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THE NATIONAL ERA.

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

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

WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.

"WHAT AILETH THEE, HAGAR?"

BY MARY IRVING.

Round me rolled the pathless desert, piled in billows
blank and high—
Save a single stunted palm-tree, where I laid my boy to
die!
When a Voice, that stilled my pulses, spoke from out the
scorching sky,
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Roaming o'er the rocks and thickets, with my bleeding,
fainting feet,
I had reached the line of darkness, where despair and
death meet;
Where the Foe of all but anguish is the only friend to
greet!
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

I had borne the wrong of woman—I had borne her grief
and scorn!
But the name a maddening sorrow woman was not
made to bear!
And I scorned to sue for pity even to Sarah's God in
prayer!
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Drop by drop my life was ebbing to that poisoned, rankling dart;
And a green and fruitful garden, watered well in every
part,
Was the desert all around me—to the desert *of my heart!*
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Was it nothing thus to perish, outcast from the tents of
men—
Covering up the quivering face I could not look upon
again!
Was the Mighty One in mockery calling to my madness
then,
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

"Rise! thou faithless and despairing! daughter of the
desert, rise!
Bowed in want, and wo, and weakness—mighty in thy
Maker's eyes!
Exile from the tent's poor shelter—underneath Jehovah's
skies!
What aileth thee, Hagar?

"Wipe the tears of woman's faltering! I have heard thy
falting boy!
Take him back from Death's dim portal, far from insult
and annoy,
With thee in the wilds untrodden! heir of freedom, hope,
and joy!
What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Then a vision flashed before me, sweeping countless centuries o'er;
And I saw the son of Sarah—outcast, mocked from shore
to shore—
Wandering even as I had wandered in the wilderness
before!
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

But the desert round me budded; fountains leaped in
groves of bloom,
And the melting air grew heavy with the rich burden of
perfume,
Where my Ishmael stood triumphant in his never-conquered
home!
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Clasped I then my only darling—bore him where the rock
was riven—
Watched his pale lips wake in smiling to the better life
new given!
Knelt, and cried with tears of praising, "While thou hast
a God in heaven,
What aileth thee, Hagar?"

Anger of the Nations! fainting in a desert doubly dry!
Wailing o'er the well-beloved, stricken from thine arms
to die!
Rise! The God of Abraham's servant lives, and waits
the hour to cry,
"What aileth thee, Hagar?"

For the National Era.

MIRTH AND MELANCHOLY.

BY MARY IRVING.

CHAPTER IV.

The Anodyne to Mirth.

"For lot is on you—bitter tears to weep,
And patient smiles to wear through suffering's hour;
And wearilness neither from affection's deep,
To pour on broken reeds—a wasted shower!
Mock-joy to bear scorn—or sneer—or pity!
And oft! to live through all things—therefore—pray!"
Mrs. Hemans.

Two weeks had passed. It was Saturday afternoon—and Esq. Hope was just rising from his hasty-swallowed dinner, to prepare for his usual weekly up-river trip, now doubly important. A ring at the door—and a card, whereon Kitty proved to read the finely-pencilled name, "Mrs. Grey."

"What—who is it?" questioned her brother-in-law. A word would have choked her; she passed the card to him in silence.

"Who in the world is this?" was his sharply-uttered comment.

"Probably the lady can answer for herself," said Kitty, with a violent effort, leading the way to the parlor as she spoke.

A well-built form, with mild travelling dress, of whose dusty, disordered folds, she seemed to take little heed, was pacing the rich carpet with quick though noiseless steps. As she turned, flinging back bonnet as well as veil, in her impatience, Kitty started, in spite of her firm grasp upon her own heart.

It was a young, graceful, soul-lighted face, that looked into hers—one that told at a glance, of a heart well nursed in sorrow and privation, beyond the common lot of woman. Kitty, half shrinking from having the lightest wind in its own behalf, would dare storm and flood without flinching, to save or to serve the beloved.

Kitty stood calmly, though she felt her blood freezing at the sudden sight of her.

"Pardon me, dear lady, and you, good sir, if I use very little ceremony," said the stranger, in a sweet, and, musical tone, slightly foreign in its accent. She passed her small hand over her snowy forehead, as she lifted it of the tangled, wavy locks that floated about it.

"Have I been told rightly," she went on, "that one Mr. Hamilton Grey is with you here, sick, very sick?" and the voice trembled.

"I do have; that is he with my family on the river. But how—may I ask—?" and Esq. Hope hesitated.

"I know!" she replied, with an earnest, deprecating glance, as if to answer his implied question, "I know it did not suit you, that I, his father was away, and how *could* I stay at home, when it was my right as well as my duty to come and nurse him? Oh, please tell me where he is! I am his wife," she exclaimed, with suddenly renewed eagerness.

"Have I—is it possible—the pleasure of addressing the *wife* of Hamilton Grey?" inquired Esq. Hope, with an accent almost severe in its reproach.

"Yes, sir, I am Mrs. Grey," she answered; while large tears, which had gathered in her pleading eyes, dropped down her colorless cheeks; for colorless they were, though the brunette face was faultless in its clearness and contour.

"His father will be here soon," she went on to say, after apparently swallowing some strong impulse to a sob. "I sent a servant to him, who will be there, if he left home, to bring him. But I could not wait; I must not, now. Will you not take me at once to poor Hamilton?"

"Certainly, madam! I am on the way thither, myself; and, by the way," exclaimed he, glancing at his watch, "we must lose no time in reaching the wharf! Kitty, child, ring for the carriage this very moment!"

Kitty moved like a machine to do his bidding. The world seemed, to her, to have turned a cycle of ages since the last hour struck. Bewildred, shocked, heart-stricken, she stood like a breathing statue, long after the two had vanished out of sight. She raised her eyelids at last, with a painful consciousness, staggered, and, dropping upon an ottoman close by, pressed her dizzy forehead against the cold, hard, oaken frame of a chair. One heave of the chest told of reviving animation, and then—"Who is there in all the world *to trust?*" burst from her white lips. "Whom have I in heaven but Thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside Thee!"

Was it angel that passed by, that breathed these words into the very heart of the crushed, bending girl. Never before had the comfort which the world neither gives nor takes, away flashed upon the mind, so joyous hitherto, so lightly clouded. It was her first, full draught of the bitterness of life's cup.

The tide of her thoughts dashed with a sudden revulsion back upon her own spirit. "Whom *have* I in heaven?" she moaned. "*What* right to *that* comfort, *that* Friend? Oh, Father! forgive and pity!"

That night, and many nights, Kitty Clayborne "commoned with her own spirit, and was still." Peace, even happiness, was stamped on her face; but oh, so *changed* a happiness! The gaiety, the effervescence, was gone, for the time, from lip and eye; but its place was filled by a nameless something, a new feature of the soul, remoulding all the outward features. Something it was that spoke the promise of

"A perfect woman nobly planned—
A spirit, breathing thoughtful breath."

So Laura thought, when, after a month's separation, she met her at the gate of the river-side cottage. Mrs. Grey, whose devotion to the patient had been unremitting, had entreated that Kitty should be called from the city. "Hamilton asks after her *so* much," she had urged; "and who knows what good it may do him?" So a brief note from Laura had summoned her.

"Is he better, sister?" she asked, calmly drawing aside her travelling veil, to return her sister's warm kiss.

Mrs. Hope slowly shook her head; and Kitty let her veil as slowly drop its shadow again over her face.

"Not yet, poor young man! but the crisis is yet to come, and Dr. C. still says 'hope!' Oriana's untiring attendance and skilful nursing might almost raise the dead. She has scarcely drawn breath outside of that sick room."

"Oriana!" repeated Kitty, as if thinking aloud.

"You know—Mrs. Grey. By the way, it is curious. But stop, here she comes."

Oriana glided forward with the same pleading earnestness in her face that had first struck Kitty's heart so harsh a blow, and laid both hands on her arms, as she said, simply,

"I am *so* glad you are come! Will you go *now* to Hamilton?"

Kitty's eyelids drooped for one instant. The next moment she raised them, with a clear, unselfish, sympathizing glance into those of the young wife.

"I will," she replied, and followed her. Oriana stopped on the threshold, and gazed again into her face, with an artless curiosity in her eyes, from which the other shrank.

"It was good of you to come, bless you for it!" said she. "I know *he* loves you, Miss Clayborne, for he speaks no other name beside his mother's and his young, and *mine* some times. Ah! I have done him a wrong that I would give my life to undo! and now, if I can only save him! Help me!"

With her assumed calmness strongly shaken, Kitty could not but shudder at the second pleading, low of the fever-spent sufferer. But all thought of herself was soon lost, in looking upon the change that so few weeks had wrought. She shuddered at the sight of the pale, sunken forehead, where Death's seal seemed too surely set.

"Lay your hand upon his head, dear," whispered Oriana; and Kitty, as she did so, drew back into the shadow of the bed-curtains.

As her light touch fell on his brow, he unclosed his eyes, unusually bright, and fixed them on the large, patient eyes of his weary, loving nurse.

"Where did you get *her* look?" he asked, hastily. "*Her* eyes froze in the grave, long ago! But their light burns as brightly! Oh, yes! and down it floats through the arches of the universe, deep into the heart of the evening star. I know it! and oh! if it would only flow into my heart! But I *never* will forget!"

"It is of his mother, Aline," whispered Oriana.

"*Mother?* who calls *her* mother?" he exclaimed, in a tone of withering contempt. "Oriana! shame on the traitor's heart! Aye, though I scorn myself, I will curse!—

"Hamilton, Kitty has come," here hastily interrupted Mrs. Grey, leaning forward to draw her within his range of vision.

"Kitty?"

He gazed with a bewildered look into the quivering face, and his voice softened.

"Ah!" he breathed mournfully, "the earth holds two worlds—one for the wretched, one for the happy—yes, yes! Mother! ask God to bless her! I have no right to pray for her."

The despairing pathos of those last words was more than the poor girl's heart could bear. She sprung from the bedside, pale and trembling; and reaching the outer door, supported herself by its panels, while she struggled to regain her breath. Fortunately, it was several minutes before Laura came to seek her.

"You are tired, Kitty, I know," said the sister, kindly; "you have not rested. Go up into your room and lie down awhile. Mrs. Grey has occupied it, but there is no danger of her interrupting you. I must attend to matters below."

It might have been an hour that had passed, when Kitty's chamber door was softly opened, and the watcher, with upraised hands, and a whole soul of joy glowing in her face, exclaimed:

"God bless you! Oh, thanks! *he sleeps* at last!"

"Thank God, indeed!" breathed Kitty, with strange calmness, though with a sickening thrill at her heart.

Mrs. Hope's eyes, like one spent beyond endurance, had dropped upon the couch, and was sobbing convulsively as a grieved child. Kitty arose, and, seating herself at her side, tenderly and silently soothed her; pressing her icy fingers on her throbbing temples, and gently untwining the dark tangled masses of her hair. As she did so, she noticed, with wonder, a few silver threads spangling the brown bands.

"She must have *suffered* much," thought Kitty; and the tender pleading heart yearned over the pale, devoted watcher, with an intense longing to comfort her.

A tap at the door interrupted both.

"Please, ma'am, Mr. Grey has just arrived, and asks for you."

"*My husband!*" exclaimed Oriana, bounding from the bed, through the open doorway and down the stairs, before her startled companion could collect her senses.

In the hall stood a young man, past middle age, with a slightly bowed figure, and singularly mild, melancholy countenance, in whose lineaments other eyes than Kitty's might have read him to be the father of his name-child, Hamilton Grey.

"Oh, I am glad you did not come before!" and dropping into the gentleman's arms, Oriana sobbed upon his shoulder.

