his lifetime, they should be free at his death, and express a determination to free themselves. This is a sparsely settled neighborhood; there not being a sufficient number of whites within many miles to put them down."

FREE DEMOCRACY OF NEW YORK.

At a meeting of the Democratic Republican Corresponding Committee, held at their Head-Quarters, December 1, 1848, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted, and directed to be published in the Democratic papers in the city:

Resolved. That we deem this an appropriate occasion to renew our expression of devotion to the great principles of Democratic freedom, the equality of rights and representation, retrenchment of Government expenditures and patronage, frequent recurrence by elections to the sources of power, and the maintenance of the principles of Government, reform, and simplification of the Government itself, and a faithful adherence to the party usages now professing and seeking to enforce a common faith.

Resolved, That the prosperous of our Republic in the science of government, and in the promotion of individual happiness, is owing to a single party, may well challenge the admiration of the World—that exception is the relation of human slavery—a moral, social, political and legal curse, inflicted upon our infant colonies by the avarice and oppression of Great Britain, continued by several of our elder States and partially by the Federal Government, when Great Britain herself, as well as France, Denmark, and even despotic Turkey, has escaped from its infliction.

Resolved, That we look forward with hope to the eventual extirpation of slavery from our borders, and that we see no present plan of accomplishing this great work of civilization and humanity more just and feasible than that formed by the fathers of our Republic at its foundation, to wit: the prohibition of slave importation from abroad, by the Federal Government, and the Territories of the United States, and the surrender of the whole power over the subject in existing States to the sovereign will of each State, respectively. If this plan had been faithfully executed by those who followed the great men of the Revolution, we should now be free from the slaveholding States, and no slaveholding Territory.

Resolved, That great as are the obligations of the Democratic party to Thomas Jefferson for his instinctive and unerring devotion to liberal principles of government, it is as the author of the policy to limit, meliorate, and eventually abolish human slavery, that we stand gratefully contrasts with the modern slaveholders and statesmen of the South, and most warmly commends himself to the gratitude and veneration of a free people.

Resolved, That the exclusion of slavery from the Territories of the United States, by positive Congressional enactment, as proposed by Mr. Jefferson in 1784, and effected in 1787, has been adhered to without interruption until the last session of Congress—it has been adhered with vast advantages to the entire Confederacy—ought not to be abandoned, and cannot be compromised.

Resolved, That the Wilmot proviso, always held by the laws of the United States ought no longer to be the test of Government of a free people: and the National Capital should therefore be respected by the Federal Government, slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia.

Resolved, That the free Democracy of the United States, by the defeat of the Compromise proposed at the last session of Congress, and the passage of the bill for Oregon, containing an express and positive prohibition of involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, in the sound and irrevisable public sentiment which has been aroused in all quarters of the Union, have adopted a course for mutual congratulation and encouragement.

Resolved, That the most important moral to be drawn from the late political canvass which has elevated a successful and honored statesman to the office of President of the United States, by a majority of votes, in disregard of political principle and of Democratic rule, in opposition to personal claims, is, that an overwhelming majority of the electors of the United States were determined to secure a dispensation from freedom the reward of the Presidency.

Resolved, That the Democracy of New York have uniformly, for twenty years past, assembled in State Convention, and have, by joint consent, one of the Democratic members of the Legislature, and this ancient usage never has been changed by them. Conventions have assembled elected their delegates to the late Baltimore Convention, as well as the ticket for electors and State officers, proposed by the Democracy at the past election. Any other organization, by whatever name it may be termed and under whatever pretence it may act, can receive no countenance from us.

Resolved, That recent events have admonished us of the disasters that attended a departure from the principles of the Democratic party, and we feel called upon to declare now, as heretofore, our fixed and unalterable purpose to support no candidate for any political office who does not conform to our faith and our organization.

JAMES PATTISON, } *Chairman.*
GEORGE H. PURDER, } *Secretaries.*

From the Boston Daily Republican.

TO THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The State Central Committee congratulate the friends of Free Soil in the Commonwealth, upon the satisfactory results of the recent elections. Within ten days from the assembling of the Buffalo Convention, a party of three hundred thousand voters has been organized, extending into twenty States, and including some of the ablest and most experienced statesmen of the country. Not one Presidential elector has been chosen; yet the immediate results of the movement are encouraging in the highest degree.

