TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

The *National Era* is published every Thursday, on the following terms:

Single copy, one year	$2.00
Three copies, one year	5.00
Five copies, one year	8.00
Ten copies, one year	15.00
Single copy, six months	1.00
Ten copies, six months	8.00

Postmasters at Post Offices are entitled to 50 cents commission on each yearly, and 25 cents commission on each semi-yearly, subscriber, *except in the case of Clubs.*

A Club of five subscribers, at $8, will entitle the person making it up to a copy for 6 months; a Club of ten, at $15, to a copy for one year. When a Club has been forwarded, additions may be made to it, on the same terms.

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

VOL. XIII. WASHINGTON, D.C., THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1859. No. 642.

RATES OF ADVERTISING.

Ten cents a line for the *first* insertion, *five* cents a line for each subsequent one. Ten words constitute a line. Payment in advance is invariably required.

☞ Money may be forwarded by mail at *my risk.* Notes on Eastern banks preferred. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit.

☞ Persons wishing their papers changed, will give the name of the post office changed *from*, as well as the post office they wish it hereafter sent to.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D. C.

[*Copyright secured according to law.*]

For the National Era.

HERMAN;

OR,

YOUNG KNIGHTHOOD.

BY E. FOXTON,

Author of "Premices."

CHAPTER XXI.

The Knight's Champion.

"Pour toute vertu, on le lui enseigna que 'honneur.' *Lamartine.*

"There are men in the slave States, slaveholders, who feel the ineffable degradation of this position. Not only conscientious men who abhor the injustice, but spirited men, who cannot brook the shame, are chafing impatiently under the yoke they wear, felt by them to be heavier and more dishonorable than that which they impose. They see their base themselves, and how ludicrously it belies that large parting, in the 4 July oration, of *liberty*, in which they have been wont to indulge."—*Papers on the Slave Power.*

Rested, shaved, and most *correctly* dressed the next morning, Edward was himself again. At the earliest hour admissible he waited upon Judge Sharkey, and offered his bail. The judge hesitated, thought it would be necessary to put the bail "pretty high—as high as"—he eyed Edward keenly from head to foot—"well forty or fifty thousand dollars."

"If you will have the goodness to bid your clerk make out the bond, I will sign it."

"Well, Edward, I reckon you prefer to slow of bail. I am not as yet prepared to decide, without further consideration and consultation. I would, at any rate, require some prominent citizen of this State to be bound together with you."

"I will call on your neighbor, Mr. Trimmer, then. He was an acquaintance and friend of my father, Sharkey, I understand, at Washington. Will that do?"

"Well; yes, sir—perfectly well." The judge's brown leather lips pressed themselves firmly up in the middle, and drew themselves down at the corners; but—Edward could not guess why—his eyes lighted up through his spectacles like those of a wicked little terrier which sees a cat-hole. "If Hiram Trimmer agrees to offer bail, I think I can, without further demur, engage to accept of it."

And Edward accordingly, in his most urbane and courtly manner, straightway presented himself, and a letter of introduction which he had brought with him, to the Honorable Hiram Trimmer, a gentleman in high office. He found him bearing his honors meekly, a bland fatherly man, with obtrusive false teeth, who received him very civilly. After a little easy and agreeable conversation on general topics, sufficient, as he rightly judged, to make a most favorable impression, Edward opened his business, offering the bond securities in Boston.

"Hum, ha—very sorry. Would be very happy. Any service within my power. Was in Congress with your late lamented parent—Most patriotic and enlightened merchant! We gentlemen of the South always knew where to go when we wanted a very fine piece of our whole glorious Union, however bounded! Did much, indeed, to establish our mutual interests. Most statesmanlike mind. Saw through the intricate science of political economy, to use a bold hyperbole, like a lynx through a brass wire! He ever protecting the property of our section of the country, we did the like, as often as we saw occasion, and found it compatible, for his. Then, again, been ever ready to protect the property of his section enabled the holders thereof at election time to disburse such sums as were required to buy over such men like unto ourselves, new to protect our interests. *E pluribus unum.* United we stand—divided we fall. Most to be regretted that boys should lose their fathers! Get into bad company and ruin themselves! Most grateful for it when it's too late! Unfortunate and embarrassing occurrence. Public mind's a good deal unsettled in Ironland in Sharkey. [For this reason, perhaps: Mr. Trimmer had for some years held a high office within the State, to the mutual satisfaction of himself and a majority of his citizens. They paid him his salary; and he let them alone. Judge Sharkey's brother, a more 'earnest man,' had, however, just been put up against him, by a large minority, as a rival candidate at the next election.] Brother'd be safest just now in jail, I opine, wouldn't he?"

"How so, sir?"

"Well, the mind of the public's exasperated, much to be deplored! a good deal exasperated. Two slaves escaped from the jail already. Didn't he inform you?"

"No, sir."

"Yes, sir. Extra guard ordered out; and, night before last, thought he was fearful they'd have had him, in spite of them."

"Am I to understand,' cried Edward, struggling to keep up his courtesy, and keep his seat, "that it is this part of the country prisoners are at the mercy of the mob?"

"Far from it, sir! The furthest possible from it! I assure you, Mr. Trimmer, I'm sorry obviated. That was the object of ordering out the guard, sir."

"Could not he leave the State on bail?"

"Well, I'm fearful that could not be suffered in the present attitude of the public mind."

"Is there no safe place of confinement to which he could be sent?"

"There'd still remain the peril of effecting his transfer. Public would be liable to be very apprehensive of a rescue. Wouldn't hardly like to have our country to assume the responsibility. Brother calm, when you left him?"

"I believe so; I have hardly seen him otherwise; excepting, indeed, when a poor man was flogged for going in the evening, by his master's orders, to call a physician for his sinews. It was very impolitic; but, somehow, Edward cannot help seeing it in a light."

"Oh, ah! Unfortunately caught without a pairs, I presume."

"But, if he was sent off in a hurry, and could not get one?"

"Very culpable negligence on the part of his owners, in that case, I should infer. But the patrol, having their stated orders, can't deviate."

"Should they not be ordered, in such cases, to flog the sinews?"

"Ha, ha! Poetical justice. Pleasant vein of humor. Owners make the laws. Fearful you couldn't induce 'em to coincide. Further more, your proposal would indirectly affect them. Present system affects both parties."

"Does it? I am no lawyer; perhaps you would be so good as to explain to me how. I do not quite understand."

"Possible? Why, humane masters do not like their servants to be whipped, and therefore, odiously cruel as it may look, just cruel enough to make us out to be, up North, ha, ha! Regulation operates beneficially, upon the whole. Plain servants to sanction their running around at night."

"But would humane slaves like to have their owners whipped?"

"Ha, ha! Well, I wouldn't hardly like to venture to express an opinion. Can't expect much sensibility on the part of the inferior races." Edward was about to receive a reward for his resolute imitation of complacence, such as it may be called, but—Nobe was doing well his body, and in spirit as well as could reasonably be expected. Tobacco, which he had frequently with comforts of his mother's providing, and was, at his urgent request, to come to him with his pipe, was not yet—and friends had to be moved, and hide him before the trial, that he might not be forced to give evidence against Herman.

For the most, however, Herman, still, silent, and braced, appeared like one who strains straining sorely to bear up against a weight thrown upon his shoulders, which must crush him if for an instant he gives way beneath it—which, however, he resolutely concerted to be fully conscious of anything but the burden and the hearing, well-nigh speechless and breathless.

In the dread circumstances in which both were placed, it was remarkable to see how much more at a loss the man of the world found himself, than the boy, in the presence of his mother, probably, have ever led a life of self-indulgence in modes more innocent, or with fewer criminal stains on their consciences, than Edward. Anna, on the other hand, had been accustomed to be fully conscious of anything but the burden and the hearing, well-nigh speechless and breathless.

In the dread circumstances in which both were placed, it was remarkable to see how much more at a loss the man of the world found himself, than the boy, in the presence of his mother, probably, have ever led a life of self-indulgence in modes more innocent, or with fewer criminal stains on their consciences, than Edward. Anna, on the other hand, had been accustomed to be fully conscious of anything but the burden and the hearing, well-nigh speechless and breathless.

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

ATLANTA, GEORGIA, *April* 2, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Enclosed I send you a piece of poetry, which I hope you will esteem worthy of publication. It was written by a young lady, and, from its allusions understood, something of the author's history must be given. She is the daughter of a Georgia planter, of high respectability and intelligence. At the early age of fifteen years, against her parents' wishes, but with their reluctant consent, she married a man entirely unfit for her—so entirely unfit, that she was unable to live with him but for a few months. At her request, her father took her again to his home, in the time that she should be the mother of that little boy, her "Missing Flower."

Her letters urged her forth, and she became an orphan, and at length the editress of the *Temperance Crusader*, in this place. Since. On the first of January last, the office of that paper was removed to Atlanta; and with it the same, young lady. The little boy, in the charge of her own mother, in a distant part of the State. The poetry appeared in the first issue of the *Crusader* after St. Valentine's Day. In the eye of the law, she is a wife, but, being under twenty-one years of age, but she is already the life and soul of her paper, and wonderfully, from its poor and poverty, to its four thousand subscribers, with a degree of intelligence and purity of principle that has won the admiration of all.

With these facts in view, it seems to me that the "Missing Flower" alone ought to immortalize its author. AN ATLANTIAN.

MY MISSING FLOWER.

BY MARY E. BRYANT.

The day has glided past us, like a bark—
A fairy bark on an enchanted sea
Soft as the eyes of cradled babies, this lie
In the West, and the pale stars look forth
To tell us we have lost our day, and away
Into the mighty ocean of the Past,
And shall return no more.

How fair it was!

With all June's balminess in its warm breath,
And April's liquid azure in its skies—
Soft as the eyes of cradled babies, this lie
In the West, and the pale stars look forth
To tell us we have lost our day, and away
Into the mighty ocean of the Past,
And shall return no more.

How fair it was!

With all June's balminess in its warm breath,
And April's liquid azure in its skies—
Soft as the eyes of cradled babies, this lie
In the West, and the pale stars look forth
To tell us we have lost our day, and away
Into the mighty ocean of the Past,
And shall return no more.

How fair it was!

Thus sang the blithe and strenuous April breath
For Spring to come and crown its sun-kissed brow
With new emeralds. She will come, I know,
Her herald, the swift swallow, has proclaimed
That she but lingers in the tropic's bowers
To gather her garland for our land.
And ere long she will braid the leafless vines
With gem-like flowers, and write her magic name,
Spring, upon the emerald-green turf,
And yonder skeleton oak shall gaily toss
Its green and fragrant tresses in the breeze,
Mocking the sunbeams in the dancing play
Will hide their jewel baskets brimmed with pearls,
Each round, white pearl filled with a little heart
That blossoms to life, to joy, and love,
When April sheds her last, the sweeter, twilight tears
On May's mature bosom.

'Twas a day

To call up olden memories, for the spell
Of its mild loveliness reached the soul
To blissful dreams, and Fancy wandered back
Over the years, and lingered in strong grasp
Bright memories on the silken thread of thought,
As sent in youth, beneath the maple's shade,
Or, later, beneath the Forget-me-not sky-green:
Each sound that—like a pebble softly dropped
Into a full and tranquil lake—has broke
Upon the dreamy quiet of my life
Has filled my soul with sadness, vague and sweet,
Like that which steals across the heart that lists
To the music of a distant, half-forgotten song.
Is it because Spring's first and halcyon days
Were childhood's carnival, that they thus wake
Such dreams and memories?

The young Spring made
Her earliest footsteps in the violets, sweet
As her own pectoral lip, and I, to-day,
Have wandered back to the Spring-time, and found
Any wild violets in its wanderings
By stream and field, hill-side and sheltered glen.
The Spring-time singing! Spring-time dancing in the fields,
And they blow eye have haunted me all the day.
Minding me of this time one year ago,
And of the day spent in searching for such flowers
And laid them on my open page, and claimed,
As the reward, a kiss pressed on the lips
Of dewy crimson that were raised to mine.
While the small feet stood up-toe, and the curls
Were thrown back from the baby-brow, and bright
Glowed my young cheek, fresh from the kisses sweet
Of the Spring breezes.

Ah! my little boy,
The Spring shall come, with all her wealth of flowers,
Of singing birds, sunshine and whispering leaves,
But not your eyes, your smiles, your sweet joy.
Shall open everywhere, but no dear hand,
Dimpled and soft as a half-budded flower,
Shall gather Spring's first offering from the fields,
And lay them on the page over which I dream;
Nor shall eyes shall look into my falling tears;
No red lips kiss them from my trembling cheek.

My little one, I dream in the long night,
That thy small fingers on my bosom lie,
Soothing, as was their wont, my throbbing heart;
Thy voice is close to me, and thy face
To know that thou art far away, and weep
In utter loneliness, longing, with all
Thy passionate fondness, for the love voice,
In scarce articulate murmurs, to repeat
My name, and say some tender, broken words,
Or sing, as sleep-song, thy favorite song,
And lays her finger on the parted lips.
Ah! Spring may pour her vernal treasures forth
Over the mount hills, and fill the trees
With warbling birds; but mine stags far away—
I may not hear his song.

Flower of my life,
Sole blossom of its blighted bower—my boy
Whose sunny head a mother's gentle hand
Laid on my bosom, while I was almost
Lost in the shadow of the dark valley of death,
Whose coming quickens now the pulse of Earth,
Kiss me fair roses into life, whose bloom
Shall vie with the crimson of my boy's lips,
And flush thy dimpled cheeks; may thy pure eyes
Know but such gentle tears as violets weep,
Which sight upon the morning dew, in the blest hour,
Beside my mother's knee, whom thou call'st skies,
May thy own absent "Mary's" name be breathed
Only in prayer, and with the simplicity
Thy innocent eyes, may the kind spirit of dreams
Bring some sweet memory of her, who first
Cradled thy head upon her beating breast.