"Hamilton?" asked the father, in a stifled tone, vibrating between hope and fear.

"Thank our God! the crisis has passed!"

He did not answer; but a big tear dropped upon Oriana's bending head, as the father's heart sunk up in silent gratitude.

"My poor, pale little Oriana," he said at last, untwining her arms, and gazing into her thin face as a gardener might look on a drooping bud, "you have worn yourself out completely, in nursing my boy. You must rest your reward," he added, fervently.

"I shall, oh, I shall, *sometime*, God willing!" said she, warmly.

"I have found the last link in *our chain*, Oriana!" said he, bending lower, and speaking emphatically.

"I knew you would! Oh, I am glad, for *his* sake! But, before God, and you, it makes no difference, nor ever did!"

But Kitty heard no more. She had unconsciously crushed the choicest blossom of the lilly in her convulsive grasp, as that word was spoken. And now she darted away, breathless, faint, bewildered—heedless whither she was going, until she found herself at the door of Laura's room. It was empty; and falling on her knees, she buried her face, while her heart overflowed in a gush of the gladdest tears that ever welled from a maiden's eyes.

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"Why, how is it?" cried Mrs. Hope; "what made you tell us—that is, how could we have understood you to be *Hamilton's* wife?"

The young wife's face was a study for a moment, but suddenly cleared, with a bright smile.

"I see! I see it all now! Esq. Hope asked me that question. But his father's name is Hamilton, too; and I was never thinking that you, knowing all the circumstances of his estrangement from home, could mistake me for his wife. His wife, indeed!" she repeated, turning her beaming eyes suddenly. "Where's your sister?"

"Kitty? She was here a moment ago. I will call her."

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It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Human and Free Labor, and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; that the Whig and Democratic Parties, not having been formed with a view to the issues raised by the Slave Interest, but being held in thrall by it, so far from presenting any resistance to its exactions, afford facilities for enforcing them; and that one or both must be broken up, and the true friends of Liberty be united, without regard to old issues or prejudices, on a Party of Freedom, as a necessary preliminary to the overthrow of the Slave Power. It, therefore, gives its earnest support to the Republican Movement, so far as its policy and yet it has developed—a movement which promises to effect such a union.

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☞ Money may be forwarded, by mail, at *my risk.* Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit, to

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

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

NEVER GIVE UP!

Since we suspended this paper, last year, we have had several calls for it, and for such documents as it would have contained. We have therefore concluded to resume its publication, changing its form to royal octavo, the size and form of Congressional documents, so that it may be bound into a neat, convenient volume.

The last volume was devoted chiefly to a compilation of old Southern documents on the question of Slavery, more useful for reference, than for general reading. The plan for the new volume will be modified, so as to embrace matter, specially adapted to the present condition of our cause, and yet worthy of preservation.

The Anti-Slavery Movement will be its leading idea.

Such a publication, cheap, convenient, and suitable for extensive circulation and distribution, is particularly needed at the present time, when old party organizations are shattered, and when the Anti-Slavery Sentiment, although pervading the public mind, needs a well-defined, general organization, and a clear, rational method, to secure it due weight at the ballot-box and in legislation. To quicken this Sentiment, and to aid in giving it a form and method adapted to the exigency, will be the two-fold object of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

"FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE" will be issued the first week of every month, in royal octavo form, 16 pages, composed chiefly of such papers from the *National Era* as shall be peculiarly suitable for general distribution. It will be sent only in clubs, at the following rates per annum, twelve numbers constituting a volume:

Six copies to one address -	$1.00
Fourteen copies to one address -	2.00
Fifty copies to one address -	6.00

The postage is a trifle—only half a cent a number, or six cents a year, paid in advance *at the office where the paper is received.*

Any person or club, by raising $6, may in this way furnish monthly Anti-Slavery reading for a whole year, to half a hundred persons; and is not this the very time to indoctrinate the masses, who have been cut loose from old organizations, with Anti-Slavery principles? Every individual has his field of labor. A good plan would be for a few persons, earnest in the cause, to unite, agree upon an efficient plan for supplying their district, or county, and then send in their orders accordingly.

What say our friends? Will they take hold of the project, and make it go? Can they think of any cheaper, easier, and more effective plan of operations just now?

As we intend to begin the 1st day of May next, so that there will be but one month for canvassing, we trust all interested in the matter will see the necessity of prompt action.

IMPORTING VEGETABLES.—It is not a great many years since Connecticut used to supply the West India Islands with onions and other kinds of vegetables; but now the tide has turned, and a stream of vegetables is pouring in upon us from the West Indies and all other parts of the world. We are certainly getting to be great eaters. With the finest soil and the best climate in the world for all kinds of vegetable productions, we are importing from foreign countries the articles that ought to be produced in our own gardens: Bermuda supplies us with early potatoes and tomatoes; and it seems that the British Provinces at the East of us are supplying us with eggs, which are now imported duty free under the Reciprocity treaty. Twelve hundred dozen of Nova Scotia eggs were entered at the Custom-House in Boston on one day this week. We import enormous quantities of dried prunes from France, a kind of fruit that grows abundantly in all our Eastern and Middle States; we import figs from Smyrna, which might as well be grown in North Carolina; grapes from Spain, which can be raised in Virginia; nuts from Madeira, which may be raised in New York; and olives, which might be produced in abundance in nearly all of the Southern States. As for eggs, the value of which is so much greater when they can be warranted fresh, we should hardly think that it could be profitable to import them from abroad. Peaches we are able to raise in as great quantities as we can consume; but we shall not be surprised next to hear of a cargo of this delicious fruit being imported from some neighboring country. Potatoes are brought to us from France, Germany, and England, and a cargo of turnips was lately brought to us from Scotland. It is about time that we began to develop our agricultural resources.—*N. Y. Times.*

The New York *Courier* says a physician in large practice was asked by a stranger if New York was healthy at the present time. He replied: "Unusually so; the extravagant cost of provisions has checked the disposition for overfeeding, from which ordinarily we derive most of our practice."

TO ADVERTISERS.

H. P. WHITNEY is our authorized canvassing agent for New York city and vicinity, and will receive and forward advertisements for the *Era* at our lowest rates.

Advertisements can be left at his office, No. 82 Nassau street.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1855.

☞ We are grateful to our friends for bearing in mind the circular addressed to them some time since. Unfortunately, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the States which deserved us most extensively, are yet backward. Still, judging from our correspondence, reaction, in most quarters, has commenced.

JUNE NUMBER OF FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

The second number of *Facts for the People* will be mailed to subscribers this week. Its contents are as follows:

The Signs of the Times—The Duty.
Nationality—Conservatism—Ignoring the Slavery Question.
The Past—The Present—The Future—Reorganization of the Independent Democracy.
State Sovereignty and Personal Rights.
Kansas—Nullification, Civil War.
The Petty Tyranny of the Slave Power.

Let orders be sent in promptly. The edition of the first number is large enough to secure complete files to all who wish them.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT—THE PROGRESS OF OPINION.

"The *National Era* of this week has a long and elaborate article on the present state of parties, in which it reproves the *Evening Post* for having spoken kindly of the position which General Houston assumed in his letter to the question of Slavery, and construes what we said into a declaration in his favor as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States in the next election."—*New York Evening Post.*

We are not aware that we *reproved* the *Post* in the article alluded to: this was not our purpose. As one public journalist, differing from another on what seemed an important question, we frankly expressed our dissent, without intending to censure anybody.

The *Post* expresses surprise that we should interpret its articles on General Houston, as recommending him for the Presidency, or implying a purpose to sustain him for that office. "What is praiseworthy in his political course," it says, "what is liberal in his political sentiments, we hope we may see and commend, without being suspected of a desire to make him President." In all that the *Post* says of the propriety of discriminative praise and censure, of commending in public men what is commendable, and condemning what is blameworthy, without regard to section or party, we most cordially concur; and we accept the *Post's* disclaimer of an intention to bring forth or recommend General Houston as a fit candidate for the Presidency. But, we must be pardoned, if, like many others, we were led astray by the language of that paper. "*It is hard,*" said the *Post*, last March; "*to name another who has not so thoroughly identified himself with one party or the other, in the late Slavery controversies, as to have parted with the advantage which, in the present state of the country, belongs only to a neutral;* to one who can do what the people wish done upon that or any other subject, not only without reluctance, but cheerfully, and with a conviction that it is best. General Houston, we believe, has left the impression upon the country *that he occupies such a neutral position*, and that he has no political partialities or prejudices which he could not cheerfully subordinate to the wishes of the country." Having thus singled out the General as occupying almost alone this advantageous position of neutrality, it added: "*the North will require nothing more of a future candidate, as regards the Slavery question, for the Presidency, than this attitude of neutrality; it will never again be content with less.*"

This seemed to us equivalent to saying that he was about the only one who could be supported for the Presidency—certainly, that his position would be satisfactory to the North.

Some time subsequently, recurring to the subject, the same idea was presented in an editorial, alluding to the General as a candidate for the Presidency, and specifying his peculiar advantages:

"But the chief recommendation of the General, in our view, is his *announcement of a common-sense policy on the Slavery question—a policy which is truly National—and the only one on which the people of this country, North and South, can permanently unite—the policy of toleration. No man is more exempt from Abolition affinities than he; no man better represents the average Southern conceptions of the rightfulness of Slavery, as was shown in his late discourse in Boston.* Nor is he under the necessity of clearing up his position to satisfy either section. All the concession that he has made to the North, if concession it may be called, is, that under his Administration the Executive Department shall not be diverted from its legitimate business, to serve the propagandists of Slavery. A more striking illustration of the liberality of the North, considering the aggressions which they have suffered, could not be produced, than the fact that they are content with an implied assurance of this kind."

If, in construing such remarks, repeated so emphatically, into a declaration in favor of General Houston as a candidate for the Presidency, the only candidate in whom North and South could unite, we erred, the editors of the *Post*, on re-examining their language, will, we are sure, think the error quite natural.

But, to leave this point, we have a word or two to say on "organization." Our friends of the *Post* remark:

"Of political organizations we make far less account than the *National Era*. We regard them as springing naturally from the state of public sentiment; our duty is to aid in forming that sentiment rightly, assured that when once a strong conviction of the truth has taken possession of the minds of the people, they will in some way express it in the elections."

We presume there is no difference of opinion between us as to the power of "Organization." Mayors, Members of Congress, Presidents, are elected by *organization*. It is an instrument social beings cannot dispense with. Under a system of free thought and free suffrage, great questions will give rise to differences of opinion, and opinion, to be effective in legislation or administration, must operate through organization. Practical men, who have opinions which they deem of paramount importance, will hardly content themselves with talking them, while they leave others to form or strengthen organizations against them. Theorists, 'dilettanti declaimers, crying out, "Great is Truth, and it shall prevail," will confine themselves to talk, glad to shun the responsibilities of action. But the editors of the *Post* believe in the application of theory to practice. Abstractions need organization to give them body and life. What would Democratic ideas of finance and trade have been worth, if not embodied in legislation and administration—and how could they have been so embodied, unless through the machinery of organization?

The *Post* was a stanch supporter of the Democratic party, when it fairly and honestly represented the questions it held to be of paramount consideration. Those questions have been for the most part settled—at all events, superseded by the great issues of the Slavery Question. Is this Question to be settled by accident? Is there a Right, is there a Wrong, involved in it? Is there not a true, is there not a false, way of dealing with it? Are we to satisfy ourselves with theorizing, with promulgating what we regard as Truth and Right, while we abstain from all attempts to give them practical power through organization—in full view, too, of the fact, that Falsehood and Wrong are already embodied and organized against us? The walls of Jericho fell before the blowing of rams' horns, but Jericho is without a parallel. Sound in these days may herald, but not achieve, a revolution. If we cannot infuse right ideas on the Slavery Question into existing organizations, we must form a new one before we can inaugurate them in power. Patient waiting on Providence may be pious, but not always profitable. God helps those who help themselves. Drifting with the current of events is an easy operation, but in the long run not a safe one: there may be breakers ahead.