A *National party* has been formed, which will energetically sustain the cause of freedom.

A large proportion of the voters of *two* of the Union have been enlisted in its behalf.

The sturdy yeomanry of the *free Northwest* have been thoroughly aroused.

The *tone of power* has been secured in eleven of the free States.

In the States of New York, Massachusetts, and Vermont, the Free Soil party has become the *second* party in numerical power, and bid fair soon to control their internal political action.

Northern politicians have been compelled to respect the free spirit of the age; and the newly elected Northern Representatives have generally pledged themselves to fidelity to the free principle.

The bond of union between the Slave power and the Northern Democracy has been rendered forever.

Joshua R. Giddings, Joseph M. Root, John Crowell, and Lewis D. Campbell of Ohio, William Sprague of Michigan, Charles Durkee of Wisconsin, David Wilmot, Galusha A. Grow of Pennsylvania, Preston King of New York, and Horace Mann of Massachusetts, have been elected to the next Congress of the Union; and it is hoped that to this list will soon be added the names of John G. Palfrey, Charles Allen, and Nathaniel Borden.

In this Commonwealth, notwithstanding an opposition of peculiar bitterness, nearly *forty thousand* votes supported the Presidential candidates, and nearly the same number again supported the State election, although opposed by both the old parties.

Other results not immediately discernible, if considered in connection with the great movement commenced at Buffalo, are eminently gratifying and encouraging.

In the State of New York, nearly *seventy-five thousand* voters refused to vote, and it may reasonably be presumed that these abentees, although not willing to support the Free Soil party, had become so entirely dissatisfied with the old organizations, that they must eventually join the new party of progress and freedom.

It is notorious that thousands, who approve the Buffalo platform, unwillingly supported General Taylor, without any faith in their organization or their candidate, in the hope of defeating General Cass. It is more notorious that thousands of honest Democrats, released by this election from their old party allegiance, will hereafter, from the grannical domination of the Slave Power, naturally and cheerfully acquiesce in the progress of the new party, which is emphatically in principle dear to real Democrats, from its connection with the name of Thomas Jefferson, and all whose obsequies, amounting, it is said, to some three hundred, rose in open rebellion, helped themselves to what food and clothing they desired, and asserted their freedom. Such, at least, is the substance of information communicated by letter to the editor of the Memphis Appeal, by a gentleman from Walnut Bend, the scene of the disturbance. And there seems nothing unreasonable in the account. It is

of danger have appeared, requiring immediate attention and constant vigilance. The strictest silence is now observed by the leading Taylor newspapers and politicians upon the question of slavery extension. The danger is now most imminent. The President of the United States, false to his high position at the head of a free Republic, has recommended, in his Annual Message, to re-organize a party which has been broken and demoralized by its subservience to the Slave Power. Under the specious guise of preserving the Union, the Democracy is not endangered, by a skilful and glowing account of the importance of California and its mineral wealth. Slavery extension, and the quantity will not Proviso, by one of three measures, either of which involves a compromise or abandonment of the principle for which the Free Soil party contended. In a similar spirit, a Senator from Illinois has already given notice of a bill to organize a State Government in the Territory of Oregon, and thus to deprive the Northern and Free Soil "optimists" and "quietists" of this Commonwealth have already begun to hope that this measure may defeat the Free Soil movement.

Our principles we cannot compromise or abandon; nor should we lose any opportunity of hearing our testimony to them.

Thousands of the spirit with which we are opposed, we may refer to the significant fact that at the recent session of the Massachusetts Legislature, the "Taylor Republican" majority embraced the first opportunity to manifest a malignant hostility to the Free Soil movement, by selecting from the unanimous Democratic vote for vacancy in the Senate a Cass man, in preference to a Free Democrat—and this, too, when the only duty to be performed by the successful candidate was to vote for Representatives in Congress, although the Free Democrat had received the larger vote at the popular election.

Address, then, your own organization. Stand fast by the principles of the Buffalo platform; the overthrow of the domination of the Slave power—the exclusive right of freemen to labor, to enjoy and enjoy the free territory of the Union—the duty of the General Government to withdraw all countenance and support from the institution of Slavery—the freedom of the public lands to actual settlers—cheap postage—retrenchment of the public expenditure—the encouragement of internal commerce by the improvement of rivers and harbors—the election of officers by the people—a tariff for the payment of the public debt