John Broughanm, in his new poem entitled "The Age of Gold," recently delivered before the "Theta Delta Chi Society," at the annual Convention held in New York, in enumerating the American poets, thus speaks of our neighbors of this *Home Journal*:

"Next, sparkling Willis comes upon the sphere
And with him comes, of course, the 'Brigadier,'
In business and in money wide-awake;
So long a time, they may not now be parted:
Distinguished both, but in a different way.
Impulsive—fanciful—prolific—gay—
The one—though sometimes distregarding 'Murray,'
By coining strange words—when he's in hurry—
In rich profusion, on the passing hours.
Drops countless gems, like dew upon the flowers.
The other, more judicious, slow, yet sure,
Builds a celebrity that must endure
In his Sacred Poem, and his separate
Works lyric Morris—brother does his share
Tune our mind-lulling, kindly, "Pot-pourri."
One palace still outlasts a million shanties."

A young gallant from Charleston was travelling on an Alabama steamboat, when he learned that Mlle. Piccolomini was upon the same boat. With propriety and decorum he availed himself of an introduction to her, and became much pleased with the Sicanese Princess. During the trip, the boat stopped to wood up near a lonely wood-yard, and a young man came on board, which instantly attracted Mlle. Piccolomini's attention. They were the first she had seen, since her arrival in America, that spoke a word of them. Chivalric and gallant, our young townsman proffered his services. They were accepted, and he left the boat for the garland. A few mill logs lie in the stream, just under the richest and most beautiful of the flowers. As our friend hovered a splendid specimen of the jasmine, of deep golden hue, he discovered the logs beneath gently floating. In his haste to secure the flower, he lost his footing, and he soon found himself sonsed to the neck in the waters of the crookedest stream in the South. With a smart awim he gained the shore, and then the boat, upon which, all dripping, he presented his bouquet. With a bewitching smile, Piccolomini accepted the bouquet, and said, "I ever much admire your pluck, but *not your boldness!*" Our young townsman saved a leaf, which he treasures as a memento.—*Charleston Mercury.*

Correspondence of the National Era.

INKLINGS FROM THE FRONTIER;

OR, LIFE ON THE PLAINS, AND SCENES ON THE TENTED FIELD.

TISHAMINGO CITY, CHICKASAW NATION, *April* 7, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Life on the plains and adventures on the tented field has its joys, its pleasures, its charms, as well as its pains, its hardships, its perils. Few are those in the busy marts of trade, in the cities and populous working circles of refinement, in the luxurious homes of the opulent, in the rural retreats of the happy farmers and mechanics, and throughout the settled and civilized portions of our country, who have an adequate idea of the beauty, the picturesqueness, the grandeur, of our vast and almost illimitable plains.

Our "correspondent," like a waif, has been blown to the wild regions of prairie land, to the Indian Territory, and among the fiber or island of the expansive savannas of the great West, and feeling an ardent desire to commune with the busy and social circle he has left behind, not being entirely satisfied with what sometimes seems an inactive, a silent, an'aimless life, has concluded to furnish you occasionally with inklings of life, of sights, scenes, and thoughts, as may present themselves, happy if they prove of sufficient worth to interest your numerous and intelligent readers. They will be illiterate and depict the character, the mode of life, amusements and recreations, the trials and privations of the dwellers and adventurers on those lights plains—the soldier, the hunter, the adventurer, the pioneer—those daring and energetic spirits, who frame our "*manifest destiny.*"

If he succeeds in being graphic and as faithful as he desires, in calling attention to and eliciting an interest in an almost unhabited portion of our Union, and in almost neglected class of people, his ends will have been accomplished, and he will feel a happy consciousness that his peregrinations have not been altogether useless, nor his time profitlessly spent.

It is here on the plains, roving over the flower-enamelled prairies, or sailing their undulating, wave-like surfaces to the genial rays of a bright sun; tracing the meanderings of grove-skirted rivers, brooks, and brooklets, that Nature's children, in the charming, or go purling and singing over pebbly beds, and merrily dancing to their own sweet music, or rustling down the hillsides, in their forest-retreat, are tired from the world, that the observing traveller meets with specimens of the genus "homo," of almost every variety of character, every shade of color, and the illiterate and uncouth representatives from almost every walk of life, every nation and rank of society. True, these people are generally scattered, and living apart thither, and only seen, after traversing vast solitudes. But, when seen they always form a pleasant picture, and present a lesson for the student of human nature.

Occasionally the self-exiled wanderer meets a lovely, intelligent, woman:

A bright, cheerful, spirit, a ministrant divine,
Strayed far away from scenes of pleasure,
Fully premeant transcending the pine,
Has filled my soul with sadness, vague and sweet,
Like that which steals across the heart that lists
To the music of a distant, half-forgotten song.
Is it because Spring's first and halcyon days
Were childhood's carnival, that they thus wake
Such dreams and memories?

The young Spring made
Her earliest footsteps in the violets, sweet
As her own pectoral lip, and I, to-day,
Have wandered back to the Spring-time, and found
Any wild violets in its wanderings
By stream and field, hill-side and sheltered glen.
The Spring-time singing! Spring-time dancing in the fields,
And they blow eye have haunted me all the day.
Minding me of this time one year ago,
And of the day spent in searching for such flowers
And laid them on my open page, and claimed,
As the reward, a kiss pressed on the lips
Of dewy crimson that were raised to mine.
While the small feet stood up-toe, and the curls
Were thrown back from the baby-brow, and bright
Glowed my young cheek, fresh from the kisses sweet
Of the Spring breezes.

Ah! my little boy,
The Spring shall come, with all her wealth of flowers,
Of singing birds, sunshine and whispering leaves,
But not your eyes, your smiles, your sweet joy.
Shall open everywhere, but no dear hand,
Dimpled and soft as a half-budded flower,
Shall gather Spring's first offering from the fields,
And lay them on the page over which I dream;
Nor shall eyes shall look into my falling tears;
No red lips kiss them from my trembling cheek.

My little one, I dream in the long night,
That thy small fingers on my bosom lie,
Soothing, as was their wont, my throbbing heart;
Thy voice is close to me, and thy face
To know that thou art far away, and weep
In utter loneliness, longing, with all
Thy passionate fondness, for the love voice,
In scarce articulate murmurs, to repeat
My name, and say some tender, broken words,
Or sing, as sleep-song, thy favorite song,
And lays her finger on the parted lips.
Ah! Spring may pour her vernal treasures forth
Over the mount hills, and fill the trees
With warbling birds; but mine stags far away—
I may not hear his song.

Flower of my life,
Sole blossom of its blighted bower—my boy
Whose sunny head a mother's gentle hand
Laid on my bosom, while I was almost
Lost in the shadow of the dark valley of death,
Whose coming quickens now the pulse of Earth,
Kiss me fair roses into life, whose bloom
Shall vie with the crimson of my boy's lips,
And flush thy dimpled cheeks; may thy pure eyes
Know but such gentle tears as violets weep,
Which sight upon the morning dew, in the blest hour,
Beside my mother's knee, whom thou call'st skies,
May thy own absent "Mary's" name be breathed
Only in prayer, and with the simplicity
Thy innocent eyes, may the kind spirit of dreams
Bring some sweet memory of her, who first
Cradled thy head upon her beating breast.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, *April* 6, 1859.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Our municipal election took place yesterday, and resulted in the success of the entire Republican ticket. The city contains about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and being the seat of Government of this large and growing State, derives considerable importance as a focus of political opinion, and sheds a sensible radiance over the whole land. The city and county were formerly Whig, but on the disruption of that party, its adherents having Southern antecedents and sympathies, and the ghost of abolition before them, joined with few exceptions, the Democrats, who have since had easy working majorities over all competitors. What has been the result of this union, time we cannot say; it may be that our naturalized citizens, of whom there are many, were confused on the Locompton issue, were dismayed at the rupture between Douglas and Buchanan, or it may have been the general disorganization and corruption of the party, or the desire of change that comes over us all at certain epochs. Certainly there were no local issues, for we do not lay much stress upon the assertion that a certain liquor licked it over the party, for that is the universal discipline of Democracy; and they had their strongest man as candidate for Mayor, of State reputation, long an office-holder of the Government, and a leading member of Congress, and very popular social qualities, and the subordinates were the strongest men their party could present.

As to the State, we think it can be relied upon to give its vote to a Republican President, and re-elect Mr. Trumbull to the United States Senate. The Democrats have put up great demagogues to be presented as a candidate before the next Convention, for the second if not the first gift of the people, and as their leader, and it is be but that of Abram Lincoln. Each section of the Union has its favorite men, but we know of none whom the political excitement of the times has thrown into prominence more than Mr. Lincoln, of this State. Lord Clarendon said of Hampden, that he insinuated his opinions into the minds of his contemporary men, in the extended light and knowledge of the present day, to stand out so prominently as Mr. Lincoln, we may say that there is no dogmatism in Mr. Lincoln's mind, assertion, unless it be of an immutable truth, appealing rather to his hearers—a mode of argument which appeals to all with great power, possessing delicacy, and the very highest discernment. We want men in public life not only of honesty and integrity, but with the simplicity and plainness of manners, which prevailed in the imported feudalism of Europe. What would our revolutionary sires, Roger Sherman, Samuel Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and their like, think of the animus of public life at this day in Washington—men whose dignity and dignity, great purpose, not in contracted, vulgarity, but in the adornment of glittering bauble they could put upon their wives and daughters.

The corruption everywhere apparent, the public plundering, the great men each intent on their own aggrandizement, the clamor for the spoils, the desire to repeat a vagrant and less desire, or extend Slavery, the degrading of the slave trade, have conspired to shake the confidence of thinking men in our institutions. The honest people are most humiliated, and are ever offered to our people, the agricultural college bill, the improvement on the lakes, and the great

To Advertisers—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the Era.

Messrs. Pettingill & Co., S. B. Niles, and Joy, Coe, & Co., are our authorized advertising ents for Boston New York, and Philadelphia.

The following gentlemen are accredited agents for the Era: G. W. Light, Boston, Mass; J. A. Innis, Salem, Mass; Thomas Wheeler, Cincinnati, Ohio; L. T. Park, Mount Union, Ohio.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 21, 1859.

THE PRESIDENTIAL QUESTION.

Some months ago, we had occasion to protest against a concerted movement in certain quarters, to divest the Republican movement of its characteristic features, and supersede the Republican party by a general Opposition, to be rallied on old Whig principles, and under the lead of some distinguished survivor of the old Whig party. The protest was timely, and the general emphatic response it has said, the second mended; let agitation cease; let by-gones be by-gones; let us have peace.

Republicanism says—that is a servile policy. We will not endorse by our silence and acquiescence the great wrongs that have been perpetrated: we will not, by our votes, put afraid to speak, lest our voices should be heard. The People's verdict, have been laboring to procure a modification of this decision. They were doubtful whether the election in 1860 could be carried by Seward, Chase, McLean, Hale, Banks, or Fessenden, but might not the Opposition be combined under the lead of Crittenden, Bell, Botts, or Bates? Was it not necessary, to the success of Slavery Propagandism, to conciliate the Conservatives of the country?

Or—let us put the question in plain terms—was it not necessary to disband the Republican party, and reorganize the Whig party, under such auspices and with such tactics as had favored the Compromise of 1850, led to disgrace full seven years, in every usurpation of the Slave Power, and, at last, in 1854, split that organization, and shivered it to atoms? A notable project for achieving success!

Bell, Crittenden and Botts, soon ceased to be spoken of, but the New York *Tribune* took pains to keep Mr. Bates before its readers, as if he occupied the position more in harmony with Republican ideas. The "Whig General Committee" of New York, which now and then gets up out of a deep sleep, and makes its appearance upon the public stage with as much solemnity as if the Whig party had not become defunct several years ago, went through the farce last February of passing resolutions and addressing a circular to all Republican voters, to the school, asking their opinion on the present crisis and its duties. Edward Bates, of Missouri, one of the elect honored by its confidence, replied, it was generally understood, in an elaborate letter, which, however, was not published. The Tribune inquired for it repeatedly—wished to know why it was not forthcoming—and its frequent allusions to it were calculated to convey the impression that the letter was entirely too liberal and expansive to suit the ideas of the antiquated Whig Committee. We watched with some curiosity this new method of manufacturing Anti-Slavery Opposition for a Fillmore, Slaveholding Whig, confident, however, that, should the wonderful letter ever be printed, it would prove nothing more than a resumé of the respectable commonplaces of Conservatism, which constitute the sum and substance of all wise statesmanship with the Fillmores and Hunts of the North, the Stewarts and Grahams of the South.

The result is what we expected. The Letter of Mr. Bates never reached its destination: so, he made another copy of it, sent it to New York, and it is published. The *Tribune* contains it at full length, but our readers must excuse us if we reserve the columns of the *Era* for some things that are more original and edifying than Fillmore would be quite as original and edifying.

Mr. Bates, writing to the Committee, says:

"Sirs: A short time ago, I was favored with your note of the 7th inst, covering a resolution of the committee of which you are the chairman, and requesting me to give my opinion on the present crisis in the country, and the duties of the hour, in reference to the negro question, but rather to turn the attention of the people to other topics—topics of general importance, such as our foreign relations, including the extention of territory; the building of railroads for national purposes; the improvement of our harbors, the encouragement of our rivers, to facilitate internal commerce; the subject of currency, and a tariff of duties, and other means of developing our own internal resources, our home wealth, and binding more by ties of national and fraternal feelings the various parts and sections of our widely-extended Republic."