Surely, the *Post* will not assume that Public Sentiment is never misrepresented by Organizations—that they may not succeed in suppressing "a strong conviction" of the People. Did those which controlled the Baltimore Conventions of 1852, fully represent the "state of public sentiment," or "the strong conviction" of a majority of the Northern Whigs and Democrats, in relation to the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Acts? Does the Know Nothing Organization, or the Democratic Party, as it now exists, represent the deep feeling of the People aroused against Slavery by the Nebraska outrage? The *Post* and the *Era* both believe that the great majority of the People of the Free States attach more importance to the Slavery Question, than any other. How happens it that there is no general organization to give expression to this pervading sentiment? Because papers and public men, that sympathize with the People in this conviction, content themselves with blowing rams' horns; with discussions and objurgations, thorough and eloquent to be sure, but still, only atmospheric vibrations. They will not take the lead in proposing a well-defined, wise, powerful organization, through which Popular Sentiment may be felt as a substance. While they are talking and writing, the working politicians, who cling to the Administration Democracy, or seek power through Know Nothingism, are laboring to perfect Organizations which shall thrust aside the Slavery Issue, and shut out the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the Masses from all access to the Federal Councils. These men act, those talk: one class diverts Public Sentiment into a false channel; the other drifts with the sentiment thus diverted. "For our own part," says the *Post*, "we prefer to drift along the stream of events, intent rather on co-operating to form a sound public opinion," &c. And was it not precisely this drifting "on the stream of events" that bore the *Post* in 1852 into the support of Gen. Pierce, to whom we owe *the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the civil war in Kansas?*

"The *National Era*," say our friends, "is occupied with the project of reorganizing the Independent Democratic Party—a task which may impose upon it a narrower policy than we think proper to pursue." The *Post* sees as clearly as we do the drift of events—that the old elements of Compromise and Pro-Slavery Nationality are gradually becoming reorganized—that the Administration Democracy, and the Hunker portion of the Whig Party allied to the Nativists, under the form of Know Nothingism, will have their respective candidates in the field in 1856, representing the policy of Subservience to the Slave Power, and misrepresenting the North and West. It is content "to drift on this stream of events:" we are not, and as we can discover no indication of a purpose to counteract such combinations, we are driven to the project of reorganizing the Anti-Slavery voters, who have again and again offered open battle to the Slave Power. We do not intend to let the election go by default. We do not intend to suffer the Slave Interest to achieve an uncontested triumph. We do not intend that the Cause of Freedom and Free Labor shall be left without witnesses. We do not intend, on the plea of choosing between evils—of doing, in the circumstances, the best that can be done—to be drawn into the support of Parties seeking Federal Power by base concessions to a base Sectional Interest. This Question of Slavery, in its Federal relations, must be settled, before any other great Question can be wisely adjusted, before the country can have peace, order, and security against the hazards of civil war—therefore, every Party that aims at National Power by thrusting it aside, quibbling about it, ignoring it, or pandering to the Slavery Propaganda, should be denounced and renounced as unworthy the suffrages of a free People.

This may be "a narrow policy;" but had it been adopted by the voters of the free States in 1848, and steadily adhered to, Nullification and Rebellion, under the lead of a United States Senator, countenanced by a powerful member of the Cabinet, would not now be starring us in the face. It is not yet too late to adopt this "narrow policy." A well-devised political campaign may avert the hazards of civil war. The right use of the ballot-box for the correction of great evils, is the true way to prevent resort to the cartridge-box.

VIRGINIA ELECTION.

The Know Nothings are terribly disappointed at the result of the election in Virginia, having calculated on sweeping the State by immense majorities.

Mr. Wise, the Administration candidate for the Governorship, in 116 counties receives a majority of 8,400. Twenty-eight counties remain to be heard from, but the returns will not diminish his majority. At first, the canvass was full of encouragement to the Know Nothings, as many Democrats were acting with them, but more recently it assumed the appearance of a contest between Democrats and Whigs, the latter simply designating themselves by a new name.

Of the twelve Congressmen elect, eleven are Democrats. The intelligence from the 12th district is yet uncertain.

As to the State Legislature, so far, the Administration Party has gained 15 and lost 13.

It is too soon to reason at large upon the consequences of this election. That it will greatly facilitate the reorganization of the so-called Democracy, in both sections of the country, and that it will not check the efforts now on foot to nationalize the Know Nothings, and prepare them for a Presidential canvass, appears to us quite certain. Beyond this we do not "speculate."

HAVANA.—The Empire City arrived at New York on the 28th May, with Havana dates of the 23d.

The San Jacinto was to leave Havana on the 24th. The steamer Fulton and sloop-of-war Cyane were at that port.

General Concha has returned from his journey into the interior.

The prisoners who have been confined on the hulk, with some few exceptions, have received passports to proceed to Spain.

The yellow fever and small-pox are prevailing to a considerable extent.

The acting United States Consul has issued a circular, warning American sailors.

13TH OF JULY PEOPLE'S STATE CONVENTION.

To the Friends of Freedom in Ohio:

At a meeting of the Republican State Central Committee, appointed by the Anti-Nebraska Convention which assembled in Columbus on the 13th of July, 1854, it was resolved, in compliance with the public voice, that a Republican State Convention, to be composed of Delegates chosen by the Independent and Anti-Nebraska voters of Ohio, who participated in the glorious triumph of last year, and such others as may sympathize with them, be called to meet in the city of Columbus on Friday, the 13th of July, 1855, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the following offices, to wit: Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Auditor of State, Treasurer of State, Secretary of State, Attorney General, Member of the Board of Public Works, and two Judges of the Supreme Court.

In compliance with the usual rule of representation adopted in State Conventions, it was resolved that the ratio of representation in the Convention to assemble on the 13th of July next, should be one delegate for every five hundred votes cast in each county at the last election for Judge of the Supreme Court, and also one additional Delegate for every fractional vote so cast exceeding two hundred and fifty.

It is recommended by the Committee, that the Republican friends of Freedom in each county meet at the usual place of holding County Conventions, on Saturday, the 7th of July, for the purpose of choosing delegates, according to the above apportionment, to represent them in the State Convention to be held on the 13th.

When it is considered that, in addition to the officers for the Executive Departments of the State Government, there is to be chosen a General Assembly, upon which will devolve the duty of selecting a U. S. Senator, to fill the place of Hon. B. F. Wade, whose term expires in 1857, and before which will come many measures of reform in the domestic policy of our State, the importance of the approaching election will be comprehended by our anxious fellow-citizens.

If the outrage upon the rights of the Free States, by the repeal of the Missouri restriction, made it a duty last year to hurry all minor differences in a united effort to arrest the progress of the Slave Power, we think it should now be the duty become by the more recent exhibition of fraud and violence at the Kansas elections, and the denial of the rights of citizenship and the possession of property to free citizens of Missouri and Kansas? The day of "compromises" has gone by. We therefore appeal to our fellow-citizens to be active and vigilant. Send up a delegation to the 13th of July Convention like that which assembled last year, impressed with the magnitude of their mission, representing the dignity of the State and the will of their constituents, and assuredly success will again crown our united efforts.

A. P. STONE, *Chairman.*
L. G. VAN SLYKE, *Secretary.*

We publish, in full, the call for a State Convention in Ohio. The Committee, appointed by the Anti-Nebraska State Convention held last year, assumes the name, "*Republican*," and calls a "*Republican*" State Convention. The delegates are to be, the *Anti*-Nebraska voters who aided in revolutionizing the State last year, and "such others as may sympathize with them."

Political affairs in Ohio are in a confused condition. The Democratic party, notwithstanding the defeat it sustained last year, retained its machinery, and is now in the field, prepared for action. The Whig and Democratic parties, without formally disbanding, surrendered their organization, and united with such Democrats as would act with them, in a common movement against the Administration, on the single issue raised by the passage of the Nebraska bill. The State Convention that was held on the 13th of last July, simply gave expression to this issue, selected candidates to represent that movement, and appointed a Central Committee to call a similar Convention this year. This was the initiation, but not organization, of a new party. Since then, there has been no re-appearance, in a distinct form, of either Whigs or Independent Democrats. As a matter of fact, their respective organizations have ceased to exist, without being substituted by one clearly representing the common movement in which they engaged.

In this interregnum, as we may call it, the Know Nothing Order, reputed to be favorable to the Anti-Nebraska sentiment, availed itself of the absence of any competitor, and by its skilful machinery, obtained to a great extent the control of the opposition forces in the State. The majority of the Whigs united with it, and, at first, a large portion of the Independent Democrats, their press, either deceived or intimidated, maintaining a studied silence on the subject. At last, they discovered their error, and at present the great body of those who were Independent Democrats, together with their journals, with two or three exceptions, stand aloof from the Order, and opposed to it.

But the Whigs, to a great extent, we apprehend, adhere; and the Whig papers, all of whom, we believe, sympathize with it, claim that it is thoroughly Anti-Nebraska, and affords the most effective agency for carrying out the purposes of the People's movement, begun last year.

Now, as there is no such thing as a Republican, a Whig, or an Independent Democratic party, and as but two well-organized parties exist in the State, the *Pro-Nebraska Administration Democracy*, and the *Know Nothings*, professing Anti-Nebraska sentiments, it is easy to see what advantages the latter must have in the election of delegates to the Convention to be held on the 13th of July, the call being addressed to the Anti-Nebraska voters of last year, and such as may sympathize with them.

We suppose that they will elect a majority of the delegates, and the danger is that the Convention may be used chiefly to subserve the peculiar designs of the Secret Order. If, to make sure of the adhesion of the real independent Anti-Nebraska voters outside, they agree to nominate Mr. Chase for the Governorship, we may expect that they will take good care to place him on such a ticket, that, should success follow, it may be claimed and used as a Know Nothing triumph.

We know not what the People, who, in breaking loose from Whigery in an open form, did not dream of being hound again by Whigery and Nativism in a secret form, intend to do in the premises; but we do hope that there will be enough delegates in the Convention to relieve the Anti-Nebraska movement in Ohio of all responsibility for Know Nothingism, of any kind of subservience to its plans or purposes. Can they do this, but by introducing a test, which shall reveal the real purposes of the majority of the Convention—for example, a resolution, disapproving of all attempts to control the movements of the People through secret, oath-bound, political associations, and deprecating every effort to mix up the issues raised by the Slave Power, with any other question?

We neither dictate nor dogmatize; but, as an Anti-Slavery man, speaking freely to Anti-Slavery men, we have a right to express our views on subjects in which we have an equal interest. The nomination of Mr. Chase, an Anti-Know Nothing, on a ticket, embracing distinct representatives of the Know Nothing Order, by a Convention, a majority of whose delegates consists of Know Nothings, will not give to the movement, or ticket, its character or name. The ticket and movement will both bear the stamp of their parentage; the nomination of Mr. Chase will be regarded merely as a constrained concession to secure outsiders; the success of the movement will be hailed as a triumph of the so-called "American Party."

Soon or late, the Anti-Nebraska or Anti-Slavery movement must rid itself of the encumbrance of Know Nothingism, and stand or fall on its own merits. Why should not the line be drawn at the Ohio Convention of the 13th July? When will there be a more auspicious time? When will there be a better leader for a Popular Movement, on the naked Anti-Nebraska issue, without corrupt alliances, than Mr. Chase? Should the meeting of that Convention result in a Movement, so clear, so honest, so beneficent, our hopes of a Union of the People for Liberty, a Party of Freedom, in 1856, would revive. Ohio would lead the column.

