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

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The Slave Oligarchy and its Usurpations—Outrages in Kansas—The different Political Parties—Position of the Republican Party.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER,

On the Evening of Nov. 2, 1855,

IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF BOSTON:

Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? This is the question which you are to answer at the coming election. Above all other questions, whether national or local, it now lifts itself, directly in the path of every voter, and calls for a plain and honest reply. There it is. It cannot be avoided. It cannot not be banished away. It cannot be silenced. Forever sounding in our ears, it has a mood for every hour—stirring us at times as with the blast of a trumpet—then visiting us in solemn tones, like the bell which calls to prayer—and then again awaking us to our unmistakable duty like the same bell, which at midnight summons all to stay the raging conflagration.

And yet there are persons among us who seek to put this great question aside. Some clamor for financial reform, and hold up a tax-bill; others clamor for a modification of the elective franchise, and they hold up the Pope; some speak in the name of old parties, calling themselves Democrats or Whigs; others in the name of a new party, which shall be nameless at present. Surely the people of Massachusetts will not be diverted from the true issue—involving Freedom for broad territories and Freedom for themselves—by holding up a tax-bill or by holding up the Pope. The people of Massachusetts are intelligent and humane. They are not bulls, to be turned aside by shaking in their eyes a bit of red cloth; nor are they whales, to be stopped by a tub. The pertinacious and exclusive advocacy with which, at the crisis of Freedom, humbler matters and even personal aspirations have been pressed, in disregard of a sacred cause, finds a prototype in an effort of selfishness, which, occurring at the very crisis of our Revolution, was chastised by the humor and eloquence of Patrick Henry. The story is familiar. Our small army, contending for Freedom, was reduced to the depths of distress—exposed almost naked to the rigors of a winter sky, and marking the frozen ground with the blood of shoeless feet. "Where is the man," said Patrick Henry, "who would not have thrown open his fields, his barns, his cellars, the doors of his house, the portals of his body, to succor the unclothed and famished soldier in that little ragged band? Where is the man? There he stands; but whether the heart of an American beats in his bosom, you are to judge!" It was to John Hook that he pointed, who was then pressing a vexatious claim for supplies taken for the use of these starving troops. "What notes of discord do I hear?" exclaimed the orator. "They are the notes of John Hook, hoarsely brawling through the patriot camp—*Beef! Beef! Beef!*" And now, among us, the selfishness of John Hook is renewed, and politicians disturb the hour, as they hoarsely brawl their petty claims through our patriot camp. But above all these is heard the great question, which will not be postponed, are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? "Under which king, Bezonian, speak or die!" Are you for Freedom, with its priceless blessings, or are you for Slavery, with its countless wrongs and woes? Are you for God, or are you for the Devil?

Fellow-Citizens, I speak plainly; nor can words exhibiting the enormity of Slavery be too plain, whether it be regarded simply in the legislative and judicial decisions by which it is upheld, or in the unquestionable facts by which its character is revealed. It has been my fortune latterly to see Slavery face to face in its own home, in the slave States; and I take this early opportunity to offer my testimony to the open barbarism which it sanctions. I have seen a human being knocked off at auction on the steps of a court-house, and, as the sale went on, compelled to open his mouth and show his teeth, like a horse; I have been detained in a stage-coach, that our driver might, in the phrase of the country, "lick his nigger;" and I have been constrained, at a public table, to witness the revolting spectacle of a poor slave, yet a child, almost felled to the floor by a blow on the head from a clenched fist. Such incidents were not calculated to shake my original convictions. Those distant slaveholder, who, in generous solicitude for that truth which makes for Freedom, feared that, like a certain Doctor of Divinity, I might, under the influence of personal kindness, be hastily swayed from these convictions, may be assured that I saw nothing to change them in one title, but to confirm them, while I was entirely satisfied that here in Massachusetts, where all read, the true character of Slavery is better known than in the slave States themselves, where ignorance and prejudice close the avenues of knowledge.