Mr. Bates proceeds to answer, stating that he has opinions, fixed ones, too, on all these points. The Negro Question he disposes of summarily, and rather indignantly, and then devotes nearly two columns to a reiteration of old Whig doctrines, about Retrenchment, Economy, the One-Man Power, Territorial Expansion, Internal Improvements, and a Tariff. As to the Usurpations of Slavery, its Schemes of Propagandism, its Kansas Policy, the Pro-Slavery dicta of the Supreme Court, the Lecompton outrages, &c., not a word. Opposed to the violent acquisition of Cuba and to Filibustering he certainly is, as every right-minded man ought to be; but readers those Questions entirely apart from Slavery Propagandism, which alone has originated them and makes them formidable. As to his present position, he defines it clearly enough. "*I speak for no party, because the only party I ever belonged to has ceased to exist as an organization and without leaving a will.*"

Now for the pith of the letter—his views of "the *Negro Question*:"

"As to the negro question, I have always thought, and have often declared, both in speech and in print, that it is a question of population, the agitation of which has never done good to any party, section, or class, and never can do good, unless it be accounted good to stir up the angry passions of men, and excite and keep in unreasoning jealousy of sections, and by those bad means foist some unfit men into office, and keep some fit men out. It is a sensitive question, into whose dangerous vortex it is quite possible for good men to be drawn unawares. But when I see a man, at the South or at the North, of mature age and some experience, persist in urging the question, after the sorrowful experience of the last few years, I can attribute his conduct to no higher motive than personal ambition or sectional prejudice."

This is all plain enough. It defines precisely the position occupied by the whole class of Compromisers, North and South—by the New York *Express*, and Richmond *Whig*, and *National Intelligencer*—by Messrs. Hilliard and Winthrop, Hunt and Fillmore, Crittenden, Thompson, and Bell. The *Tribune* will not admit that it means what Hiram Ketchum and the Whig Committee mean, but insists that Edward Bates, judging from this declaration of his views, is opposed to the extension of Slavery, opposed to reversing "the settled principles of common law in its advantage," not hostile to moral and intellectual opposition to Slavery, regarding it as an evil which, kept within its legal boundaries, would die of its inherent viciousness!! It is needless to spend much argument upon such a point. The paragraph is plain enough; it speaks for itself. Its language is that which has always stamped the school of Pro-Slavery Compromise. The Slave Power dragged in Texas, and appropriated it all to the uses of Slavery—plunged us into a war with Mexico for the sake of Slavery—enacted in 1850 the Fugitive Slave act, and set aside the Anti-Slavery Principle and Policy of the Government, in the regulation of our Territories, as established in the Ordinance of 1787—constrained both the Whig and Democratic Parties to swear by these acts as a final settlement of the controversy—in 1854 repealed the Missouri Compromise, and initiated a complicated series of Fraud, Tyranny, Violence, with a view to the establishment of Slavery in Free Territory—procured a *dictum* from the Supreme Court, intended to assert the right of Slavery to exist in all our Territories, in virtue of the Federal Constitution—committed Mr. Buchanan and his Party to that audacious and pestiferous heresy, as the test of Party orthodoxy; and, having accomplished all this, remains in possession of the Federal Executive and Judiciary, whose powers and influence it is laboring to use for the strengthening of its rule, and the multiplication of its conquests. Conservatism, so called, North and South, is full of regret—very sorry that such things should have been done—but its language is, the mischief cannot be undone; let what has been said, the second mended; let agitation cease; let by-gones be by-gones; let us have peace.

Republicanism says—that is a servile policy. We will not endorse by our silence and acquiescence the great wrongs that have been perpetrated: we will not, by crying peace, peace, give impunity to the Tyrant Evil, invest its usurpations with the color of law, strengthen it in its ill-gotten power, embolden it to further aggression. We will not rest till its domination be subverted, and the Federal Government placed under the control of the millions who believe that it should be used to the establishment of Justice and spread of Liberty, not for the base purposes of Slavery Propagandism.

Where does Edward Bates belong? In the Party of Compromise and Slavery, or to the Party of Freedom? He has answered the question frankly—"The Negro Question is a "personal ambition or sectional prejudice."

"The Negro Question is the *bone of contention between Liberty and Slavery*—between the Slavery Propaganda, bent on perpetuating their mis-rule and carrying out their mad projects, and the Republicans, determined to rescue the Federal Government from their grasp. Millard Fillmore and J. J. Crittenden labor and labure this controversy, choosing rather to suffer the Slave Power to remain in the possession of all its usurpations, and at liberty to prosecute its nefarious schemes, and are therefore, in the opinion of Edward Bates, elevated, "National" Statesmen. William H. Seward, S. P. Chase, F. P. Blair, boldly accept the controversy, determined to put down Propagandism, and, in the judgment of Edward Bates, less honoured by not better motive than "personal ambition and sectional prejudice."

Enough of candidates outside of the circle of Representative men. How many more are to be examined? Pass them along.

JEFFERSON'S BIRTHDAY.

On the outside of the *Era* of to-day the reader will find the proceedings, including the speeches, at Odd Fellows Hall, on the 13th instant, in honor of Mr. Jefferson and his immortal principles of Freedom. The large audience, and the profound attention paid, considering the sentiments that were freely uttered, was an epoch in the history of the Federal City. By the estimate of those present, by judge, there could not have been far from five hundred persons present; and we can say, truly, that we have never seen so orderly a political gathering, in doors or out of doors. There was a police officer or two present, a fact creditable to the local authorities, but no occasion for their exercise in preserving the peace. In the opinion of Edward Bates, elevated, "National" Statesmen. William H. Seward, S. P. Chase, F. P. Blair, boldly accept the controversy, determined to put down Propagandism, and, in the judgment of Edward Bates, less honoured by not better motive than "personal ambition and sectional prejudice."

"If, in reply, we will be told that others understand the matter differently—that General Cass, for example, affirms that the Territorial Legislatures may enact an absolute exclusion of Slavery. It is true, moreover, that a vast majority of all parties in the North either maintain this proposition, or else claim the power in Congress. And the inquiry will be, "What is your escape from the dilemma?" We answer at once, *the courts define between us and our adversaries.* If the Territorial Legislature attempt to exercise a power in disparagement of Slavery which the South will not admit within its jurisdiction, *the South may carry any grievance before the Supreme Court. Is it hazardous to trust that tribunal on the issue?* We have the highest opinion of its view its general wisdom and integrity, *the Supreme Court has shown to be reliable, from the fact that it happens to have prejudged the very point in dispute.* In the Dred Scott case, it was determined by the august tribunal *that neither Congress nor a fortion the local Legislature, which is the creature of Congress, can prohibit Slavery in the Territories.* Years before this decision, Mr. Calhoun avowed his perfect willingness to remit the rights of Slavery in the Territories to the judgment of the Supreme Court. *The result has justified his prophetic sagacity; and we, who are wise after the event, have a positive assurance of safety in leaving Slavery in the Territories to the protection of the courts.*

"It is precisely at this point that the adversaries of non-intervention assail our theory. They say the South has a right to demand Congressional enactments for the security of slave property in the Territories, and that it is inglorious to shrink from the enforcement of that right. So, the man in the fable had a right to shear the wolf, but the exercise of the right involved a question of power and a question of prudence. The South has a moral and constitutional right to insist on the revival of the African slave trade; but the exercise of the right involves a question of wisdom and physical power, which the wisest statesmen choose not to precipitate upon the country."

It is well known that Mr. Douglas, like the *States* newspaper, subscribes to the Federal doctrine that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of constitutional questions, and that in specific language he has declared that the Dred Scott decision covers the whole ground. He therefore cannot resist the conclusions arrived at in the above article of the *States*, if he would; and he will not dare to make the attempt, unless he is ready to sever the last link that binds him to the slave oligarchy.

We say, in truth, Mr. Douglas says, in his Freeport and other recent speeches, that the Territories may exclude Slavery by "unfriendly legislation." He explains this phrase to mean that they may *refuse to legislate;* but we believe that he has nowhere asserted that by positive legislation the Territorial Legislatures may prohibit Slavery. He insists that Slavery cannot exist without specific Territorial enactments for its protection. This position is utterly inconsistent with his oft-repeated admission that slaves are property, standing on the same footing as other property. We have never heard that any specific recognition of other species of property was necessary to its protection. It is not necessary to declare by statute that horses and cattle shall be protected and held as property. The condition of these animals is assumed to be that of personal property; and if the terms horse and cow could not be found on the statutes of the Territories, no man would, in consequence, feel the slightest insecurity as it regards that species of property. If a man should steal a horse, the owner pursues him, and takes him, as a matter of common-law right, without waiting for a legal warrant for his apprehension; and if the negro be property in the same sense that the horse is, there cannot be any more necessity for the legal recognition of the fact in the one case than in the other. In such case there may arise disputes about title between individual citizens; but if under the Constitution they both stand on the same footing as property, the courts will assume that the biped as well as the quadruped belongs to some honest man, and whoever assails his property rights will be subject to punishment as a thief, a trespasser, or wrong-doer in some form.

It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Douglas's "non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the Territories," so far as it holds out the hope to the people of the free States and the non-slaveholders, that Slavery may be excluded by "unfriendly legislation" from the Territories, is "a delusion, a cheat, and a snare." It is a mere device of demagogism, for wheedling the people, and lulling the spirit of Freedom into a fatal security. Like the apples of Sodom, it vanishes at the touch.

So palpable is the cheat, that the slaveholding class, but for its extremely sensitive and suspicious temper, could not fail to see through it, and to accept it as a friendly device, designed to beguile the Northern Democracy, and preserve it in its allegiance to Slavery. But this suspicion and sensitiveness have imposed on the *States* newspaper the cruel necessity of explaining. The article was intended merely for *inside* of the Democratic ranks, and was for the Douglas faction to proclaim it in the free States. They will still continue to mutter the cabalistic phrases "popular sovereignty," "non-intervention," "the right of the people to self-government," and so forth. But it all comes to the conclusion stated in the article quoted above, that the Supreme Court has already decided that Slavery can have no profitable right of slaveholding in the Territories.

It will be seen in the closing remarks of the *States*, that the editor admits by clear implication that "the South has a right to demand Congressional enactments for the security of slave property in the Territories." This is popular sovereignty with a vengeance; but it is the legitimate and logical inference from Mr. Douglas's admissions.

It will also be remarked, that the *States* says emphatically, "*the South has a moral and constitutional right to insist on the revival of the African slave trade.*" Whether Mr. Douglas is willing to concede this last point, we are unable to say; all we know is, that in his New Orleans and Memphis speeches he lays it down as a law of God, that Negro Slavery must exist south of "a certain line;" and if so, he is bound to concede the right to a cheap and abundant supply of the slaves.

We sincerely regret, we may remark in conclusion, that the above endorsement of the slave trade by the *States* indicates a relapse of its editor into his pristine ultraism. At the last Southern Convention he denounced the infamous traffic in language worthy a statesman; and it is with equal regret and surprise that we note this return to his old error.

THE PRIVILEGED CLASS.

We drew attention some weeks ago to the fact that a new Slavery issue has sprung up in North Carolina, upon the question whether property in slaves shall be taxed equally with land and other property, real and personal. We will again restate the facts upon which the issue has been raised. The Constitution of the State provides that a capitation tax may be levied upon "all slaves over the age of twelve years, and under the age of fifty years," and exempts by express words all others. The effect of this constitutional provision is to throw the burden of taxation upon real estate, and other personal property than slaves. Until within the last few years, the taxes in North Carolina were higher than in any other State in the Union, if we mistake not, and the inequality in the mode of collecting the revenue was a matter of little consequence; but within the last ten years the State has entered upon an extensive system of internal improvements, which, while it has materially enhanced the value of property, and added to the public prosperity, it has at the same time rendered higher taxes necessary, in order to meet the interest of the public debt. It hence becomes necessary to turn in every direction in search of objects upon which to levy taxes. In this exigency of affairs, Mr. Bledsoe, a State Senator from the county of Wake, in which Raleigh is situated, has had the courage to propose a modification of the law, so as to render that slaves may be subjected to taxation in equal degree with other property.

It is singular that the present odious discrimination in behalf of slave property was engrafted upon the Constitution in 1835, a period coincident with the origin of the great Anti-Slavery discussion which has now spread over the continent to its centre. Prior to that date, slaves could be taxed in equal degree with other property; and the owners of that species of property stood before the law on an equality with their fellow-citizens. The change may be set down as one of the first victories of the slaveholding class over the non-slaveholders—the fruit of that grand political combination, which mutual interest and common apprehensions of safety produced among the slave oligarchy.

We entered into some estimates, upon insufficient data, in our former article, of the amount of slave property entirely exempt from taxation by the odious discrimination in favor of the slaveholders. We have recently obtained a copy of Mr. Bledsoe's speech, made in the State Senate January 12th, 1859, from which we learn that our estimates were much below the mark. He estimates the number of negroes as far greater than we had done; and the number exempt from taxation must, if his assumptions be correct, amount to some four hundred dollars in value, instead of about thirty millions, as we concluded upon the basis of the old census.

But this is not all. It seems that while the tax paid upon a thousand dollars worth of land, for State purposes, is one dollar and fifty cents, the tax paid upon a slave worth one thousand dollars is only fifty cents. Thus it will be seen, that while at least forty millions worth of slave property is totally exempt from taxes, the remainder only pays, at least, so far as the more valuable are concerned, only one-third of what land pays. This unjust discrimination is so unjust to the non-slaveholding class, because the tax is levied *per capita* upon all alike between the ages of twelve and fifty, without reference to their value; and the consequence is, that a carpenter or blacksmith worth two thousand dollars pays no more tax than an infirm slave worth two hundred. The county taxes are imposed on the same unjust principle of discrimination.