With great pleasure do we now consult the columns of the *Ashtabula Sentinel*, of which JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS is corresponding editor. It gives forth no uncertain sound. It sees clearly and urges boldly what ought to be done. In its issue of May 17th, that veteran in the ranks of Freedom, in an able article on the subject of the Convention, thus explicitly defines his position. It will be seen that he speaks of the Republicans, as a Party; unfortunately, they have the name, without the organization. Let it be the business of the Convention to supply this want, so that under whatever name, (although we confess our strong preference for the older and more distinctive one,) they may henceforth be able to act in concert and with power:

"Now, our position is simply this: that we shall have a *Republican* Convention, a *Republican* nomination, without surrender, without compromise. Nor do we think such a policy either difficult or dangerous. Let the people in their primary meetings elect Republicans as delegates to the county conventions. They know who are Republicans and who are not; but if the Know Nothings should avail themselves of their superior organization, out-vote them, and elect members of the Order, let the Republicans organize by themselves, and send Republicans. Let the county conventions pursue the same policy. Let them exclude no man merely for the reason that he has been a Know Nothing, if he do not now adhere to the Order. In this way we shall have a Court of Columbus delegates who will constitute a Republican Convention. If the Know Nothings, however, have a majority in that now intended to be a Republican convention, let the Republicans withdraw, organize by themselves, and make a Republican nomination; send out an address to the people, stating the facts and causes which led to it, and such nominations will be sustained by as large a majority as they were in 1854.

"It is to be understood, we labor for permanent principles, not for the unworthy purpose of turning certain men out of office, or of putting certain men into office. Whenever the Republican party shall compromise its principles, shall bargain with 'Know Nothings' 'Sag Nichts,' 'Locofocos,' or any other party, its history will have been written; and it will take its place with the Whig and Democratic parties, beyond the reach of political resurrection.

"The men who led the Whig party to its grave, now seek to guide the Republican party in the same path. We therefore say, frankly, we can follow no such leaders. If they will stand by the principles on which we associated last year, when there was not a Know Nothing in the State, we shall gladly—aye, joyfully, faithfully, actively—stand with them. If they change, we go into a compromise, a political bargain with Know Nothings, we must separate.

"The times call for men of thought and influence to stand forth in plain, unmistakable language. Let every lover of Liberty speak frankly and boldly, and rally around him with firmness. We do not think, with some worthy friends, that if the Convention at Columbus should be ruled by Know Nothings, we ought to assume the name of 'Independent Democrats,' and run a third organization. We think it better to stand fast and immovable on our present position, holding our present name. The Republicans who came from the Whig and Democratic parties, the foreigners of our State, and the Republicans of other States, have claims upon us. They all demand that we shall remain firm in our present position.

"The nomination of any adhering Know Nothing by the State Convention will show that it is to be so far a Know Nothing Convention. When that shall be ascertained, whether before they go into a nomination or afterwards, let our friends withdraw, and give us Republican candidates, and the people will elect them.

"But this will be unnecessary, if those professing to the Republicans now speak out frankly. Instead of urging *union* and *harmony*, let us say, fearlessly, that we maintain our organization as it was constituted. We make no compromises. We will encourage no bargains with any other political organization. Above all, we say, let those presses who have been and now profess to be supporters of Liberty entertain no unworthy fears nor apprehensions. Let them be active and vigilant, bold and fearless, yet firm and confident. Their vigilance will increase as becomes intelligent, independent freemen. Let the friends of humanity in every town be active, firm, and uncompromising in the support of Republican delegates. Let the Convention be guided by the same principles, and our nominations will be satisfactory to at least three fourths of the electors of our State, and Ohio will stand where she ought to stand, in the vanguard of Freedom."

Let these views be carried out, and the work of organization for 1856 will have been commenced. The really "independent Anti-Nebraska voters," will no longer be left in the anomalous position they have held for the last year, constrained to choose between a Secret Order, whose principles and policy they condemn, and Pierce Democracy, or, to do nothing. They can there fight under their own standards, on their own principles, for their own candidates, consistently, manfully, successfully.

KANSAS.

There are reports that the Pro-Slavery party has carried all its candidates at the special election on the 22d inst., ordered by Governor Reeder. Very likely. We presume it was well attended to by Atchison & Co.

Streams of emigrants, it is said, continue to flow into the Territory, chiefly from the free States. Barbarians will scarcely be able to resist the advancing tide of Civilization.

The latest exploit of the barbarians is the lynching of Mr. Phillips, the law partner of McCrea. See particulars in another place.

We much mistake the quality of some of the energetic men settling in the Territory, if such outrages can be repeated long with impunity.

THE TOLERANCE OF SLAVERY.—Assuredly the most reasonable people in the world are the friends and champions of Slavery. Give them their own way in all things, permit them to cherish and diffuse Slavery, offer no resistance when they usurp all power and authority, crouch before them when they are disposed to bluster and bully, and they are as lenient masters over you as masters well can be. Witness, for instance, the following, which we find in the *National Intelligencer*, May 29th:

"*Order Partially Restored.*—All accounts concur, says the St. Louis *Intelligencer*, in announcing the complete triumph of common sense and law in Western Missouri and Kansas. The *Independent Democracy*, a conservative paper, noticing a Pro-Slavery meeting recently held at the court-house, says:

"'It was a very calm and orderly affair, and Capt. Gill's narration of the expedition against the Yankees which took Lawrence, City of its squatter's claim in Kansas Territory produced the greatest mirth in the large assembly. After this, a string of resolutions were introduced by a committee selected for that purpose, and all passed as a matter of course, no one either opposing or voting against them. We could not support that part of the resolutions which breathe a 'higher law' atmosphere, as our motto is, 'let the laws rule, and not men.'"

Mr. Wise would have addressed the people of Washington on Saturday evening last; but the throng of thousands who came forth was in part composed of liberal Know Nothings, who would not let him speak. This was scurvy and characteristic behaviour in them; but a man as imperious, intolerant, and offensively violent, as Mr. Wise, cannot justly complain of such treatment.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF KNOW NOTHINGS.

This Council, soon to meet in Philadelphia, will be composed of delegates from the several State Councils, each State, we believe, having an equal voice with every other. The fifteen Slave-State Councils will be represented by pro-slavery delegates—New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York, (with California, if represented at all,) by delegates subservient to Slavery. These alone, to say nothing of the doubtful delegation from Indiana, will give the Slavery faction an overwhelming majority, and it is highly probable that the delegates from Massachusetts and New Hampshire will find much backing anywhere.

No Presidential nomination, it is said, will be made; a Know Nothing paper in Tennessee announces that the National Nominating Convention will be held at Memphis, next spring. The prevailing impression is, that the June Convention will meet for the purpose of preparing the way for a successful nomination, by agreeing upon a common ground for National action. This ground we suppose to be, the policy of *ignoring the Question of Slavery.* The National Council that met in Cincinnati some months ago, resolved upon this, as we learn from the *American Organ*, but the presumption is, that it simply recommended its adoption by the State Councils, and that the National Council, about to be held, will assemble to ratify and settle it, as an essential part of the platform of the Party.

That the National Council at Cincinnati submitted the ignoring policy to the State Councils, with a view to obtain their assent to it, we infer further from the fact, that they have lately held simultaneous meetings, at which the question was under consideration, and that the resolutions of the New Hampshire Council, the only series published by authority, appear in the light of a response to a call made upon it. The closing resolve, for example, is as follows:

"*Resolved*, That any attempt to commit the American Party of New Hampshire to the advancement of the interest of Slavery, to ignore it as a political question, or to enjoin silence upon us in regard to its evils and encroachments, deserves and shall receive our earnest and unqualified disapprobation."

The June Convention will then agree upon the policy to be pursued by the National Know Nothing Party, and that policy will be, *to ignore the Question of Slavery.* All the delegates from the South, and many, if not a majority, from the Free States, are in favor of this disposition of the subject.

The question arises, what course will the Anti-Slavery delegates adopt in such an event? Will they tell us? Will they communicate to their friends their purpose? Have they any purpose at all? One year before the Whig National Convention was held in 1848, while the Nationals in both sections were preparing the way for the nomination of a non-committal candidate for the Presidency, and the adoption of the ignoring policy, we criticised the course of the Boston *Whig*, then the able exponent of the Anti-Slavery Whigs of Massachusetts, and desired to know what it intended to do, should such a policy and such a nomination be agreed to. It answered promptly and explicitly—

"Neither will we sustain any man or set of men who are not clearly, distinctly, and unequivocally, pledged to carry out the principle of the Wilmot Proviso, in all cases of territory acquired by the United States.

"If General Taylor be nominated the candidate of the Whig Party, at a Convention pledged to sustain the system here pointed out, (the stoppage of the war, the application of the Wilmot Proviso, and the discouragement of Slavery,) we shall be contented to give him what support we can. If not, Massachusetts Whigs, after passing the resolutions of the last session, cannot consistently do so."

The Convention did nominate General Taylor—did *not* "pledge itself to sustain the system here pointed out"—on the contrary, it *ignored* the whole question of Slavery—and the Boston *Whig*, with Palfrey, Adams, Allen, Wilson, and Phillips, true to their previous avowals, would not sustain General Taylor, or the Whigs who supported him, but co-operated in the formation of the Free Democratic Party.

Political transactions were then carried on *openly*—honest men *openly* avowed their purposes—the *Convention* was *open*—integrity and self-respect were braced up by *public responsibility.* The People knew *what*, men were *pledged* to maintain, and they could *see* how far the pledges were executed. There was no chance for double-dealing, compromise, evasion, or deceptive reports.

We are sure General Wilson will agree with us, in deploring the secrecy which veils the proceedings and purposes of the State Council of his Order in Massachusetts, and the secrecy that will give impunity, in the National Council about to meet, to bad faith, disloyalty, treachery, compromise, tergiversation. He, as an honest man, would like to be able to announce to his friends, on the demand he is authorized to make on the Convention, the course of action he intends to pursue, should it be rejected, and he would like to have the consistency of his conduct subjected to public scrutiny. He, as an experienced man, understands well, how the half-hearted, the time-serving, the disloyal, who can hardly be held to their duty, even under the eye of their constituents, will rejoice in the darkness that shall relieve them of an irksome accountability.

We again ask—for we are anxious that those of our friends, who seem disposed to confide implicitly in Know Nothing professions, may have their attention drawn to the inquiry—to what are the Councils in New Hampshire and Massachusetts *committed?* They have adopted Anti-Slavery resolves, it is said. Aye, but those resolves, as published, do *not pledge them against association or action with a National Know Nothing Party, ignoring the question of Slavery.* Mark that! Examine the Massachusetts resolves:

"*Resolved*, That while the American party of Massachusetts fully recognizes the right of the States to regulate their own domestic affairs, we claim, and shall under all circumstances exercise, the right to relieve the Federal Government from all connection with, and responsibility for, the existence of the sectional institution of Slavery.

"*Resolved*, That we discountenance all attempts to stifle the freedom of discussion and the freedom of action upon all the great moral questions of the age, and will resist any attempt to exclude from our ranks any person, on account of his opinions upon such questions."

The American Party of Massachusetts recognizes the right of the States to regulate their own institutions—all right, but perfectly consistent with the ignoring policy. It claims the right, and will exercise it, to seek to relieve the Federal Government of all connection with, and responsibility for, the existence of Slavery—all right, but still perfectly consistent with acquiescence in the ignoring policy, as proposed *by the National Organization;* for the resolve is a declaration by the American Party in Massachusetts, on *its own behalf*, and contains no implication that identity of views on this point is demanded as a *condition to co-operation* with the "American Party" of any other State, or the National "American Party." The same remark applies to the second resolution, which merely affirms the doctrine of toleration. The Massachusetts Know Nothings discountenance all attempts to stifle free discussion and free action on any great moral question of the age, and will resist all attempts to exclude any person from their ranks, "on account of his opinions upon such questions"—be they Pro-Slavery or Anti-Slavery.

What has this to do with the policy proposed to be adopted by the National Council as the basis of a National Party—the policy of ignoring in National Conventions, in the National creed, in the National nominations, and all National Administrations, the Question of Slavery? Should this be agreed upon by the National Council, will the New Hampshire and Massachusetts State Councils continue to act or in any way affiliate with the Order? Have their delegates instructions to withdraw in such an event? Have they instructions to insist upon the recognition of a single Anti-Slavery principle or sentiment? Have they instructions to declare, that no Presidential candidate shall receive the support of those for whom they act, who is not pledged against the extension of Slavery, or even the admission of any slave States formed out of the Territory north of 36° 30'?

Can any one answer? All is in the dark. The National Council may meet—may agree that it is best to say and do nothing about the Question of Slavery, *pro* or *con.*, the party not being instituted for the purpose of settling it—may prepare the way for the nomination of a Presidential candidate, non-committal like that policy—and yet there may be no division, no schism; the Party in the different States may go on, taking the hue in its State action of the prevailing opinion of the State, deceiving the People, neutralizing the Anti-Slavery sentiment, keeping up the division among Anti-Slavery men, until at last its organized weight be thrown in favor of a Houston or a Fillmore for the Presidency.

We have been charged with captiousness—with an indisposition to do full justice to Anti-Slavery Know Nothings. We are concerned, not captious. We have done full justice to Anti-Slavery Know Nothings—but we have ceased to take any man on trust. When Anti-Slavery Know Nothings will tell us explicitly what they demand, as an indispensable condition to their co-operation nationally with their Order, and what they intend to do, if the demand be not complied with, we shall have the means for forming a fair judgment of their position on the Slavery Question. When the National Council shall have acted, if they will state frankly and fully the manner in which their demand was met, the world will be prepared to judge whether the course they may have decided upon be in accordance with their previous declarations. No man, whatever his antecedents, has a right, on entering into a Secret Association, under extra-judicial oaths, with a view to control the movements and ballots of the People, to ask the Public to take him on trust, as if he alone, of all men, were infallible and impeccable.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE AND THE EASTERN WAR.

The *New York Tribune* is displeased with our criticism of its course in relation to the Eastern war.

"The *National Era

The Review.

MY BROTHER'S KEEPER. By A. R. Warner, author of "Dollars and Cents," "Mr. Rutherford's Children," &c. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Washington.

"Amy Lothrop," the genial and fanciful, throwing aside her "*nom de plume*," here presents us with a simple and pretty narrative, whose scenes are laid among the events of the war of 1812. The "brother's keeper" is a gentle, strong-hearted orphan girl, who, with the love of a sister and the trust of a Christian, clings to a dissipated brother, and succeeds at length in saving him from the threatening vortex.

Miss Warner's style, in this as in her former works, charms by a rare freshness. It delights us like the naïve talk of a child. All things *live* in her pages. Even the intangible "darkness hides in corners" at sunset—"then marches with swift steps over the whole city." It is unfortunate that these poetical fancies are so often clogged with something heavier than a pervading moral. Long quotations from the Scriptures, or from old divines, occur frequently; indisputably excellent in their places, but wearing, upon this simple story, somewhat the appearance of a heavy phylactery upon a robe of gossamer. In this attempt to combine the all-important with the entertaining, "Amy Lothrop" is less successful than her sister. In reading the "Wide, Wide World," and "Queechy," we find no chapters to "skip," though we often see the need of condensation; the story and its adjuncts are inseparable. The evident desire to do good, however, which has caused this slight blemish, is in itself a recommendation to a young author. We doubt not that Miss Warner will yet achieve much greater things.

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THE MAYFLOWER, AND MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS. By H. H. SNOW, Author of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," &c. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

Years ago, a small volume, bearing the name of our favorite among the Spring flowers of New England, was put into our hands. We devoured rather than read it, with a child's enthusiasm, now laughing, now crying, over its mingled mirth and pathos. Joyfully do we hail again the old friend, so well grown and so newly-dressed as to have almost escaped recognition at first.

Mrs. Stowe is not less successful in her delineations of New England life, than in her world-renowned pictures of Southern society. "Old Father Morris," "Love versus Law," and "Uncle Lot," bring the old-fashioned scenes of bygone days before us with a power that takes captive all our sympathies. We have known stern, strong men to shed tears over the irresistible heart-touches of the last-named sketch. Few of these were written merely to amuse or to entertain. A warm, lively current of appeal to the higher part of man's nature runs through even the most sprightly stories. "The Two Altars," "Conversation," with a score equally worthy to be named, will *live* when the highly-wrought works of ambitious, self-seeking writers shall have passed out of the memory of man. The written thoughts of a great soul, in harmony with itself and the angels, are perennial flowers, which the frosty breath of Time can never wither.

"Feeling," and "Earthly Care a Heavenly Discipline," are two among the more serious, highly-toned essays of the book, from which you rise with the feeling that you have been privileged to take a glimpse at the author's "inner life;" that you have found out the secret of her strength and of her success.

We should rejoice to see the "Mayflower" planted in every household parterre throughout the land.

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A BOY'S ADVENTURES IN THE WILDS OF AUSTRALIA; or, Herbert's Note-Book. By William Howitt. Boston: Tickner & Fields. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The second "New World," which is now being laid open to the view of civilized man, is the scene of Herbert's adventures, or, rather, as we suppose, of those of William Howitt, who thus ingeniously avoids the appearance of egotism. We have read through his narrative with much interest, and not a little wonder that so much had been found "new under the sun," even at the antipodes. Strange beasts, unheard-of birds and insects, and unimaginable flowers, are perpetually rising before us. The wild sort of life, too, led in "the bush" and at "the diggings," the stories of sudden floods and forest fires, increase the strangeness of the scene, and make us feel as though we were studying the geography of some other planet. If Earth furnish such a limitless variety, what bounds can reason or imagination set to the productions of a universe?

This book will charm and instruct the old as well as the young, for whom it has been especially written. The name of "Howitt" is a sufficient endorsement to its excellent moral tendency.

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HISTORY OF TURKEY. By A. De Lamartine. Three vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

Lamartine has seen the country he writes about; visited its interior; studied its traditions and history; observed its populations; put himself into communication with them. His oriental imagination is captivated by oriental life; his political views, as a Frenchman, ally him with the Turks, and dispose him to regard them in the most favorable light. That such a man should write a cold, dry, matter-of-fact history of such a people, were an impossibility. The work before us, in the main, truthful as to narrative, glows with the hues of romance. Especially in his account of the life and mission of Mahomet, and the early exploits of Islamism, does he give full play to his fancy. It can scarcely be said he falsifies the truth of history, but he adds to that which is authentic, the marvellous events of Tradition, accompanying the whole with scenic embellishments, so that his Narrative assumes the form of an Epic.

The translator, bating occasional imitations of French phraseology, and the manufacture of a few inelegant words, has done his work faithfully. French syntax is adapted to French modes of thought; introduced in our language it appears stilted and affected.

We have received only the first volume of the work. The other two, we presume, will soon appear.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW. April, 1855. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

One of the most interesting articles in the present number is a dissertation on the administrative example of the United States. The writer has pretty thoroughly mastered the subject of administration in Great Britain, but, as might be expected, he is not always accurate in his views of the action of our Government. Still, for a foreigner, he evinces a remarkably clear insight into our political system, and holds up the administration of political power, in the United States, as an example to all other nations. Had he been told, when writing his article, that the expenditures of the Federal Government alone, to say nothing of those of the thirty-one State Governments, amount, in 1855, to, seventy-five millions of dollars, in a country that is so far removed from the ambitions, and intrigues, and controversies, of the Old World, as to require none of those heavy burdens for defence, demanded there, he might have reconsidered some of his opinions.

Other articles in the Review, among them, Memoirs of the Court of Austria, and a paper on Victor Hugo and his Writings, are well deserving of attention.

THE CHEMISTRY OF COMMON LIFE. By James F. Johnston. Two vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

We spoke at some length of this work, while it was appearing in numbers. It is now completed, forming two neat duodecimo volumes, which should be in the hands of every one, who would know something of the air we breathe, the water we drink, the soil we cultivate—something of the every-day materials we consume, and the agencies we use, or that act upon us. They condense and popularize a great mass more of valuable information for practical use.

AN INTRODUCTION TO PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY; with a Collection of Astronomical Tables. By Elias Loomis. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The ready advance of Practical Astronomy in this country, and the great multiplication of the instruments and modes of astronomical observation, has led to the necessity of a suitable text-book, complete, but concise, and free from cumbrous and obscure details. Professor Loomis has endeavored to meet this want, by presenting in this volume an adequate description of the instruments required in the outfit of an Observatory, explaining the methods of employing them, and the computations growing out of their use. It is specially adapted to amateur observers possessing astronomical instruments, practical surveyors, engineers employed on Government surveys, astronomers employed on coast observations, conductors of expeditions of discovery, by land or sea, and to the entire body of young men engaged in a course of liberal education.

HANDBOOK OF GERMAN LITERATURE. By G. J. Adler, A. M. New York: D. Appleton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Adler is Professor of German Literature in the University of the City of New York, and the author of several German text-books. The present volume is intended to to introduce the student who has mastered the rudimental structure of German, to an acquaintance with its classical writers. The plan is, to select for his reading, not mere extracts, but a few literary productions of undisputed excellence, accompanying them with critical notices and explanations. Thus, the volume contains Schiller's *Maid of Orleans*, Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, Tieck's *Puss in Boots*, and the *Xenia*, by Goethe and Schiller.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SPANISH LANGUAGE. By M. Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia. Published and for sale as above.

The author's experience in teaching the languages has given him practical advantages in preparing this Grammar for American students. Accompanying the work is a brief history of the Spanish language.

THE ELEMENTS OF AGRICULTURE. By George E. Warring, jun. Published and for sale as above.

This is a book for young farmers. The author, a man devoted to the subject, and qualified to speak advisedly, says it is not presented as a work of science, or a dry, chemical treatise; but as a plain statement of the more simple operations by which Nature produces many results, so common, that we think the wonders of their origin.

THE PRACTICAL LAND DRAINER. By B. Mercer. New York: C. M. Saxton & Co. For sale by R. Farnham, Washington, D. C.

In this concise treatise on Land Draining, the various methods of drainage are described, the principles on which they rest explained, and their merits compared.

PRACTICAL LANDSCAPE GARDENING. By G. M. Kerr, Cincinnati. Moore, Wilstach, Keys, & Co. For sale by the Booksellers generally.

We hail every effort to enlighten and stimulate the public mind in relation to Landscape Gardening—an art which cannot be too assiduously cultivated. Mr. Kern, with the advantages of his early education at the *Jardin des Plantes*, in Paris, understanding the subject both theoretically and practically, has furnished an instructive volume, which, we hope, may have a wide circulation. The work is divided into two parts; the first devoted to an exposition of the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, as an art of Design and Taste, the second, to a Treatise on its adaptation to Pleasure Grounds, the Farm, Cemetery, &c. Some pretty illustrations embellish the volume.