Mr. Bledsoe takes a vigorous grasp of the subject. He shows by citations from the Bill of Rights, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and from the Preamble to the Constitution, that the Government of North Carolina was instituted for the benefit of the whole free population, without distinction of class; and that slaveholders are entitled to no exclusive privileges. This would seem to be hold language for North Carolina; and the speaker follows it up with the most formidable array of facts in support of his proposition. He says:

"But the slave-owners of the State have not only been more benefitted by our internal improvements, as the largest producers and consumers, *but the works of internal improvement have been mainly constructed by slave labor*, and consequently a very large sum of the public money has gone directly into the hands of the slave-owners."

"Bushnell has been found guilty in the United States district court of Cleveland of rescuing a slave at Oberlin. Sentence has not been pronounced. This is the first of the Oberlin rescue indictments tried.

The trial of the crew of the slaver Echo, which was commenced at Charleston, S. C., on Tuesday, was concluded on Saturday, in the United States Circuit Court, Judge Wayne presiding. The jury rendered a verdict of not guilty.

MR. DOUGLAS' POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY CORRECTLY DEFINED.

The Washington *States* of the 12th instant, in an article headed "*Non-Intervention not Squatter Sovereignty*—the Southern Doctrine," says emphatically and fully that this favorite hobby of the Illinois Senator amounts to nothing practically, as we have all along insisted. The *States* is an exponent of the Douglas policy. It has defended him against the assaults of the Administration during the whole of his schismatic career, and it professes to stand by his "popular sovereignty" measures—by Congress with Slavery in the Territories. The *States* is, in fact, the central organ of the Douglas policy, and its interpretations of that policy are entitled to all due respect.

The article in the *States* referred to admits, by implication, that Mr. Douglas's "non-intervention" is a mere cabalistic phrase, coined with a view to amuse and deceive the people of the North while it practically concedes everything to Slavery. The editor emphatically denies that the Non-Interventionists admit the right of the Territorial Legislatures to exclude Slavery, for the reason that the Dred Scott decision has already determined that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislature has any power to exclude Slavery. We have no hesitation than this statement of the case, from the standpoint of the *States* and of Judge Douglas. Both the editor and the Senator admit the correctness of the old Federal doctrine, that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of constitutional questions; they repudiate with bitter scorn the Democratic doctrine of Jefferson, that the ordinate departments of the Federal Government—that is to say, the Executive, the two Houses of Congress, and the Supreme Court—have an equal right to interpret the Constitution, each untrammelled by the decisions of the other; and the court having already determined that in favor of the indefeasible right to hold slaves in the Territories, the question is irresistible, from these premises, that the Territorial Legislatures have no right to prohibit Slavery.

We subjoin a copious extract from the article of the *States*, which, as we have said, is the recognized central metropolitan organ of the Douglas faction in the Democracy. It is as follows:

"We confess ourselves at a loss to understand the obstinacy with which certain of our South ern contemporaries persist in ascribing non-intervention, as equivalent to squatter sovereignty. On their own theory, the denial of the power in Congress to prohibit Slavery in the Territories involves a denial of the power to a derivative and subordinate authority. Their argument appears to imply that the power, however exercised, is conceded to be in the hands of the held from Congress, it results necessarily to the Territorial Legislature. *For our own part, we contend that it is incompatible for the Federal Government, in any form of operation, either by the immediate exertion of its authority, or through the agency of a substitute, to enact an exclusion of Slavery in the Territories.*

"This is our proposition: By the compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska act, and other decisions of its well, Congress announced the exercise of any direct jurisdiction over the Territories, and delegated its power to the local Legislatures. The legitimacy of such substitution is incontestable, since Congress has always employed the expedient of Territorial Governments through which to exert its authority; and if it may delegate a portion, it may delegate the whole of its power to these subordinate institutions. *But Congress could not delegate a power which the local Legislatures of which it was not itself possessed; and we have maintained that a transfer of all its authority does not involve the right to prohibit the introduction and establishment of Slavery in the Territories. This conclusion is in exact accordance with the principle propounded by the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case.*

"In reply, we will be told that others understand the matter differently—that General Cass, for example, affirms that the Territorial Legislatures may enact an absolute exclusion of Slavery. It is true, moreover, that a vast majority of all parties in the North either maintain this proposition, or else claim the power in Congress. And the inquiry will be, "What is your escape from the dilemma?" We answer at once, *the courts define between us and our adversaries.* If the Territorial Legislature attempt to exercise a power in disparagement of Slavery which the South will not admit within its jurisdiction, *the South may carry any grievance before the Supreme Court. Is it hazardous to trust that tribunal on the issue?* We have the highest opinion of its view its general wisdom and integrity, *the Supreme Court has shown to be reliable, from the fact that it happens to have prejudged the very point in dispute.* In the Dred Scott case, it was determined by the august tribunal *that neither Congress nor a fortion the local Legislature, which is the creature of Congress, can prohibit Slavery in the Territories.* Years before this decision, Mr. Calhoun avowed his perfect willingness to remit the rights of Slavery in the Territories to the judgment of the Supreme Court. *The result has justified his prophetic sagacity; and we, who are wise after the event, have a positive assurance of safety in leaving Slavery in the Territories to the protection of the courts.*

"It is precisely at this point that the adversaries of non-intervention assail our theory. They say the South has a right to demand Congressional enactments for the security of slave property in the Territories, and that it is inglorious to shrink from the enforcement of that right. So, the man in the fable had a right to shear the wolf, but the exercise of the right involved a question of power and a question of prudence. The South has a moral and constitutional right to insist on the revival of the African slave trade; but the exercise of the right involves a question of wisdom and physical power, which the wisest statesmen choose not to precipitate upon the country."

It is well known that Mr. Douglas, like the *States* newspaper, subscribes to the Federal doctrine that the Supreme Court is the final arbiter of constitutional questions, and that in specific language he has declared that the Dred Scott decision covers the whole ground. He therefore cannot resist the conclusions arrived at in the above article of the *States*, if he would; and he will not dare to make the attempt, unless he is ready to sever the last link that binds him to the slave oligarchy.

We say, in truth, Mr. Douglas says, in his Freeport and other recent speeches, that the Territories may exclude Slavery by "unfriendly legislation." He explains this phrase to mean that they may *refuse to legislate;* but we believe that he has nowhere asserted that by positive legislation the Territorial Legislatures may prohibit Slavery. He insists that Slavery cannot exist without specific Territorial enactments for its protection. This position is utterly inconsistent with his oft-repeated admission that slaves are property, standing on the same footing as other property. We have never heard that any specific recognition of other species of property was necessary to its protection. It is not necessary to declare by statute that horses and cattle shall be protected and held as property. The condition of these animals is assumed to be that of personal property; and if the terms horse and cow could not be found on the statutes of the Territories, no man would, in consequence, feel the slightest insecurity as it regards that species of property. If a man should steal a horse, the owner pursues him, and takes him, as a matter of common-law right, without waiting for a legal warrant for his apprehension; and if the negro be property in the same sense that the horse is, there cannot be any more necessity for the legal recognition of the fact in the one case than in the other. In such case there may arise disputes about title between individual citizens; but if under the Constitution they both stand on the same footing as property, the courts will assume that the biped as well as the quadruped belongs to some honest man, and whoever assails his property rights will be subject to punishment as a thief, a trespasser, or wrong-doer in some form.

It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Douglas's "non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the Territories," so far as it holds out the hope to the people of the free States and the non-slaveholders, that Slavery may be excluded by "unfriendly legislation" from the Territories, is "a delusion, a cheat, and a snare." It is a mere device of demagogism, for wheedling the people, and lulling the spirit of Freedom into a fatal security. Like the apples of Sodom, it vanishes at the touch.

So palpable is the cheat, that the slaveholding class, but for its extremely sensitive and suspicious temper, could not fail to see through it, and to accept it as a friendly device, designed to beguile the Northern Democracy, and preserve it in its allegiance to Slavery. But this suspicion and sensitiveness have imposed on the *States* newspaper the cruel necessity of explaining. The article was intended merely for *inside* of the Democratic ranks, and was for the Douglas faction to proclaim it in the free States. They will still continue to mutter the cabalistic phrases "popular sovereignty," "non-intervention," "the right of the people to self-government," and so forth. But it all comes to the conclusion stated in the article quoted above, that the Supreme Court has already decided that Slavery can have no profitable right of slaveholding in the Territories.

It will be seen in the closing remarks of the *States*, that the editor admits by clear implication that "the South has a right to demand Congressional enactments for the security of slave property in the Territories." This is popular sovereignty with a vengeance; but it is the legitimate and logical inference from Mr. Douglas's admissions.

It will also be remarked, that the *States* says emphatically, "*the South has a moral and constitutional right to insist on the revival of the African slave trade.*" Whether Mr. Douglas is willing to concede this last point, we are unable to say; all we know is, that in his New Orleans and Memphis speeches he lays it down as a law of God, that Negro Slavery must exist south of "a certain line;" and if so, he is bound to concede the right to a cheap and abundant supply of the slaves.

We sincerely regret, we may remark in conclusion, that the above endorsement of the slave trade by the *States* indicates a relapse of its editor into his pristine ultraism. At the last Southern Convention he denounced the infamous traffic in language worthy a statesman; and it is with equal regret and surprise that we note this return to his old error.

THE PRIVILEGED CLASS.

We drew attention some weeks ago to the fact that a new Slavery issue has sprung up in North Carolina, upon the question whether property in slaves shall be taxed equally with land and other property, real and personal. We will again restate the facts upon which the issue has been raised. The Constitution of the State provides that a capitation tax may be levied upon "all slaves over the age of twelve years, and under the age of fifty years," and exempts by express words all others. The effect of this constitutional provision is to throw the burden of taxation upon real estate, and other personal property than slaves. Until within the last few years, the taxes in North Carolina were higher than in any other State in the Union, if we mistake not, and the inequality in the mode of collecting the revenue was a matter of little consequence; but within the last ten years the State has entered upon an extensive system of internal improvements, which, while it has materially enhanced the value of property, and added to the public prosperity, it has at the same time rendered higher taxes necessary, in order to meet the interest of the public debt. It hence becomes necessary to turn in every direction in search of objects upon which to levy taxes. In this exigency of affairs, Mr. Bledsoe, a State Senator from the county of Wake, in which Raleigh is situated, has had the courage to propose a modification of the law, so as to render that slaves may be subjected to taxation in equal degree with other property.

It is singular that the present odious discrimination in behalf of slave property was engrafted upon the Constitution in 1835, a period coincident with the origin of the great Anti-Slavery discussion which has now spread over the continent to its centre. Prior to that date, slaves could be taxed in equal degree with other property; and the owners of that species of property stood before the law on an equality with their fellow-citizens. The change may be set down as one of the first victories of the slaveholding class over the non-slaveholders—the fruit of that grand political combination, which mutual interest and common apprehensions of safety produced among the slave oligarchy.

We entered into some estimates, upon insufficient data, in our former article, of the amount of slave property entirely exempt from taxation by the odious discrimination in favor of the slaveholders. We have recently obtained a copy of Mr. Bledsoe's speech, made in the State Senate January 12th, 1859, from which we learn that our estimates were much below the mark. He estimates the number of negroes as far greater than we had done; and the number exempt from taxation must, if his assumptions be correct, amount to some four hundred dollars in value, instead of about thirty millions, as we concluded upon the basis of the old census.

But this is not all. It seems that while the tax paid upon a thousand dollars worth of land, for State purposes, is one dollar and fifty cents, the tax paid upon a slave worth one thousand dollars is only fifty cents. Thus it will be seen, that while at least forty millions worth of slave property is totally exempt from taxes, the remainder only pays, at least, so far as the more valuable are concerned, only one-third of what land pays. This unjust discrimination is so unjust to the non-slaveholding class, because the tax is levied *per capita* upon all alike between the ages of twelve and fifty, without reference to their value; and the consequence is, that a carpenter or blacksmith worth two thousand dollars pays no more tax than an infirm slave worth two hundred. The county taxes are imposed on the same unjust principle of discrimination.

Mr. Bledsoe takes a vigorous grasp of the subject. He shows by citations from the Bill of Rights, the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, and from the Preamble to the Constitution, that the Government of North Carolina was instituted for the benefit of the whole free population, without distinction of class; and that slaveholders are entitled to no exclusive privileges. This would seem to be hold language for North Carolina; and the speaker follows it up with the most formidable array of facts in support of his proposition. He says:

"But the slave-owners of the State have not only been more benefitted by our internal improvements, as the largest producers and consumers, *but the works of internal improvement have been mainly constructed by slave labor*, and consequently a very large sum of the public money has gone directly into the hands of the slave-owners."

The Life of North American I. ecets. By B. Jaeger. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Pennsylvania avenue.

In this book, the author gives the fruits of his entomological investigation, "pursued for many years, during his extensive travels in Europe, Asia, and on this continent." To one interested in entomology, it will prove valuable; for although it is rather intended to be an elementary work than an elaborate treatise, there is much of curious and useful information in it, hardly to be expected in so unpretending a volume. The chapters devoted to moths and butterflies, and vein-winged insects, are especially interesting; the gradual growth of the caterpillar to the full-blown butterfly, the peculiarities and characteristics of each; and then the bees, their wonderful sagacity and intelligence, their loyalty, the wonderful economical arrangements of the hive—all these subjects, no matter how often treated of, will ever interest and fascinate the student of nature. We can heartily recommend the book to all who would obtain an insight into this most attractive of the natural sciences.

TO THE POINT.