The editor of the Detroit *Advertiser* has been permitted to publish the following private letter from C. McCrea, Esq., the man who shot Malcolm Clark a few weeks since at Fort Leavenworth, K. T.:

FORT LEAVENWORTH GUARD HOUSE,
Kansas, May 8, 1855.

DEAR FATHER: Before this note shall have come to hand, you doubtless will have heard of my misfortune. By papers, though I fear not exactly according to fact. The question of Slavery here has come to such a pitch of excitement that we are on the eve of a civil war, and it has been my misfortune to strike the first fatal blow at a meeting relative to claims, which took a strong party turn, as everything in this devoted Territory does. I was heard by the bully and leader of the opposite party to call some of the proceedings a fraud, (t. e., deciding a vote against two-to-one,) He rushed at me with a piece of two-by-four scantling. I fled from him till he struck me, then I shot him through the body. He died in about ten or twenty minutes. I was not even so much as touched by a bullet, but not wounded; was afterwards shot and slightly wounded. Our party was as great on the ground as the Pro-Slavery, or we should have had some more work to do. I expect to get out on small bail. Your affectionate son,

C. McCREA.

ANOTHER OUTRAGE IN KANSAS.—*Lynch Law.*—The Rochester *Democrat* has the following account of another outrage in Kansas:

In the 17th instant, Dr. Phillips, a lawyer, was decoyed to the banks of the Missouri river, where he was suddenly seized and forced into a skiff, and carried across the river into Missouri—Platte county, some seven miles to Clark's Weston.

An old warehouse stands just below the town; he was taken there, his head was shaved, his face blacked, he was tarred and feathered, and then ridden upon a rail through the streets of Weston, which was terrible and hideous accompanied the procession.

Before the hotel they exhibited him; and then a negro was compelled to sell him to the lowest bidder, and they offered to him every insult in their power.

After detaining him several hours in this manner, repeatedly telling him that if he would not leave the Territory, or give them his promise in writing that he would leave, they would hang him. He having steadily and firmly refused, they let him loose. His brother, who had come from Leavenworth after him, took him into a carriage, and, late in the afternoon, started for Leavenworth.

It seems that the offence of Mr. Phillips is, that he is a Free-Soiler; and it is pretended by the Pro-Slavery men that he handed McCrea the revolver with which Malcolm Clark was killed. This is probably false, as responsible men declare that Phillips did not at all interfere in the matter.

The town of Leavenworth, Kansas Territory, is said to confain 800 inhabitans, but it is located on the lands ceded by the Delaware Indians in trust to the United States for their benefit, and, therefore, not subject to entry. A member of the newly-elected Legislative Council of Kansas writes to the Washington *Union* for information on the subject, intimating that he and others are in favor of removing thither the Territorial seat of Government, if it be open to pre-emption settlers. The *Union* replies, officially, that the Secretary and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the General Land Office all regard the town as located on the Delaware trust lands.

FROM OHIO.

CLEVELAND, *May* 19, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

There are now some four or five months before our State election, but the campaign is opening in good earnest. The most sagacious of us cannot yet foresee the result. New forces, you are aware, came one dark night and took down our old light-houses, so that the oldest pilots can hardly tell whether the Anti-Slavery craft will ride safely into port, or be drifted upon some hitherto unknown reef, which Know Nothingism has projected far out at sea. We can only work with caution, and hope for the best.

However, "our parties and politics" are beginning to become definable. The 8th of January marshalled and officered the Administration forces, and the 13th of July, for which the "rest of mankind" are now preparing, will decide what questions are at issue, and what principles may hope for triumph in October. A word in regard to that Convention. Many of our recent local elections were managed in this way: The Know Nothings first prepared their list of candidates, (under cover, of course,) and then, by systematically packing the People's or Republican Conventions, insured their renomination. This is Know Nothing policy *par eminence* and *par excellence*. And the Know Nothing organs, in this section of the State, did not blush to declare that they intended to control, in the same way, the counties, the districts, and the State. Now, the early and constant workers in the Anti-Slavery enterprise have no sympathy with this unmanly policy, nor with the narrow and proscriptive principles which it aims to establish. They will go into that Convention with fair and open intentions, willing to work in the spirit of candor and conciliation, with those who may honestly differ with them about our policy, but who are only pledged to the common cause. But should the Know Nothings invade the Convention—dictate to it officers and a platform—dictate candidates for State offices—attempt to pledge the great Republican party to Know Nothing, and generous Americanism, but to its mean and detestable counterfeit—disappoint the performances and thwart the well-meant efforts of old and tried forces—and so arrange their plans that they may be able to triumph—we could you blame Anti-Slavery men for denouncing the fraud, and for marshalling their ranks anew under their own flag, and with their own standard-bearers? Certainly not. They have been in the field long enough to see their cause honored in defeat, and strengthened in disaster. And they will not forsake it now, to build up this new folly, and feed with office the hungry legion who give it life. They look with contempt on the shifting expedients of these secret political Orders, dictating policy to a party which has not even a shadow of affinity to them, and scheming for power through the worn-out and discarded artifices of the old parties.

The idea of a union between two such organizations, having not one principle or motive in common, is absurd and idle. This is now the voice of the Anti-Slavery press of Northern Ohio, with one or two exceptions. At first, the attempts to fuse the so-called American and Republican parties, were looked upon either favorably or without concern. A very few papers fought the battle alone, and were rewarded by censure for their zeal. But they are now followed by nearly all the rest, wisely making amends for their lost time. It is not a little amusing to see how fiercely one or two of these now-comers deal with SAM in his insolence, who were at first profuse in their smiles and bounties. But they are right now, and will remain so.

The Know Somethings, whose organs talk wisely and promise much, will prove but a poor substitute for the national attack on behalf of Human, than," they tell us here, is going to reform and fraternize with SAM at some future period—effect some wonderful change in his morals (which have been neglected) and his habits of thought (which have been wild); and the "pair of noble brothers" will then take into the indefinite journey to an indefinite place, not laid down on the maps. Well, suppose the plan succeeds—suppose SAM yields (which is not very probable while he is strongest) to the delectations of his estimable brother, and repents, which is not impossible, nevertheless—

"For while the lamp holds out to burn,
The vilest sinner may return!"

and suppose they start on their contemplated journey together, what then? Will Kansas become a free State any the sooner? Will slave labor be prohibited in Nebraska and Texas? Will the right of free speech or the sacredness of human life be invested with securer guarantees? Will slave auctions become any the less frequent or less revolting? In a word, will the Anti-Slavery cause be lighter in our weights? If so, God speed them to their journey's end. But it cannot be. Secret political societies never yet held the cup of cold water to the lips of suffering humanity. It is only tyranny which forms its plans behind the veil, with the drawbridge, and the moat! The cause of Freedom is secure in its sacredness; and what weapons will not bear the light of heaven are of no use to it. Therefore do we trust that before election our friends will throw down the "gauge of straw," for sake these ubiquitous issues, and return, like men and Christians, to the good cause which needs all their energy and all their devotion.

D. A. G.

FROM CONNECTICUT.

WEST MERIDEN, CONN., *May*, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

I am much pleased with the general tone of your remarks upon the American party, so called, and its relation to the great question before which every other must sink into insignificance. Anti-Slavery men are now fairly and unequivocal facilities for the acquirement of a correct general knowledge of the political movements in every part of the country. But a person must be *eminently* weatherwise, now-a-days, to discern correctly the signs in the troubled sky of our politics.

Your remarks on the late election in this State, so extensively and so secretly be-wire-pulled, are quite correct, and to the point. If anti-slavery men should vote with any *party* services, but services rendered to the overwhelming sentiments of community—are to be paid in the coin which Governor Dutton has received, we cannot but think that it is time to cut off the hands so much thing *false* philanthropy, and that all services rendered to humanity henceforth will be entirely disinterested. As you know, he received but a small fraction of the votes which should have been cast for him. Nothing was alleged against him. His name appeared at the head of the Whig State ticket, in the columns of the two prominent Whig papers, the *Palladium* and *Journal*, but not a word was said in favor of his election to the gubernatorial chair. From the day of his nomination to this, his name has scarcely been mentioned by the Whig press. It seems incredible that a name entitled to so much gratitude should so soon become a dim and unpopular memory. The paper first mentioned has always been more remarkable for the tortuosity of its course than for its ability. The principles of its editor seem to be located in his pocket, and he is gifted with the most delightful facility in thinking *that* their proper place, or with the most refreshing ignorance that it *is* their locality. He is an eleventh-hour politician, with an eternal hankering after high places and pelf. He is the man, and the only man, in this State, to preside with as much grace as though "to the manor born." I must, nevertheless, do him the credit to say that he advocates, and with apparent sincerity, the most Anti-Slavery principles, though considerably oppressed with Jesuitism—that prevailing nightmare.

The Whig party in the late election, by wire-pulling means, was almost entirely merged in the Know Nothing organization. I suppose our own town to be a fair specimen of the whole State. The nomination of the American party was made privately, and kept secret; and at the Whig caucus, shortly succeeding, its members appeared in numbers and with their own choice on the uninitiated Whigs. We recommend this controlling the meetings of others—this novel and intensified manner of minding one's own business, already so extensively practiced—as truly and worthily *American*, and deserving *universal* adoption.

It is uncertain how far the new party in this State will go, in its efforts to become national. The other day, Governor Minor spoke approvingly, in conversation, of the *Louisville Journal's* proposition to conciliate the North by the modification of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Presidential nomination of some Southern man like Sam Houston, whose actions, now and then, have smacked of Free-Soilism. I cannot, and *will* not, think that Cornecticut freemen will sanction such a movement, or that the worthy Governor is the mouthpiece of even a large minority of his own party. Northerners have built their houses on the sand times enough to learn the instability of such a foundation. For myself, I am heartily tired of Northern men with Southern principles, Southern men with Southern principles, and men with no principles at all—of this vain effort to harmonize and blend elements as mutually repugnant as water and fire. Here are but two banners—those of Freedom and Slavery—and under the one or the other the battle must be fought out. Side issues are tricks of diversion, and are but for a moment, but the trumpet of the *great* approaching contest is already sounding.

Truly, yours, S.

FROM CHINA

CANTON, *March* 10, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

Yesterday was a day of great rejoicing over recent success against the insurgents. Early in the morning, attention was attracted to the frequent firing of cannon near the city. It was soon discovered to proceed from war-boats, which were coming in from the southeast. These continued to arrive during the forenoon, and coat another at different points before the city. The firing of cannon continued while the boats came in, and it seemed as if the dreadful sound of war was at our doors. But the display of rebel flags, and the loud demonstrations of joy, made it evident to the multitudes who crowded the banks of the river, that a victory had been gained over those who were in arms against the Government.

About noon, they began to land prisoners, of whom they had about 300, loaded with chains, and attended by guards, armed with swords and spears; they were taken inside the city, to undergo a trial. This consists in being tortured most cruelly, until they confess themselves guilty. It is contrary to law to take a man's life until he makes confession; therefore, no means are spared to cause the accused to comply with the law, and they succeed as well with the innocent as the guilty. The law is executed with remarkable rapidity, as will appear, when I tell you that 200 prisoners have been tried, sentenced, and executed, within thirty hours after they were landed. The execution ground was not large enough for all at once, so they were divided into two companies. A gentleman told me that he witnessed the execution of 144 in the morning. The victims are carried to the execution ground in baskets, or cages. They are made to kneel in a line, and the executioner, walking behind, with a long, heavy knife, severs the head from the body at one blow. Two of the prisoners were noted characters, and they were dealt with in a different manner, to make signal examples of them; they were tied to crosses, and cut into many pieces, beginning at the hands and feet. Since the commencement of the Chinese new year, (twenty-two days,) not less than 1,000 men have been decapitated at this place.

If in this relation of the vengeance of law, we could see the supremacy of justice and order, it would be some compensation for such wholesale destruction of human life. The facts of the case, however, show that the tyranny of irresponsible power wreaks its vengeance on the innocent, in its eagerness to destroy its enemies. The Imperial soldiers have mostly been acting on the defensive, because they had not courage to attack the enemy, except when compelled. Recently, however, the insurgents have been dispersing, either from want of money or provisions. In this way, the city of Fat-shan, one of their strongholds, was deserted a few weeks since; after which, the soldiers bravely went and took possession of the place, gathered up a number of the inhabitants, and brought them to this city, as trophies of their victory. About a month ago, the rebels made an unsuccessful attack on the island of Hongkong, opposite this city. Many of the villagers were seized by the soldiers, and taken as rebels, because they did not keep them away. For more than a week, we could daily see smoke ascending from houses fired by the soldiers, and hear of cruelties inflicted on men and women, guilty of no offence, except living where the enemies of the Government had been. The probability is, that one-third, or more, of those executed, are peaceable, inoffending men, who had been unavoidably placed in the company of the insurgents.

It must not be inferred, from the above, that it would be advisable to change the existing Government. The rebels are of the same class of men, and have the same debased moral character as those who now govern. If the power were to pass into their hands, they would yield it with the same cruelty and vengeance that characterize its present possessors. In this Province, where the religious element does not enter into the rebel movement, the existing Government is to be preferred, because it possesses an organization which could not be attained in many years by those who might succeed them. In time of peace, a degree of liberty and safety of person and property has been enjoyed, which we would hardly expect to find under an absolute despotism. Notwithstanding the cruelty and oppression to which the officers have subjected many, yet the better class of people seem to know that they have little to hope from a change of rulers. The choice, therefore, appears to be between the present Government, with all its evils, and anarchy, the most fearful state in which society can exist. As yet, no man has appeared among the insurgents in this State had been passed by the Imperial Court, and unite the various bands who are pillaging the country, and bringing untold misery upon unoffending and peaceable men and women. The thirst for plunder is too strong in the breasts of the mass of rebels to allow of united and persevering effort for any higher purpose. Patriotism and philanthropy are not likely to be characteristics of those whose minds are degraded by heathenism.

It is likely that the recent reverses of the rebels will cause their dispersion for a season, at least, and allow a partial return to business. We have no news of importance from the North. American vessels are about leaving Hong Kong, to survey the coast of Japan.

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REV. THEODORE PARKER, one of the bitterest of the New England Abolitionists, has been strolling down in Delaware, entertaining the slaveholders there with a discourse on Slavery.

Richmond Whig.

If the *Whig* editor is in earnest in regarding such discourses as entertaining, there is hope of him; and we trust that he will either invite the Rev. gentleman to entertain Abolitionists to go South, under his protection, to lecture him, or that he will go North to hear them. Should they convince him that all the slaves of Virginia are worth less than the increase in the price of land in that State would amount to within five years after their liberation, as they *could* convince him, and should he proceed to convince his fellow-citizens of this fact, as he *should do*, then will great blessings proceed from the entertainment afforded to Southern slaveholders by these bitter Abolitionists, one of whom is now strolling down in Delaware.

COM. HENRY E. BALLARD, United States Navy, died at his residence, near Annapolis, Md., on Wednesday night, 23d inst. He was over 70 years of age. He was a native of Maryland, and entered the service on the 2d of April, 1804, over 51 years ago. He has not been at sea since 1839.

GEN. CHARLES GRATIOT expired on the 18th instant, after a short illness, at the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. Charles P. Chouteau, in St. Louis, in the 68th year of his age. He entered the Military Academy at West Point in 1804. He remained in the army until 1836 or 1837. He served his country with great distinction in the last war with England, and rose from the rank of lieutenant to a brevet brigadier general, and, at the time he left the army, was at the head of the engineer corps.

The greatest breadth of the Crimea is one hundred and twenty-four miles, the length from east to west one hundred and seventy. The Tartar population of the Crimea is about sixty-one thousand.

Miss Elizabeth Farr recently died in Maryland, bequeathing five negro slaves to a Catholic priest, Rev. James Moore. Her legal heirs disputed the legacy, and the court before which it was tried decided that it was void under the 35th article of the bill of rights, which annuls all gifts to ministers of the Gospel as such.

General News.

EUROPE.

The British steamer *America* arrived at Halifax on the 24th instant, bringing London and Liverpool dates to the 12th.

Nothing of consequence had occurred at Sebastopol. Some trivial successes by the Allies are reported. The correspondence from the Camp, of April 27th, explains the difficulties of the siege, and states confidently that the Allies have advanced, but still slowly acquiring ground, and that, while the works are advancing, there can be no doubt of their ultimate success, provided the Russians are unable to force the Allies to raise the siege.

The *London Times* says that all hopes of peace have fled; that no assistance can be obtained from Austria, and but little from the rest of Europe; and that, consequently, France and England must fight the battles of this unfortunate war. The *Times* also publishes an editorial article in behalf of the Government, stating that it is impossible to peruse the official documents of the Vienna Conference without seeing that Russia was never in earnest when she pretended to desire peace. Earl Grey, in the House of Lords, has given notice that an address will be sent to the Queen, deploring the failure of the negotiations, and stating, as the opinion of Parliament, that the proposals of Russia were never such as to afford a fair prospect of concluding a peace. A similar motion is to be made in the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston evaded answering the question whether the Conference is finally broken off. It is said, however, that the accredited representatives of all the Powers, Russia included, continue to reside in Vienna.

Four thousand Sardinian troops had arrived in the Crimea.

The Baltic English fleet were working up towards Gothland as fast as the ice permitted it.

Three ships of war left England on the 10th, to blockade the White Sea.

It is said that France has asked permission to establish a cordon of the Swedish territory; and if refused, Bomarsund will be occupied and fortified by the Allies.

Mr. Drouyn de l'Huys, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has resigned his office. The cause assigned for this step (by what means we do not know) is an unwillingness to protract the war. Count Walewski, the French ambassador at London, has been appointed to succeed M. l'Huys.

A new loan of 700,000,000 francs was under consideration by the French Council of State.

Pianozi, the Italian who attempted to assassinate the Emperor Louis Napoleon, has been condemned to death. The police say they have discovered a vast plot, whose ramifications throughout Europe, to promote a general insurrection; hence Pianozi's execution will be postponed, to trace his connection therewith.

In the Spanish Cortes, on the 2d, Senor Arecilla, declared, in the name of the democratic party, that it had never entered into any negotiations with Mr. Soulé for the sale of Cuba.

Mount Vesuvius was in a state of eruption.

It is said that grave differences have taken place between the Duke of Genoa and his late Foreign Minister, in regard to the manner in which the latter acquitted himself as Plenipotentiary at Vienna. It is said that the Emperor expressed a strong disapproval of the disposition which his representative at the Vienna Conference manifested to accept dishonorable and delusive terms of peace from Russia, and condemns M. Drouyn de l'Huys also as having too great confidence in the good faith of Austria.

The ship John sailed from Plymouth, with three hundred and eighty-seven emigrants, for Quebec. She encountered a heavy gale from the northeast, to the westward of Eddystone lighthouse. The vessel had got closer in-land than the captain was aware of, and in making Blockhead headland he run the ship on a dangerous reef, called Maracles. The ship's bottom stove in, and she sunk within a few feet of the quarter deck. The hulk of the passengers were swept off by the sea. One hundred and twenty lives were lost. Ninety-three clung to the rigging, and by the exertions of the coast-guard many were saved, among them several females and Captain Rawles. A coroner's jury has returned a verdict of manslaughter against Capt. Rawles, who is in custody.

Markets.—Cotton had advanced ¼d. at Liverpool—Orleans fair, 6¾d.; middling, 5 3-16d.; upland fair, 6¼d.; middling, 5 9-16d. @ 5¾d.

Breadstuffs generally are unchanged, with the exception of corn, which has advanced 1s., closing steady. Wheat, white 12s. @ 12s. 9d.; red 10s. 9d. @ 11s. 9d. Flour, Western Canal 40s. @ 41s. 6d. for new, and 41s. 6d. @ 42s. for old; Ohio 44s. 6d. @ 45s. 6d. Corn, yellow 49s. @ 50s.; mixed and white 49s. @ 49s. 6d.

Provisions generally, unchanged.

CALIFORNIA.

The United States mail steamer George Law arrived at New York, with 817 passengers and $1,324,000, on the eve of our last publication.

The dates from California are to the 1st instant. The Legislature appears to have had been postponed for a week. Nothing had been done in regard to the Senatorial question. An act to levy a capitation tax of $50 upon every Chinaman arriving in the State had been passed by the Legislature. It is said to take the State prison from the hands of the lessees had been adopted.

Walker's expedition for Central America had not sailed, but preparations were making for an early departure.

The United States Land Commission had received five claims held by Jose Y. Limentour, under alleged Mexican titles, for more than one thousand square miles of land in the State, and it was supposed that, under the instructions in these cases, the similar claim of Limentour to five thousand acres in the city of San Francisco would be rejected.

A discovery of gold had been made at Santa Isabel.

In San Francisco, trade had improved. Large shipments of flour have been made for Australia. California wheat was purchased for 75 cents per bushel for the New York market.

The mines were yielding well, but coin was very scarce. One of the local assay offices has issued new $50 ingots, resembling $20 United States pieces.

Sandwich Island dates of April 16th have been received. The Hawaiian Legislature was in session. L. Swan, of the firm of Swan & Clifford, had been detected in circulating $44,000 worth of forged whalers' bills; and it was supposed that the total of his operations in this kind of business would reach $100,000. Both partners absconded before the developments were made.

The "*Alta California*" of the 1st of May furnishes the following.

A bill for the construction of a wagon road from Sacramento to Salt Lake City had passed both branches of the Legislature.

Five thousand dollars have been recovered by Isaac Thorne, in the district court at Auburn, against the California Stage Company, for injuries received by him by the upsetting of a stage coach.

Very valuable coal mines have been discovered in Lower California, inside the Gulf, and nearly opposite Guaymas. Speculators are already turning their attention thither.

We learn that General Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon and Governor Stevens, of Washington Territory, will, in May next, treat jointly with the tribes common to the two Territories. The Walla-Wallas, the Cayuses, and the Nez Perces, who occupy land in both Territories, will be assembled in the Walla-Walla valley, and there is every prospect of negotiations being successful. The Yakimas, Clikitate, Pisehûses, Okimikaines, and the Palouses, all of this Territory, will be assembled at the same time and place, as well as the remaining small bands of both Territories adjacent to the waters of the Columbia.

The 20th day of May had been fixed for the opening of the Council. The treaty ground had been selected, and the goods and provisions required have reached it, or are on their way. All the Indian Chiefs have agreed to be present, and bring their people with them. Report says they were never more peaceably inclined, and an amicable adjustment is anticipated.

This Council, if it result successfully, will open immediately a large scope of country to our stock-raisers, wool-growers, and farmers, for settlement and cultivation. Many persons, we understand, design removing there the present season, from the west side of the Cascade mountains, and an important link will thus be furnished in the chain connecting the settlements on the two sides of the mountains.

MEXICO.—Dates from Mexico of the 19th of May were received at New Orleans on the 25th. Santa Anna had reached Morelia, and the Government troops were marching upon Zamora, where a large force of insurgents had concentrated. A letter says the insurgents had succeeded in separating Santa Anna's army, which marched in three divisions. The insurgents at Quanajuato had been defeated by the Government cavalry. A very destructive hurricane passed over Mexico on the 9th.