A subscriber, writing from Jerusalem, New York, March 2d, says:

"We have observed with concern a disposition in some quarters, where we had hoped better things, to sacrifice Republican principles to some fancied notions of expediency, to sink the glorious doctrines of 1856, and hand the party over to the slaveocracy, and to the lying demagogues, who hope to rally around them, *without any distinctive principles*, all who voted in 1856 against the Buchanan Democracy. With this movement we have no sympathy.

"The struggle in 1856 was one of principle. Its results were earnest, the popular heart was touched, old issues were left out of sight, and old prejudices were forgotten, the Whig and Democratic of former days stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight. As we attempt to revive those issues will prove fatal. The despotic and the liberal elements of the country are at deadly war, and the former seems to prevail; one act by one act, the liberal party has been driven to the wall. Our Government must be republican, or it must become despotic. It is now practically, a monarchy, and the Democratic party, the instrument of the conflict of 1856 with a third party in the field, which managed, to use the kindest term, to defeat the party of Freedom and Republicanism, the blow at Tyranny. That party is now disorganized; all who filled its ranks are either for or against us. We can take their choice. Keep quiet old free flag flying. Its folds are broad enough for a universe. If the love of Freedom has died out of the American heart, let us know it

ly Mr. Sickles's coachman. Mrs. Sickles was in the habit of driving out during the hours when Congress was in session, and generally met Key. He usually got into the carriage, but never rode home with her except once, when Mr. Sickles was in New York. During the absence of Sickles, Key was in the habit of visiting Mrs. Sickles nearly every night, and remained late with her alone in the library—one night until one o'clock. They also were in the habit of visiting the cemetery at Georgetown, and, alighting at the gate, walking down the hill out of his sight.

John Cooney, the coachman of Mr. Sickles at the time of Key's death, gave similar testimony.

Mr. Wooldridge was recalled and cross-examined by the prosecution.

THE PRINTING PLUNDER.

Public documents are apt to be long, formal, and prosy, and for that reason, however much valuable information they may contain, they often fail to be seen by the people. On this account, we prefer a synopsis of the Report of the House Investigating Committee on Printing, to the document itself. That report is from the Chairman, Mr. Taylor, of Ohio, a stanch supporter of the Administration; and the synopsis is by the editor of the Washington *States*, and is larded with racy comments, which we decline to endorse, though they will detract nothing from the interest of the subject. Let the reader bear in mind that the public printing and its superintendence are in the hands of the Democracy, that the exposure of the corruption is by a Democratic committee, and that the synopsis is by a Democratic editor, whom the Democracy of Virginia have recently complimented with a splendid service of plate. The article below, with all its damaging statements, and its overwhelming evidence of fraud and robbery on the part of the owner of the Government organ, is from the *States*. It is therefore no Republican fabrication, but a veritable admission, on unquestionable Democratic authority, of foul corruption at the very door, if not in the council chamber, of the Executive.

The fraudulent nature of the transactions now notorious long before Seaman was dropped from his place; and Wendell was, up to a few days past, the proprietor of the official organ. We copy from the Washington *States* of March 7:

"The fact, that for the last five years the American people have been subjected to an annual assessment of nearly a million dollars, on account of the public printing, is a circumstance which will not escape comment, even in this age of comments and extravagant expenditures.

"It is a striking instance of the perversion of Federal authority, that, in addition to its many other illegitimate occupations, the Central Government has engaged in the business of incompatible business of a publishing concern.

"It is a signal attestation of the decay of official virtue, that the agents of the Government unwarrantable purpose have been squandered in bribes and bounties to the very officials who were appointed to protect the public interests.

"It is a deplorable mark of the progressive deterioration of political morals, that the exposure of peculation of the most atrocious character seems to provoke more less than a gentle expostulation from the men in authority.

"We accept as a piece of good fortune the present revelation of enormous frauds in the public printing; since so flagrant an instance of corruption will scarcely fail to attract notice and excite a salutary indignation among the people.

"We despair of any spontaneous act of reform on the part of Government.

"With the habit of inviting public attention to the abuses which abound in almost every branch of Federal Administration, we reproduced, a few days ago, the report wherein a committee of the House called the attention of efficient practices of the Printing Department. It is a document of the very greatest interest, but we read little notice, comment, or action of a practical character—the *imprimatur* of authority being understood as an admonition to kill in pursuit of diverting literature. In any event, the facts disclosed in the investigation, and unanimously certified by the committee, are of sufficient importance to justify their repeated publication.

"The office of Superintendent of Public Printing was instituted for the express purpose of protecting the Government against the dishonesty of employees and contractors. The two Houses of Congress could elect a Printer, to the end that official responsibilities may supply a sort of guaranty for fidelity and efficiency in the printing service. How far these precautions have availed will appear from the following facts exhibited in the report of 'the select committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate the accounts of the late Superintendent of Public Printing.'

"A certain A. G. Seaman was Superintendent of Public Printing from 1853 to December, 1857. During a part of the same period, a certain Cornelius Wendell held the the office of Public Printer. A more congenial couple could not have been found.

"In the first place, the committee declare that the Superintendent kept his books 'in so loose and slovenly a manner as to render it almost impossible to ascertain the condition of the accounts between his office and the Government.'

"It cannot be discovered, for example, 'by some hundreds of dollars, how much paper was received, nor how much was delivered to the Public Printer, nor what that paper was worth nor the account of paper on hand can be balanced.' The present Superintendent, an honest and efficient functionary, finds that the accounts of his predecessor, 'are neither closed, closed,' and not, in fact, been closed; and that large quantities of paper furnished to the bidder by Seaman are not accounted for.' The present amount, $1,170.77, was due from Mr. Arnold, of Philadelphia. When Mr. Arnold was spoken to on the subject, he said the account had been settled *by the way of a loan to Mr. Seaman*.

"No account was kept between the Government and the Superintendent, so that the amount of money received for paper supplied to the binders. The books also disclose payments to the binders for the House folumes which were credited either in the Superintendent's account or at the folding-room. The number of volumes ordered were not always bound, and in other cases were charged in accounts in the House folding-room were short, at the time Mr. Seaman went out of office, 2,939 volumes. Twenty-five thousand of all the volumes ordered by Congress have been tegrarily issued; and in some instances these volumes exceed the stipulated number. In the examination of the accounts of engraving and lithographing, the committee find that the books of various parties did not correspond with the certificates issued and presented for payment. In one case the difference was equivalent to $10,000, and in another to $6,736.76. The committee also find that all the parties employed in engraving and lithographing for Government, paid commissions on their contracts, to persons in association with Seaman and Wendell. In some instances the per centage was concealed under cover of a loan to the Superintendent; in others, he and his accomplice, the Printer, personally exacted payment for the concerned bribed on the Treasury.

"In consequence of the contributions levied by Seaman and Wendell, contractors were forced to increase their prices. This fact is established by a comparison of the charges for engraving and lithography under the late and the present Superintendent. Under Mr. Bowman, prices ran 25 to 75 per cent. less than under Seaman. One personfies that he would have done some of the work at one-*fourth* of the cost imposed by Seaman; and a twenty per cent reduction has been made in the charges on the Coast Survey Report for 1857. The commission paid to agents was from five to twenty per cent. on his contracts. In some instances the money was lent to Seaman, and no security or vouchers were taken for it. The committee discovered that engravers and lithographers who had been previously employed by Government could get no work under Seaman until they engaged the services of particular agents.

"The most successful house, from a permanent retainer to Wendell, the Public Printer, through whose instrumentality they approached the Superintendent, and subdued his severe virtue. In one particular instance, Seaman had the folly to take a *bonus* of $2,250 in his own name. The committee report that the Superintendent was in the habit of receiving paper inferior to the sample—in recognition, of course, of a per centage in his accomplice. By an arrangement with Seaman, Wendell, the Public Printer, was employed as the special agent for all the paper contractors—he being the very person who should complain of an inferior article. In this way the sum of the 'organ' realized the snug sum of $12,000. Seaman was in the habit of 'borrowing' money on a small from the paper contractors as the cravers and lithographers. From one firm he received $13,282.31, and from an individual member of the House, $8,000. These sums were taken for these loans, and they were not repaid. With another party Seaman made a contract for all the paper required for publishing the orderation of which arrangement the Superintendent received an annual stipend of $7,000.

"So much for the villainous practices of Wendell and Seaman. The Democratic Party have been found together by the most criminal connection. Seaman was the officer of Government, whose duty it was, to receive, to reject the paper furnished; while Wendell, as the Public Printer, used the paper, knew its quality, and was the only person to complain of its inferiority. These conditions, he made, to extract from the contractors, and to defraud the Government by every conceivable expedient. Notwithstanding the elevenfold profits of the contractors, 'cascals, and their studious endeavor to 'cover up their tracks,' the committee convict them of receiving bribes and bounties—the former to the amount of $7,000, the latter to the amount of $30,000. Of course, these figures do not represent the full extent of Seaman and Wendell's peculations. The full extent of their practices were such as to elude detection; and whenever they ventured into the light, they were careful to assume an almost impenetrable disguise. Still, enough is ascertained to show that both Seaman and Wendell have plundered the treasury upon system, and have incurred a sequence to the penalties of imprisonment in the penitentiary. The committee conclude their report with an assignment of Seaman to the leader mercies of the District Attorney; but they recommend no prosecution against Wendell. In fact, throughout his report, the chairman betrays a painful reluctance to criminate the editor of the Democratic organ. It is the cause of an anxious concern for the interests of the party? Or be there truth in the rumor that the Hon. Mr. Taylor, of New York, is somehow in Wendell's power?

"These are astounding developments; but they are of a piece with the prevalent practices in the Federal capital. Still, more than a gentle expostulation from the men in authority.

"We accept as a piece of good fortune the present revelation of enormous frauds in the public printing; since so flagrant an instance of corruption will scarcely fail to attract notice and excite a salutary indignation among the people.

"We despair of any spontaneous act of reform on the part of Government.

"With the habit of inviting public attention to the abuses which abound in almost every branch of Federal Administration, we reproduced, a few days ago, the report wherein a committee of the House called the attention of efficient practices of the Printing Department. It is a document of the very greatest interest, but we read little notice, comment, or action of a practical character—the *imprimatur* of authority being understood as an admonition to kill in pursuit of diverting literature. In any event, the facts disclosed in the investigation, and unanimously certified by the committee, are of sufficient importance to justify their repeated publication.

"The office of Superintendent of Public Printing was instituted for the express purpose of protecting the Government against the dishonesty of employees and contractors. The two Houses of Congress could elect a Printer, to the end that official responsibilities may supply a sort of guaranty for fidelity and efficiency in the printing service. How far these precautions have availed will appear from the following facts exhibited in the report of 'the select committee of the House of Representatives appointed to investigate the accounts of the late Superintendent of Public Printing.'

"A certain A. G. Seaman was Superintendent of Public Printing from 1853 to December, 1857. During a part of the same period, a certain Cornelius Wendell held the the office of Public Printer. A more congenial couple could not have been found.

"In the first place, the committee declare that the Superintendent kept his books 'in so loose and slovenly a manner as to render it almost impossible to ascertain the condition of the accounts between his office and the Government.'

"It cannot be discovered, for example, 'by some hundreds of dollars, how much paper was received, nor how much was delivered to the Public Printer, nor what that paper was worth nor the account of paper on hand can be balanced.' The present Superintendent, an honest and efficient functionary, finds that the accounts of his predecessor, 'are neither closed, closed,' and not, in fact, been closed; and that large quantities of paper furnished to the bidder by Seaman are not accounted for.' The present amount, $1,170.77, was due from Mr. Arnold, of Philadelphia. When Mr. Arnold was spoken to on the subject, he said the account had been settled *by the way of a loan to Mr. Seaman*.

"No account was kept between the Government and the Superintendent, so that the amount of money received for paper supplied to the binders. The books also disclose payments to the binders for the House folumes which were credited either in the Superintendent's account or at the folding-room. The number of volumes ordered were not always bound, and in other cases were charged in accounts in the House folding-room were short, at the time Mr. Seaman went out of office, 2,939 volumes. Twenty-five thousand of all the volumes ordered by Congress have been tegrarily issued; and in some instances these volumes exceed the stipulated number. In the examination of the accounts of engraving and lithographing, the committee find that the books of various parties did not correspond with the certificates issued and presented for payment. In one case the difference was equivalent to $10,000, and in another to $6,736.76. The committee also find that all the parties employed in engraving and lithographing for Government, paid commissions on their contracts, to persons in association with Seaman and Wendell. In some instances the per centage was concealed under cover of a loan to the Superintendent; in others, he and his accomplice, the Printer, personally exacted payment for the concerned bribed on the Treasury.

"In consequence of the contributions levied by Seaman and Wendell, contractors were forced to increase their prices. This fact is established by a comparison of the charges for engraving and lithography under the late and the present Superintendent. Under Mr. Bowman, prices ran 25 to 75 per cent. less than under Seaman. One person testifies that he would have done some of the work at one-*fourth* of the cost imposed by Seaman; and a twenty per cent reduction has been made in the charges on the Coast Survey Report for 1857. The commission paid to agents was from five to twenty per cent. on his contracts. In some instances the money was lent to Seaman, and no security or vouchers were taken for it. The committee discovered that engravers and lithographers who had been previously employed by Government could get no work under Seaman until they engaged the services of particular agents.

"The most successful house, from a permanent retainer to Wendell, the Public Printer, through whose instrumentality they approached the Superintendent, and subdued his severe virtue. In one particular instance, Seaman

"Friends in the South! Throw away the scabbard, and once more let us hear the bugle of the old war, and the battle cry of freedom, so often cheered us in our struggle of "God and our native land!"