KANSAS.—As we from the first suspected, the alarm sent abroad respecting chloera in Kansas was false, and intended to deter Northern men from going thither. The *Herald*, published at Leavenworth, says that at Lawrence two saw mills are in progress of erection, one of which is warranted to be up and running in ten days. Lumber has been very much needed in the Territory, and these will afford relief. An exploring party from Lawrence has just made a trip three hundred miles west of that place, and found a good soil and many streams lined with excellent timber.

MORMONS.—The recent arrival of a cargo of Mormon emigrants at New York has brought to light the result of the labors of the missionaries from that sect in Great Britain, during the past season, revealing the fact that no less than three thousand six hundred of these Latter Day Saints have been shipped from Liverpool for this country, between the months of November and April last. Several vessels, laden exclusively with members of this extraordinary sect, are said to be now due at that port. In this city, Mormonism has been preached, but not in all its ugliness. We presume the same degree of suppression is observed in England and everywhere else. But when people are induced to listen, and to begin to make compromises with their consciences for the sake of the advantages that are offered to them, they find it easier to go on to the foot of the hill than to retrace their steps. There is, however, a troublous time in the future for the Mormon people, and for our Government in its dealings with them.

VIRGINIA.—The elections in this State are over, and the Know Nothings are defeated by the Anti-Know Nothings, consisting of the mass of the Democrats and a small portion of the Whigs. Mr. Wise's majority is probably 5,000 or 6,000, or a little more than one-third of that of General Pierce in 1852. All the old members of Congress are re-elected, including Gen. Millson, of Norfolk, who voted against the Nebraska iniquity! A majority in each branch of the Legislature is also believed to be opposed to the Know Nothings, and, indeed, *Administration*.

Deference to the falsely supposed desires of the people of the slaveholding States has induced the conductors of public conveyances in the North to endeavor to exclude persons of color from them, or to confine them to a separate and inferior apartment. The legal power to do this has been questioned, and the Rev. Dr. Pennington, of New York, a man of color, resolving to test the question, recently took a position in the New York City Railroad. Being rudely and violently ejected by the conductor and his associates, he applied to a magistrate for redress, but found no favor, although the functionary himself, being an Irishman, had had ample experience of social proscription and oppression, and their consequent degradation. Dr. Pennington has very properly appealed to the Superior Court.

Reference was recently made in the newspapers to the case of the abandoned slave brig Horatio, which was picked up off Key West, and taken into that port. This vessel, it will be remembered, was fitted out and cleared from New York in November last. The authorities, therefore, have had no great difficulty in discovering the parties implicated in the affair, and three arrests were made last week, on the charge of fitting the brig out for the nefarious traffic. Bail was fixed in each case at twenty thousand dollars, but, being procured in only one instance, two of the parties were imprisoned to await the result of the examination.

MR. WISE IN WASHINGTON.—On Saturday evening last, Mr. Wise was greeted by his political friends in this city, on the occasion of his recent success. The multitude was exceedingly large, and he attempted to address them, but his hoarseness would not let him. The spirit evinced by Mr. Wise has uniformly been severe, imperious, harsh, and overbearing. The conduct of his Know Nothing opponents toward him here, has been insulting, vulgar, and brutal.

The State Department at Washington has received information that the Viceroy of Egypt has adopted the project to cut through the Isthmus of Suez, and to constitute a universal company for the performance of the work, in which capitalists of all nations may take part. This will be a nobler enterprise than that in which the Powers of Europe are engaged. If the three armies would but undertake the work, it might be soon accomplished.

MAYOR WOOD, of New York, who is worthy of all honor, has recently reviewed in public his fine band of a thousand police officers, and presented medals to seven of them, for meritorious services. His speech on the occasion was highly encouraging and inspiriting.

The late news from South America is of interest. The Chilian Republic appears to be progressing in the way of peace and prosperity. In Bolivia, the Electoral College had been convoked, to proceed to the choice of a President. In Peru, a Constituent Assembly was to be elected, for the purpose of framing a new Constitution, after which the new President is to be elected. The arrival of General Flores, ex-President of Ecuador, at Lima, had given the Ecuadorians much offence and uneasiness, and they had broken off diplomatic relations with Peru. Pezuela, Prefect of Arequipa, of the Latter Republic, is invited to return thither, and take his trial for the political offences charged against him; but it is thought he will continue to prefer his comfortable quarters in New York to his exposure in Peru. There is nothing definite or important with regard to the war between Brazil and Paraguay. President Obando, of New Granada, has been convicted by the Senate of the political offences charged against him, and has been sentenced to a deprivation of office. His Secretaries of War and of Government have been acquitted.

A TORNADO.—We were incredulous when we read the first accounts of a recent tornado near Chicago; but the *Tribune*, of that city, of the 14th, confirms the statements. It says:

"Our readers will remember the violent hailstorm that took place in this city yesterday afternoon, between four and five o'clock, and the oppressive heat of the rest of the afternoon.

At the same hour the vicinity of which we allude took place in the town of Jefferson, near Jefferson Mills, sixteen miles distant.

"A cloud of a peculiar shape was first observed approaching from the northwest, and terminating in a funnel-shaped point, the apex towards and nearly reaching the earth. As it came nearer, it was discovered to be a whirlwind, rapidly revolving, and whirling up various objects, in which were plainly seen large sticks of wood, boards, small trees, and chunks. It was coming towards our informants, but did not reach them, but turned to their right, described a semicircle, and fell upon a large frame house.

"In an instant, and with a crash, the roof was torn off, and immediately the whole house was lifted from its foundation, literally torn to pieces, and the pieces carried up in the horrid vortex. The furniture in the house, all of it, shared the same fate, the weight of the articles appearing no obstacle to their ascent whatever.

"In the house were nine persons. They were all drawn up into the air, and fell at different distances, and with great violence to the ground. The wife of one of the eye-

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of the slave now assumes proportions of grandeur which dwarf all other interests in our broad country. In its presence the machinations of politicians, the aspirations of office-seekers, and the subterfuges of party, all sink below even their ordinary insignificance. For myself, sir, I can see little else at this time among us, which can tempt out on to the exposed steeps of public life a man from home who wishes by something that he does, to leave the world better than he found it. I can see little else which can afford any of those satisfactions which an honest man should covet. Nor is there any cause which so surely promises final success.

"Oh! a fair cause stands firm, and will abide;
Legions be angels fight upon its side."

It is written, that at the last days there shall be scoffers; and even this Enterprise, thus philanthropic, has escaped their sneers and aspersions. And as the objections to its Practicability two-fold, so also are the aspersions two-fold: first, in the form of hard words; and secondly, by personal disparagement of those who are engaged in it.

1. The *hard words* are manifold as the passions and prejudices of men, but they generally culminate in the imputation of "fanaticism." In such a course, I am willing to be called "fanatic," or what you will; I care not for aspersions, nor shall I shrink before hard words, either here or elsewhere. I have learned from that great Englishman, Oliver Cromwell, that no man can be trusted "who will not face a paper pellet;" and I am too familiar with history not to know that every movement for reform in Church or State, every endeavor for Human Liberty or Human Rights, has been thus assailed. I do not forget with what bitterness frequency hard words have been employed—how that great and illustrious character of many generations, the precursor of our own Washington, without whose example our Republic might have failed—the great William, Prince of Orange, the Founder of the Dutch Republic, the United States of Holland. I do not forget how he was publicly branded as a "perjurer, and a pest of society;" and, not to dwell on general instances, how the enterprise for the abolition of the slave trade was characterized on the floor of Parliament, by one eminent speaker, as "mischievous," and by another as "visionary and delusive;" and how the exalted characters which it had enlisted were arraigned by still another eminent speaker—none other than Tarleton, so conspicuous as the commander of the British horse, in the Southern campaigns of our Revolution, but more conspicuous in politics at home—"as a junta of fanatics, misled by enthusiasm, and hypocrisy;" and also were again arraigned by no less a person than a Prince of the blood, the Duke of Clarence, afterward William IV of England, as "either fanatics or hypocrites," in one of which classes he (the speaker) thought the Duke was. But impartial History, with immortal pen, has redressed these impassioned judgments, and the same impartial History will yet relegate the impassioned judgments of this hour.

2. Hard words, if not always followed by *personal disparagement*, and the sneer is often launched, that our Enterprise lacks the authority of names eminent in Church and State. If this be so, the more is the pity on their account, for our cause is sustained by the noble men that are needed to our cause. But, alas! it is only according to the example of history that it should be so. It is not the eminent in Church and State, the rich and powerful, the favorites of fortune, who first rush to the help of any unpopular cause. They are the last to come, and welcome Truth, when she heralds change in the existing order of things. It is others, in poorer condition, who throw open their hospitable hearts to the unattended stranger. Nay, more: it is not the eminent of this world, or the world, but the humble and lowly, who most clearly discern new duties—as the watchers placed in the depths of a well may observe the stars which are obscured to those who live in the effulgence of noon. Placed below the ecstasm and prejudice of self-interest or of a class—below the care and temptations of wealth or power—in the obscurity of common life—they catch the new signal, and surrender themselves unreservedly to its guidance. The Saviour knew this. He did not call upon the Priest, or Levite, or Pharisee, to follow him, but upon the humble fisherman by the Sea of Galilee.

And now, sir, I present to you the Anti-Slavery Enterprise, vindicated in Necessity, Practicability, and Dignity, against all objections. If there be any objection which I have not answered, it is because I am not aware of its existence. It remains for others, should give a practical conclusion to this whole matter, by showing, though in glimpses only, your SPECIAL DUTIES, AS FREEMEN OF THE NORTH. And, thank God! at least there is a North.

I speak, sir, of special duties addressed to hear persons among us at the North confess the wrong of Slavery, and then, folding their hands in absolute listlessness, ejaculate, "What can we do about it?" Such men we encounter daily. Of all known human beings, these men in every department of human activity, who perpetually buy, build, and plan, who shrink from no labor, who are daunted by no spectl of commercial adventure, by no hardihood of industrial enterprise, who engage in bold undertakings across ocean and continents, would engage "to put a girdle about the earth in forty seconds" and yet, disheartened, they cry out, "Of no effort against Slavery. Others there are, especially among the youthful and enthusiastic, who vainly sigh because they were not born in the age of Chivalry, at least in the days of the Revolution—not thinking that in this Republic there is an opportunity of lofty endeavor, such as no Saladin of Chivalry or chief of the Revolution enjoyed. Others there are who freely bestow their means and time upon the distant inaccessible heathen of another hemisphere, but who, in the midst of the sea; and yet they can do nothing to mitigate or remove heathenism here at home. While confessing that it ought to disappear from the earth, they forego, resource, and abandon, all exertion against it in our country. They wish to relieve ourselves from a grievous responsibility, and to begin the great work of emancipation, were an object worthy of an exalted ambition. But before even this can be commenced, there is a great work, more near and closer home, demanding our attention, which must be consummated in the domain of National Politics, and also here at home in the Free States. The National Government itself must be emancipated, so that it shall no longer wear the fetters of Slavery, and, in all its pretensions, must be dislodged from its usurped foothold in the Free States themselves—thus relieving ourselves from a grievous responsibility at our own doors, and emancipating the North. Emancipation, even within the National jurisdiction, can be achieved only through the emancipation of the Free States, accompanied by the complete emancipation of the National Government. Ay, sir, emancipation at the South will be hastened, not through the emancipation of the North. And this is my answer to the interrogatory, What have we at the North to do with Slavery?

But the answer may be made yet more irresistible, when I, in behalf of my cause, at once I portray the tyrannical power which holds us in thraldom. Notwithstanding all its excess of numbers, wealth, and intelligence, the North is now the vassal of an OLIGARCHY, whose sinister influence is felt