VIRGINIA AGAIN.—We have cheering evidences coming in daily of the progress of liberal opinions in Virginia. The following extract is from a speech recently delivered by Mr. Caldwell, a member of the Opposition, and representative of the city of Wheeling in the State Senate:

"As I said before, the present self-styled Democratic party is a mere Southern, British, anti-tariff party. They want sell their cotton, their sugar, and tobacco, in England. There is their market. We ask this Southern party to give us, of the Northern Democracy, for our industry—for our manufactures, and we will become consumers of your products. But they say, no. If we give you protection, you will, many of you, quit raising the breadstuffs which we now get from you, and consequently the price of it will be raised to us, and will cost us more to get flour and bread than it will cost our niggers. It is niggers, niggers, niggers, first and always. That is the consideration with these Southern men. Tariffs and every thing else must be made to suit their niggers.

"Our interest here, fellow-citizens, is the White Man's interest. Man proud to say that he belongs to the White Man's party. The Whig party was always the White Man's party. The Whig party always went for protecting the labor of our mechanics and manufactures—always labored to keep the balance of trade in favor of our own country—and not leave it as at present, over forty-six millions of dollars against us with England alone.

"And it always will be against us as long as we send our raw material to Europe to have it manufactured for us, and then buy more of the manufactures back than we send for in exports. Why, fellow-citizens, over here in Belmont and Monroe counties, they raise tobacco, and it is sent over the Ohio River into Virginia and there shipped to Germany, and there manufactured, and then sent back and sold to us in this very city.

"If we here (so it was in the last Presidential campaign) talk about protecting white men's interests, these Locofocos call us Abolitionists. Everything Abolition with them. They called Clay and Taylor Abolitionists. And so they do everybody who is in favor of protecting white labor. But, fellow-citizens, I think there is a change around in the land from the value of *labor* of the country—a feeling that there are other interests that deserve to be fostered besides niggers. I do not believe that the Union the Constitution guaranties to her; let Slavery remain to her where it now exists—but let not niggers be the sole question. As white labor is being we have our rights, and let us drive the Locofoco party that we dare maintain them at the polls." [Loud and protracted cheering.]

DISORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK DEMOCRACY.—The Charleston *Mercury*—perhaps the ablest journal south of Baltimore—argues that the only Democracy that is left in the South is to be found in the few planting States. As for the Northern Democrats, so-called, they are not, and they know they are not, Democrats, Democrats, and are, in fact, on all the great questions of policy, as weak and as flat as dishwater. They dare not even sustain the President of their choice in his most signal and important measures of his Administration; but, on the contrary, whenever a test is applied to them, in order to ascertain the sentiments and sentiments of the free States, they slink away like guilty hounds that are afraid of the lash. The *Mercury* proceeds:

"Of what use are these things show? Why, that the Democratic party has no party cohesion, and is no party at all. It is broken up into little fragments. The Democrats of the Pacific railroad—another, a protective tariff—another, the homestead bill—another, the purchase or seizure of Cuba—another, squatter sovereignty; but all united in the one general consummation—the array of the two sections of the Union against each other in deadly hostility. Why, then, is it that the operations of the party with regard to the President, or with regard to measures, there is distraction, division, and opposition, amongst its members. This question must settle sectionalism became the great controlling element in the politics of the Union. Down to the days of President Polk, the President was the most respected and honored head of the party. When he recommended the adoption of the Independent Treasury bill, the Democrats flocked to support it. All who opposed it were cut off as members of the party. When President Polk recommended the Mexican war, the party supported it, and all who opposed it were cut off the party. Sectionalism, lingering always as the great disturbing cause which would in due time rend asunder all the ties which bind the Union, broke up into gigantic proportions from this war. The acquisition of California disclosed and precipitated the antagonism between the two sections of the Union. By the action of the party of the North to exclude the South from this Territory, the great battle of state and sectional equality was fought out. Now, it is left to the Northern sectional superiority became a settled fact in the Union. Nothing could prevent thereafter the predominance of sectionalism in the politics of the Union. Nothing could prevent its consequent dissolution. Its end was a mere matter of time. Yet the wiseacres who perpetuate the Democratic party of the South and the greater wiseacres who submitted to it, did it all to save and continue the Union. The politics of the Union from that day to this has been nothing but the struggle of the two sections of the Union have been driven wider and wider apart—are more concentrated amongst themselves, and more antagonistic to each other. The Democratic party was the first completed her sectional organization to rule the South. The Whig party has crumbled before it; and now the Democratic party of the North, has been, in fact, broken up, and its pieces by the decomposing element of sectionalism. It must be dissolved, and two parties—and two only—arise in the Union—party of the North, and a party of the South. The one to rule, the other to defend; the one to destroy, the other to save the Union. A sectional party, faithful to the Constitution and the rights of the two sections of the Union, is an impossibility. The South, although more slowly and reluctantly, is steadily moving on to her sectional crystallization."

FOREIGN SUMMARY.

LATER FROM EUROPE.—The steamer Europa, from Liverpool, with dates to the 2d instant, arrived at New York Sunday.

The Peace Congress.—According to reliable intelligence, the Austrian Government has refused Baden-Baden as the seat of the proposed Congress.

The French Government leaves the choice of the town to Austria, reserving only the condition that it must be neutral territory, with Paris by railway and telegraph. It was decided that Piedmont would not be admitted as a great power, but on conditions similar to the other Italian States.

England.—The departure of Prince Albert from Galway had been postponed till the 9th instant.

The House of Commons divided on the reform bill on the morning of the 1st instant, the vote standing 291 for a second reading and 330 for Lord Russell's resolution, a majority against the Government of 39 votes. As the numbers were announced, the House rang a triumphant shout from the opposition benches. Lord Derby in the House of Lords said that the Cabinet were considering what course to adopt. He had had an interview with the Queen, but nothing definite was resolved on. He would announce their determination on the 4th.

The resignation of the Cabinet was generally anticipated.

The London *Times* says that Lord Derby, before going out of office, will recommend to the Queen certain promotions of his own peers to elevation to the Peerage. They are Sir Charles Morgan, Col. George Wyndham, and Mr. Egerton.

The second Irish sedition trial at Tralee had resulted in the conviction of the prisoner, and his sentence to ten years' penal servitude.

The Belfast trials had been concluded and the jury were, at last accounts, locked up, being unable to agree.

On the 30th ult. three inches of snow fell in the city of London.

Quite a serious riot had occurred at Galway, Ireland, between Protestants and Catholics. It commenced in a quarrel between a Protestant and a Catholic, and became a general affair. The Protestants, fearing for their lives, fired upon the Catholics, killing one and wounding several others. Several other persons were more or less injured, before the police succeeded in dispersing the mob.

France.—Military preparations for France and the other States involved in the pending difficulties continued.

The Paris Bourse closed firmly at 69f. 15c., an advance of 1.

Turkey.—The journals confirm the statement that twelve battalions and eight cannons have been transported from Schumla, and that another division will follow.

Letters assert that Count Lallemand, first secretary of the French Embassy, demanded a peremptory answer from the Porte, which is in reference to the threatening movements of troops towards the Principalities, and that the Grand Vizier gave him an evasive answer.

The Grand Vizier is very ill, and his retirement is expected.

The markets were unchanged.

LATE FROM MEXICO.—The Liberal Government of Juarez has been formally recognized at Vera Cruz by Mr. Forsyth, the American Minister.

The Liberal army, 13,000 strong, had nearly surrounded the city of Mexico, and had succeeded in cutting off the supplies of provisions and water. A decisive battle was expected soon to take place. If not, a great battle was anticipated. Both of the armies were being reinforced. The Liberals were confident of success. The whole country was in a deplorable condition.

THE PARAGUAY EXPEDITION.—The barque Kate, from Montevideo February 11th, which arrived at Baltimore on Wednesday, furnishes the following additional facts in regard to the movements of the Paraguay expedition:

"By the Mensal, steamer, which arrived at Montevideo on the 3d instant, advices had been received of the arrival at Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, of the United States steamer Fulton, with United States Commissioner Bowlin and Commander Shubrick on board; and, as they had been allowed to ascend the river without opposition, it was supposed the American squadron had been, as previously reported, amicably settled.

"The steamers Harriet Lane and Water Witch, and brigs Bainbridge and Perry, were all at Corrientes, on the Paraguay, with Preble, steership Supply, barque Release, steamers Southern Star, Atlanta, Westernport, and Memphis, were on the way up the river. The United States ship Falmouth was at Buenos Ayres, with Com. Forrest on board. The Falmouth passed the Lawrence were at Montevideo. Several of their officers and about one-half of their crews had been drafted on board the vessels bound up the river. All well. A marine was drowned from the Fulton, on her way up the river."

Accounts from the island of Jamaica to the 23d ultimo indicate a disposition on the part of the negroes to give trouble. A new tax was recently imposed by the parish of Westmoreland, to which they were not willing to submit, and some of the boldest among them raised the standard of rebellion. A committed some excesses in the village of Savanah. Four or five of the ringleaders were arrested, but this only served to exasperate the rest, who insisted upon their release. Five hundred of the hundred troops were then dispatched against them, who found it necessary to resort to bloodshed before the disturbance could be quelled.

DOMESTIC SUMMARY.

BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.—At the meeting of the Board of Directors of this Company on Wednesday resolutions were adopted declaring it to be the duty of the present, out of the earnings of the main stem, and of four and a half per cent. out of the earnings of the Washington branch, to pay the interest on the Pacific railroad—another, a protective tariff—another, the homestead bill—another, the purchase or seizure of Cuba—another, squatter sovereignty; but all united in the one general consummation—the array of the two sections of the Union against each other in deadly hostility. Why, then, is it that the operations of the party with regard to the President, or with regard to measures, there is distraction, division, and opposition, amongst its members. This question must settle sectionalism became the great controlling element in the politics of the Union. Down to the days of President Polk, the President was the most respected and honored head of the party. When he recommended the adoption of the Independent Treasury bill, the Democrats flocked to support it. All who opposed it were cut off as members of the party. When President Polk recommended the Mexican war, the party supported it, and all who opposed it were cut off the party. Sectionalism, lingering always as the great disturbing cause which would in due time rend asunder all the ties which bind the Union, broke up into gigantic proportions from this war. The acquisition of California disclosed and precipitated the antagonism between the two sections of the Union. By the action of the party of the North to exclude the South from this Territory, the great battle of state and sectional equality was fought out. Now, it is left to the Northern sectional superiority became a settled fact in the Union. Nothing could prevent thereafter the predominance of sectionalism in the politics of the Union. Nothing could prevent its consequent dissolution. Its end was a mere matter of time. Yet the wiseacres who perpetuate the Democratic party of the South and the greater wiseacres who submitted to it, did it all to save and continue the Union. The politics of the Union from that day to this has been nothing but the struggle of the two sections of the Union have been driven wider and wider apart—are more concentrated amongst themselves, and more antagonistic to each other. The Democratic party was the first completed her sectional organization to rule the South. The Whig party has crumbled before it; and now the Democratic party of the North, has been, in fact, broken up, and its pieces by the decomposing element of sectionalism. It must be dissolved, and two parties—and two only—arise in the Union—party of the North, and a party of the South. The one to rule, the other to defend; the one to destroy, the other to save the Union. A sectional party, faithful to the Constitution and the rights of the two sections of the Union, is an impossibility. The South, although more slowly and reluctantly, is steadily moving on to her sectional crystallization."

POLITICAL INTELLIGENCE.

GOV. SOULE IN MISSOURI.—We have already chronicled the splendid victory achieved by the Free-Soilers of St. Louis in the recent municipal election. Similar elections have recently taken place in other towns, and the St. Louis *Democrat* brings us the following particulars of their results:

"*Victory in Carondelet.*—Bernard Poepping, Free-Soil Democrat, was yesterday elected mayor of Carondelet, after a glorious contest, over Mr. Southard, National Democrat. Mr. Poepping is president of the Iron Mountain railroad, and used all the power of this company to secure his return, but could not succeed. In the returns we also notice, with peculiar satisfaction, the defeat of Colonel Fiddler, Free-Soil Democrat, as register, over Mr. Fiddler, National Democrat. Mr. Reber was one of the principal actors in the Free-Soil Democrat election, and this triumph of his is a virtual repudiation of the fraudulent vote that was then cast, under the auspices of the county court. Our friends have accomplished a noble work, and they deserve all the glory of a well-fought and well-conquered victory.

"*Victory in St. Ferdinand.*—Michael Powers, Free-Soil Democrat, was yesterday elected mayor of the city of St. Ferdinand, in this county. This speaks well for the Free-Soilers. We know little, but we hear enough to know that they are in the good cause. The movement has begun, and must go on. All hail to the true men of St. Ferdinand."

DESPERATION OF THE BLACK DEMOCRACY.—The Richmond *Enquirer* of the 15th makes the following lamentation over the disorganization of the party, and cries piteously for help:

"The ascendency of the Democratic party is seriously threatened, not only in Pennsylvania and New York, but in the Federal Government, in all its departments, by prevailing dissensions.

"In more than half the Congressional districts in the Northern sections there is no candidate to be supplied for the next Congress, issues have arisen full of peril to Democratic success.

"We counsel *harmony!* Never before, in the history of our glorious party, or of our country, have such perils beset us, and never before has our hope for the triumph of constitutional liberty on this continent, and through the instrumentality of our existing Union, rested so absolutely on the Democratic party. The great issues of 1860 are made up. They are issues of life and death. If the Democratic party goes to pieces now, under the weight of the Black Republican wave, all will be lost. Let, therefore, every man, and everywhere, bury feuds, forget personal animosities, follow Virginia in her march to triumph, and *sustain* her as she bears the flag of the Constitution to the heights of the enemy's ramparts.

"Friends in the South! Throw away the scabbard, and once more let us hear the bugle of the old war, and the battle cry of freedom, so often cheered us in our struggle of "God and our native land!"

VIRGINIA AGAIN.—We have cheering evidences coming in daily of the progress of liberal opinions in Virginia. The following extract is from a speech recently delivered by Mr. Caldwell, a member of the Opposition, and representative of the city of Wheeling in the State Senate:

"As I said before, the present self-styled Democratic party is a mere Southern, British, anti-tariff party. They want sell their cotton, their sugar, and tobacco, in England. There is their market. We ask this Southern party to give us, of the Northern Democracy, for our industry—for our manufactures, and we will become consumers of your products. But they say, no. If we give you protection, you will, many of you, quit raising the breadstuffs which we now get from you, and consequently the price of it will be raised to us, and will cost us more to get flour and bread than it will cost our niggers. It is niggers, niggers, niggers, first and always. That is the consideration with these Southern men. Tariffs and every thing else must be made to suit their niggers.

"Our interest here, fellow-citizens, is the White Man's interest. Man proud to say that he belongs to the White Man's party. The Whig party was always the White Man's party. The Whig party always went for protecting the labor of our mechanics and manufactures—always labored to keep the balance of trade in favor of our own country—and not leave it as at present, over forty-six millions of dollars against us with England alone.

"And it always will be against us as long as we send our raw material to Europe to have it manufactured for us, and then buy more of the manufactures back than we send for in exports. Why, fellow-citizens, over here in Belmont and Monroe counties, they raise tobacco, and it is sent over the Ohio River into Virginia and there shipped to Germany, and there manufactured, and then sent back and sold to us in this very city.

"If we here (so it was in the last Presidential campaign) talk about protecting white men's interests, these Locofocos call us Abolitionists. Everything Abolition with them. They called Clay and Taylor Abolitionists. And so they do everybody who is in favor of protecting white labor. But, fellow-citizens, I think there is a change around in the land from the value of *labor* of the country—a feeling that there are other interests that deserve to be fostered besides niggers. I do not believe that the Union the Constitution guaranties to her; let Slavery remain to her where it now exists—but let not niggers be the sole question. As white labor is being we have our rights, and let us drive the Locofoco party that we dare maintain them at the polls." [Loud and protracted cheering.]

DISORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK DEMOCRACY.—The Charleston *Mercury*—perhaps the ablest journal south of Baltimore—argues that the only Democracy that is left in the South is to be found in the few planting States. As for the Northern Democrats, so-called, they are not, and they know they are not, Democrats, Democrats, and are, in fact, on all the great questions of policy, as weak and as flat as dishwater. They dare not even sustain the President of their choice in his most signal and important measures of his Administration; but, on the contrary, whenever a test is applied to them, in order to ascertain the sentiments and sentiments of the free States, they slink away like guilty hounds that are afraid of the lash. The *Mercury* proceeds:

"Of what use are these things show? Why, that the Democratic party has no party cohesion, and is no party at all. It is broken up into little fragments. The Democrats of the Pacific railroad—another, a protective tariff—another, the homestead bill—another, the purchase or seizure of Cuba—another, squatter sovereignty; but all united in the one general consummation—the array of the two sections of the Union against each other in deadly hostility. Why, then, is it that the operations of the party with regard to the President, or with regard to measures, there is distraction, division, and opposition, amongst its members. This question must settle sectionalism became the great controlling element in the politics of the Union. Down to the days of President Polk, the President was the most respected and honored head of the party. When he recommended the adoption of the Independent Treasury bill, the Democrats flocked to support it. All who opposed it were cut off as members of the party. When President Polk recommended the Mexican war, the party supported it, and all who opposed it were cut off the party. Sectionalism, lingering always as the great disturbing cause which would in due time rend asunder all the ties which bind the Union, broke up into gigantic proportions from this war. The acquisition of California disclosed and precipitated the antagonism between the two sections of the Union. By the action of the party of the North to exclude the South from this Territory, the great battle of state and sectional equality was fought out. Now, it is left to the Northern sectional superiority became a settled fact in the Union. Nothing could prevent thereafter the predominance of sectionalism in the politics of the Union. Nothing could prevent its consequent dissolution. Its end was a mere matter of time. Yet the wiseacres who perpetuate the Democratic party of the South and the greater wiseacres who submitted to it, did it all to save and continue the Union. The politics of the Union from that day to this has been nothing but the struggle of the two sections of the Union have been driven wider and wider apart—are more concentrated amongst themselves, and more antagonistic to each other. The Democratic party was the first completed her sectional organization to rule the South. The Whig party has crumbled before it; and now the Democratic party of the North, has been, in fact, broken up, and its pieces by the decomposing element of sectionalism. It must be dissolved, and two parties—and two only—arise in the Union—party of the North, and a party of the South. The one to rule, the other to defend; the one to destroy, the other to save the Union. A sectional party, faithful to the Constitution and the rights of the two sections of the Union, is an impossibility. The South, although more slowly and reluctantly, is steadily moving on to her sectional crystallization."

FOREIGN SUMMARY.

LATER FROM EUROPE.—The steamer Europa, from Liverpool, with dates to the 2d instant, arrived at New York Sunday.

The Peace Congress.—According to reliable intelligence, the Austrian Government has refused Baden-Baden as the seat of the proposed Congress.

The French Government leaves the choice of the town to Austria, reserving only the condition that it must be neutral territory, with Paris by railway and telegraph. It was decided that Piedmont would not be admitted as a great power, but on conditions similar to the other Italian States.

England.—The departure of Prince Albert from Galway had been postponed till the 9th instant.

The House of Commons divided on the reform bill on the morning of the 1st instant, the vote standing 291 for a second reading and 330 for Lord Russell's resolution, a majority against the Government of 39 votes. As the numbers were announced, the House rang a triumphant shout from the opposition benches. Lord Derby in the House of Lords said that the Cabinet were considering what course to adopt. He had had an interview with the Queen, but nothing definite was resolved on. He would announce their determination on the 4th.

The resignation of the Cabinet was generally anticipated.

The London *Times* says that Lord Derby, before going out of office, will recommend to the Queen certain promotions of his own peers to elevation to the Peerage. They are Sir Charles Morgan, Col. George Wyndham, and Mr. Egerton.

The second Irish sedition trial at Tralee had resulted in the conviction of the prisoner, and his sentence to ten years' penal servitude.

The Belfast trials had been concluded and the jury were, at last accounts, locked up, being unable to agree.

On the 30th ult. three inches of snow fell in the city of London.

Quite a serious riot had occurred at Galway, Ireland, between Protestants and Catholics. It commenced in a quarrel between a Protestant and a Catholic, and became a general affair. The Protestants, fearing for their lives, fired upon the Catholics, killing one and wounding several others. Several other persons were more or less injured, before the police succeeded in dispersing the mob.

France.—Military preparations for France and the other States involved in the pending difficulties continued.

The Paris Bourse closed firmly at 69f. 15c., an advance of 1.

Turkey.—The journals confirm the statement that twelve battalions and eight cannons have been transported from Schumla, and that another division will follow.

Letters assert that Count Lallemand, first secretary of the French Embassy, demanded a peremptory answer from the Porte, which is in reference to the threatening movements of troops towards the Principalities, and that the Grand Vizier gave him an evasive answer.

The Grand Vizier is very ill, and his retirement is expected.

The markets were unchanged.

LATE FROM MEXICO.—The Liberal Government of Juarez has been formally recognized at Vera Cruz by Mr. Forsyth, the American Minister.

The Liberal army, 13,000 strong, had nearly surrounded the city of Mexico, and had succeeded in cutting off the supplies of provisions and water. A decisive battle was expected soon to take place. If not, a great battle was anticipated. Both of the armies were being reinforced. The Liberals were confident of success. The whole country was in a deplorable condition.

THE PARAGUAY EXPEDITION.—The barque Kate, from Montevideo February 11th, which arrived at Baltimore on Wednesday, furnishes the following additional facts in regard to the movements of the Paraguay expedition:

"By the Mensal, steamer, which arrived at Montevideo on the 3d instant, advices had been received of the arrival at Asuncion, capital of Paraguay, of the United States steamer Fulton, with United States Commissioner Bowlin and Commander Shubrick on board; and, as they had been allowed to ascend the river without opposition, it was supposed the American squadron had been, as previously reported, amicably settled.

"The steamers Harriet Lane and Water Witch, and brigs Bainbridge and Perry, were all at Corrientes, on the Paraguay, with Preble, steership Supply, barque Release, steamers Southern Star, Atlanta, Westernport, and Memphis, were on the way up the river. The United States ship Falmouth was at Buenos Ayres, with Com. Forrest on board. The Falmouth passed the Lawrence were at Montevideo. Several of their officers and about one-half of their crews had been drafted on board the vessels bound up the river. All well. A marine was drowned from the Fulton, on her way up the river."

Accounts from the island of Jamaica to the 23d ultimo indicate a disposition on the part of the negroes to give trouble. A new tax was recently imposed by the parish of Westmoreland, to which they were not willing to submit, and some of the boldest among them raised the standard of rebellion. A committed some excesses in the village of Savanah. Four or five of the ringleaders were arrested, but this only served to exasperate the rest, who insisted upon their release. Five hundred of the hundred troops were then dispatched against them, who found it necessary to resort to bloodshed before the disturbance could be quelled.

DOMESTIC SUMMARY.

BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD.—At the meeting of the Board of Directors of this Company on Wednesday resolutions were adopted declaring it to be the duty of the present, out of the earnings of the main stem, and of four and a half per cent. out of the earnings of the Washington branch, to pay the interest on the Pacific railroad—another, a protective tariff—another, the homestead bill—another, the purchase or seizure of Cuba—another, squatter sovereignty; but all united in the one general consummation—the array of the two sections of the Union against each other in deadly hostility. Why, then, is it that the operations of the party with regard to the President, or with regard to measures, there is distraction, division, and opposition, amongst its members. This question must settle sectionalism became the great controlling element in the politics of the Union. Down to the days of President Polk, the President was the most respected and honored head of the party. When he recommended the adoption of the Independent Treasury bill, the Democrats flocked to support it. All who opposed it were cut off as members of the party. When President Polk recommended the Mexican war, the party supported it, and all who opposed it were cut off the party. Sectionalism, lingering always as the great disturbing cause which would in due time rend asunder all the ties which bind the Union, broke up into gigantic proportions from this war. The acquisition of California disclosed and precipitated the antagonism between the two sections of the Union. By the action of the party of the North to exclude the South from this Territory, the great battle of state and sectional equality was fought out. Now, it is left to the Northern sectional superiority became a settled fact in the Union. Nothing could prevent thereafter the predominance of sectionalism in the politics of the Union. Nothing could prevent its consequent dissolution. Its end was a mere matter of time. Yet the wiseacres who perpetuate the Democratic party of the South and the greater wiseacres who submitted to it, did it all to save and continue the Union. The politics of the Union from that day to this has been nothing but the struggle of the two sections of the Union have been driven wider and wider apart—are more concentrated amongst themselves, and more antagonistic to each other. The Democratic party was the first completed her sectional organization to rule the South. The Whig party has crumbled before it; and now the Democratic party of the North, has been, in fact, broken up, and its pieces by the decomposing element of sectionalism. It must be dissolved, and two parties—and two only—arise in the Union—party of the North, and a party of the South. The one to rule, the other to defend; the one to destroy, the other to save the Union. A sectional party, faithful to the Constitution and the rights of the two sections of the Union, is an impossibility. The South, although more slowly and reluctantly, is steadily moving on to her sectional crystallization."

FOREIGN SUMMARY.

LATER FROM EUROPE.—The steamer Europa, from Liverpool, with dates to the 2d instant, arrived at New York Sunday.

The Peace Congress.—According to reliable intelligence, the Austrian Government has refused Baden-Baden as the seat of the proposed Congress.

The French Government leaves the choice of the town to Austria, reserving only the condition that it must be neutral territory, with Paris by railway and telegraph. It was decided that Piedmont would not be admitted as a great power, but on conditions similar to the other Italian States.

England.—The departure of Prince Albert from Galway had been postponed till the 9th instant.

The House of Commons divided on the reform bill on the morning of the 1st instant, the vote standing 291 for a second reading and 330 for Lord Russell's resolution, a majority against the Government of 39 votes. As the numbers were announced, the House rang a triumphant shout from the opposition benches. Lord Derby in the House of Lords said that the Cabinet were considering what course to adopt. He had had an interview with the Queen, but nothing definite was resolved on. He would announce their determination on the 4th.

The resignation of the Cabinet was generally anticipated.

The London *Times* says that Lord Derby, before going out of office, will recommend to

[Continued from first page.]

gives the pre-eminent endowment of thought, to another action, to another oratory. It is the glory of Jefferson to have been the philosopher of the Revolution—excelling even Franklin in this respect; for Franklin, with all his matchless powers, had consecrated them to the advancement of physical science, long before the events which led to the Revolution had transpired.

Mr. Jefferson grew up and his mind matured in the midst of the stirring events, when the patriotic enthusiasm was aroused, and he was among the first to take sides with his country against the tyranny of the Parent State—England. I will not weary you with a recital of the various political functions which he filled, much less shall I attempt to show the important part which he played on the political stage, that I be sufficient for my purpose to touch upon the salient points of his public life, in order to show the identity of Democratic republicanism with the principles of Mr. Jefferson.

This will be my object on the present occasion; and I will at the same time, show that no other party in this country has any affinity with Jefferson. I make no arrogant boast; the task is easy. Any man of common intelligence, who will read the history of the times of Jefferson's writings, and contrast them with the political history of the last two or ten years, can do the same thing.

I will not undertake my examination of the political principles of Jefferson to the subject of Slavery; I intend to show that his views of State Rights, and of the relations of the State and Federal Governments, are in harmony with those of the Republican party; while the party now in power is thoroughly committed, in word and deed, to the most anti-Federalism.

I begin, however, with the Slavery question, because this is the great issue before the country; the great issue which has been the nucleus and centre of the Republican party, and which has at the same time been the rock which has shattered the Democratic party.

Let me first briefly state the principles and objects of this new party.

The Republican party has proposed no invasion of the rights of the States—no intermedling by Congress with Slavery in the States; but it insists upon the right of Congress to exclude Slavery from the Territories, to concrete them to free white labor, and to rear upon them States constituted, not of a handful of wealthy slaveholders, with their thousands of black slaves, but States composed of free-men, white men, who will give invincible strength to the nation.

The Republican party also insists upon the right of freedom of speech and of the press. It insists upon, and when it attains the control of the Federal Government it will concretize, that free-dom of freedom of speech in all the South which for two or three years has existed in St. Louis, and whose fruits have been more than one triumphant election.

The Republican party is not in favor of the amalgamation of the white and black races, nor of a mongrel population composed of both races. Nine-tenths of its members, while they condemn the injustice which enslaves the black man, are as much opposed to slavery in Africa, in Mexico, in Central America, in South America, or in the West Indies. That party will favor the colonization of the free people of color and emancipated slaves, if they so elect, on present, in any of these countries, and a proposition to this effect has been made in each branch of Congress, in the present Congress.

I intend to show, that in every one of these principles and proposed measures the Republican party of the present day is only treading in the footsteps of Jefferson, and approaching nearer to the party of Jefferson, than any other party is, in its principles and measures—only endeavoring to realize the dream of his life.

It would be equally as easy to show that in the leading feature of the Republican platform (which has the sanction of nearly every great and good name which achieved success in the Revolution, whether in the field or in the council. It would be easy to quote Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Adams, Rutledge, Mason, Henry, Pinckney, in support of the Republican principles above laid down; but I shall have occasion to do so at present to the materials furnished by the writings of Jefferson himself.

Democracy with Mr. Jefferson was a synonyme for universal freedom. The Declaration of the Declaration of Independence is demonstrative of this truth. It declares that "all men are created equal," and "endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." I am aware that it has been maintained by Democrats, that the framers of this declaration of rights was not intended to embrace black men; but there exists the most abundant testimony to the contrary. Mr. Jefferson was fully committed to the universality of Freedom before he became a member of the Continental Congress. In his celebrated paper on the "Rights of British America," published in 1774, he was a member of the General Assembly of Virginia, and published in 1774, he says:

"The ancient Saxon laws seem to be the greatest object of desire in these Colonies, where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state."

In his original draft of the Declaration of Independence he used the following language:

"He" (the King) "has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty, in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and, that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the friends he has made them and then—thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

This extract from Mr. Jefferson's original draft of the Declaration of Independence is to be found in the works of Mr. Jefferson, Section Papers. Mr. Jefferson says of it, that "the clause, too, reprobating the enslaving of the African, was stricken in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had not attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it." The clause, too, was struck out of the States, which were not able to contribute anything to the common cause, in consequence of the prevalence of the Slave Trade and Slavery, had influence enough, at the commencement of the struggle, to erase this noble passage from the Declaration of Independence. For the sake of perfect unanimity, they yielded to the influence, eleven of the thirteen States, in which were embraced all the power of resistance to the common enemy, yielded to the two new States, which required protection from internal foes.

But this rejected passage sufficiently explains the general terms of universal freedom, contained in the Declaration, and leaves not a doubt that they were designed to embrace all mankind. It was the clause which prompted that Mr. Madison declared the object of the struggle with Great Britain to be, "the rights of human nature."

It is clear, then, that not only Mr. Jefferson, but the great majority of the patriots of the Revolution, were the friends of universal Freedom. There is other evidence in abundance to the same purport, but it is aside from my main design at the present time to take so wide a range of investigation.

Having shown what were the fundamental principles which actuated Mr. Jefferson, I will next draw your attention to the numerous measures he instituted for the advancement of liberty in his native State, and for preventing its extension over new Territories.

In a letter to a Committee for Virginia, drawn by Mr. Jefferson in 1783, it is provided that the General Assembly shall not "permit the introduction of any more slaves to reside in this State, or the continuance of those beyond the generation which shall be living on the thirty-first day of December, one thousand eight hundred—all persons born after that day being hereby declared free."

I might quote numerous letters of Mr. Jefferson, showing his profound interest in this question of ridding Virginia of the curse of Slavery; but I must refrain, for want of time.

In 1784, Virginia, New York, and Connecticut, ceded the territory northwest of the Ohio to the Federal Government. Mr. Jefferson, then a member of Congress, was placed on a committee appointed to draft an ordinance for the government of the Territories. It fell to the share of Mr. Jefferson to write the ordinance, and he failed not to incorporate it in his deep-seated repugnance to Slavery. It provided for the organization of all the Territories of the Union, "ceded and to be ceded," into States, and forever excluded Slavery from them all, down to the thirty-first parallel of latitude, and then separated the Territory of the Union from the Spanish province of Florida. The Anti-Slavery clause is as follows:

"After the year 1800 of the Christian era, there shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude in any of the said States, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted to have been personally guilty."

The Northern States represented on the occasion all voted for the ordinance; Virginia was divided, but the majority, with the chair, Jefferson, and cast the vote of the State against the restrictive clause. Sixteen of the twenty-four delegates present voted for excluding Slavery. The measure failed for want of a quorum, which, under the Articles of Confederation, required that nine States should be present and vote by a majority of the delegates. This was near the close of a busy session, and the subject was not again taken up, or, at any rate, was not discussed. In 1787, it was drafted Mr. Jefferson was in France, as the representative of his country; but the principle of his Anti-Slavery proviso of 1784 was incorporated into the ordinance adopted in 1787.

The sixth article of this Ordinance is as follows:

"There shall be neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have duly convicted to have been personally guilty. Then any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service may be lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service, as aforesaid."

This Anti-Slavery ordinance for the government of the territories northwest of the Ohio was adopted by the vote of the entire South. Kentucky, having become an integral part of the Union, the Territory of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan, were formed out of it, and were admitted as parts of North Carolina and Georgia.

The Anti-Slavery ordinance of 1787, then, was adopted by all the territories over which the Federal Government had control. Slavery was forever excluded from them, and their unanimous vote in favor of it was entirely owing to this Jefferson ordinance.

I might illustrate the wisdom of this Jefferson policy of excluding Slavery from the Territory, by pointing you to the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, and contrasting them with Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri. But I will suppose that you are as much in familiar with the subject, and can tell you of the magic growth of the free States, and of the sluggish pace of those which tolerate Slavery.

The Republican party has proposed no such sectional and tyrannical towards the South for adhering to this policy of Slavery exclusion. I will not now stop to ask, if the policy of the present occasion is not to defend Republican policy, but to show its origin—its identity with that inaugurated by Thomas Jefferson, and which has resulted in giving the North and States of the West, whose career of prosperity is unparalleled in the world's history.

If I had the time, and you the patience, I might read from scores of Mr. Jefferson's letters, written at every period of his life, from early prime to old age, in which his clear, and very sentiments are expressed with that nervous energy and beauty of language for which his style was remarkable. I might quote his Notes on Virginia, the writings of Paine, which he resided in France. The denunciations of Slavery contained in that work have never been exceeded in nervous and eloquent. I am familiar with ultraism by many of my Republican friends if I were to repeat them.

Before leaving the branch of my subject which relates to Mr. Jefferson's Anti-Slavery views, I will call your attention to a letter in which he advocates the policy of providing a permanent home for the people of color, beyond the limits of the United States. In a letter to Jared Sparks, Mr. Jefferson sketches a plan for the emancipation and deportation of the slaves and free blacks. A consideration of his gratification at the efforts then being made to establish colonies on the coast of Africa, naturally because it would be the means of ultimating civilization over that benighted continent, he proceeds:

"The second object, and the most interesting to us, as coming home to our physical and moral characters, to our happiness and safety, is to provide an asylum to which we can, by offers and the means, induce the emigration from among us, and establish them under our patronage and protection, as a separate, free, and independent people, to be governed in climate friendly to human life and happiness. That any place on the coast of Africa should answer the latter purpose, I have ever deemed entirely impossible."

He thought St. Domingo a suitable place for colonizing the negroes, and was in favor of appropriating public funds to defray the expense of transporting them. His plan contemplated the emancipation of all children born after a specified date; and, after they should come to the age of majority, they were to be sent to the proposed colony.

I have alluded to the fact that Republican members of each House of Congress have presented propositions for the consideration of that body, similar to this of Mr. Jefferson, but falling short of it in magnitude. They have only proposed the colonization of the free people of color in some tropical region, at the expense of the Government, including with them such of the slaves as may be emancipated by the States. The plans are, however, identical in spirit; and the modern Republican scheme is modelled after that of Jefferson.

I have thus shown the identity of the principles of Mr. Jefferson with those of the Republican party of the present day, as it regards Slavery. Can it be necessary to show that those principles are not in harmony with the "Democratic creed of the present day? Does that party endorse the Jefferson policy of emancipation and deportation of the slaves? Does it tolerate the idea of applying the Jefferson Anti-Slavery Proviso to the Territories? These questions need no answer. The child of ten years old can tell you that if the Democratic party is distinguished for one quality above all others, it is for its unswerving and unanimous reputation of the cherished principles of Mr. Jefferson. Its great strength and reliance is those States in which Slavery is most prevalent, and which are most anxious for the extension of the system. It would be like carrying coals to Newcastle to produce evidence of the total abandonment of the Democratic party of the principles of Jefferson.

The more candid champions of Slavery, such as Mr. Hammond of South Carolina and the Charleston Mercury, do not attempt to the authority of Jefferson, as well as that of Washington. But the party still claims him as its founder, and Democrats still claim to be such him as he was, as I have here exhibited him; they must take him with his life-long hostility to Slavery, with his plans of emancipation, his denunciations of Slavery, his Anti-Slavery ordinance, which has added five free States to the Union. They must take him as he is, or surrender him to the Republicans.

But are there no other great fundamental principles of Jefferson, to which the so-called Democratic party still clings? Let us see. There is the doctrine of State rights. This principle is multiform in its applications. Jefferson and his party employed it to resist the alien and sedition laws. Virginia and South Carolina revived it for the purpose of resisting what they denounced as an odious and unconstitutional tariff duties, designed not for revenue, but for the protection of manufacturers, at the expense of the consumers. Wisconsin, Vermont, and Massachusetts, are applying it to the enforcement of the fugitive slave law, which they insist, and which Mr. Webster, Mr. Rhett of South Carolina, and the Charleston Mercury, declared to be, in their judgments, unwarranted by the Constitution. I shall not stop to defend or to criticise any of these applications of the principles of State Rights. My object is to show what those principles are.

The doctrine, as defined by Mr. Jefferson, can be briefly stated thus, viz: the States having reserved to themselves all powers not specifically granted to the Federal Government, by the Constitution being a compact among the States, the right to judge of its infringement belongs to the States themselves. If the sole power of determining constitutional questions is surrendered to the Federal Government, or to any one of its departments, the effect is to surrender all independence on the part of the States, and they are forever bound hand and foot by the decisions of the Supreme Federal tribunal. The Federal Government is itself the creature of the States, and if the Supreme Court is the creature of the Federal Government; hence, to make the Supreme Court the final tribunal in constitutional questions, is to subordinate the creators to their creature's creature. So reasoned Jefferson and John Taylor of Caroline, and so believed the Republican party of their day.

In order that I may place this matter clearly before you, I will read to you extracts from Mr. Jefferson's Kentucky, and then I propose to contrast with them the more recent teachings of the so-called Democratic party.

In the 9th volume of Mr. Jefferson's Works, at page 464, I find the following, from which the compiler of his Works thinks were the original of the famous Kentucky resolutions of 1798. The resolutions adopted the state of Virginia, which you have heard so much, were from the pen of Mr. Madison; and they are substantially the same as those written by Mr. Jefferson for Kentucky. The first of these is as follows:

"1. *Resolved*, That the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their General Government, but that by a compact, under the style and title of a Constitution for the United States, and of amendments thereto, they constituted a General Government for special purposes—delegated to that Government certain definite powers, reserving each State to itself, the residuary mass of right to their own self-government; and that whenever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that the government created by this compact was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself, since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among powers having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the measure and mode of redress."

Such is the doctrine of Mr. Jefferson's general view of the relations of the States to the Federal Government. I will next read from his letters, to show what he thought of the Supreme Court, and the Democratic party of his day, which have apotheosized since its determination of the Dred Scott case.

In a letter to W. H. Torrance, dated Monticello, June 11, 1815, Mr. Jefferson:

"The second question, whether the judges are invested with exclusive authority to decide the constitutionality of a law, has been heretofore a subject of consideration with me in the exercise of official duties. Certainly there is no ground for such a pretension in those which relate to the executive, in which he has a right that power to them, more than to the Executive or Legislative branches. Questions of property, of character, and of crime, being ascribed to judges through a long course of years, and a long procedure, laws involving such questions belong, of course, to them; and as they decide on them ultimately, and without appeal, they of course decide for *themselves*. The constitutional validity of the law or laws again prescribing Executive action, and to be administered by judges in their judicial office, has been urged, the Executive must decide *for themselves* also, whether under the Constitution they are valid or not. And if they are not called upon in the proceedings of the Legislature, that body must judge *for itself* the constitutionality of the law, and equally without appeal or control from its decision. And, in point of fact, this is the branch which is to act ultimately, and without appeal, on any law, is the rightful exposition of the Constitution. The Legislature