And now, grateful for the attention with which you honor me, I venture to hope that you are assembled honestly to hear the truth; not to gratify prejudice, to appease personal antipathies, or to indulge a morbid appetite for excitement; but with candor and your best discrimination to weigh facts and arguments, in order to determine the course of duty. I address myself particularly to the friends of Freedom—the Republicans—on whose invitation I appear to-night; but I make bold to ask you of other parties, who now listen, to direct yourselves for the time of partisan constraint—to forget for the moment that you are Whigs or Democrats, or how you are called, and to remember only that you are *men*, with hearts to feel, with heads to understand, and with consciences to guide. Then only will you be in a condition to receive the truth. "If men are not aware of the probable bias of party over them, then they are so much the more likely to be blindly governed by it." This is the wise remark of Wilberforce; and I fear that among us there are too many who are unconsciously governed by such bias. There are men, who, while professing candor, yet show that the bitterness of party has entered into their whole character and lives—as the bitterness of the soil in Sardinia is said to appear even in the honey.

At this election we do not choose a President of the United States, or member of Congress, but a Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, and other State officers. To a superficial observer, the occasion seems to be rather local than national; it seems to belong to State affairs rather than Federal—to Massachusetts rather than to the Union. And yet such are our relations to the Union—such is the solidarity of these confederate States—so are we all knit together as a Plural Unit—that the great question which now disturbs and overshadows the whole country, because national and general, yet addressing itself alike to the whole Republic and to each constituent part, Freedom in Kansas, and our own Freedom here at home, are both assailed. They must be defended. There are honorable responsibilities belonging to Massachusetts, as an early and constant vindicator of Freedom, which she cannot renounce. "If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" The distant emigrant—the whole country—awaits the voice of our beloved Commonwealth in answer to the question, Are you for Freedom, or are you for Slavery? So transcendent, so exclusive, so all-absorbing, is this question at the present juncture, that it is vain to speak of the position of candidates or other things. To be doubtful on this is to be wrong; and to be wrong on this is to be wholly wrong. Passing strange it is, that here in Massachusetts, in this nineteenth century, we should be constrained to put this question. Passing strange, that when it is put, there should be any hesitation to answer it, by voice and vote, in such way as to speak the loudest for Freedom.

A plain recital will show the urgency for this question. At the period of the Declaration of Independence, upwards of half a million colored persons were held as chattels in the United States. These unhappy people were originally stolen from Africa, or were the children of those who had been stolen, and, though distributed throughout the whole country, were to be found chiefly in the Southern States. The Slavery to which they were reduced was simply a continuation of the violence by which they had been originally robbed of their rights, and was of course as indefensible. The fathers of the Republic, leaders of the war of Independence, were struck with the inconsistency of an appeal for their own liberties, while holding in bondage fellowmen, only "guilty of a skin not colored like their own." The same conviction animated the hearts of the people, whether at the North or the South. Out of ample illustrations, I select one which specially reveals this conviction, and possesses a local interest in this community. It is a deed of manumission, made after our struggles had begun, and preserved in the Probate records of the County of Suffolk. Here it is:

"Know all men by these presents, that I, JONATHAN JACKSON, of Newburyport, in the county of Essex, gentleman, *in consideration of the ingratitude I feel, and have long felt, in my breast, for the slavery of my fellow-creatures, and more especially at this time when I am engaged in a warm contending for the liberty every man ought to enjoy,* and having some time since promised Prince Roger, a negro man, that I would give him his freedom, and in further consideration of five shillings, paid me by said Prince, I do hereby liberate, manumit, and set him free; and I do hereby remise and release unto said Prince, all demands of whatever nature I have against said Prince.

"In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this nineteenth June, 1776.

"*Witness*, { Mary Coburn.
{ William Noyes." JONATHAN JACKSON [Seal.]

Such was the general spirit. Public opinion found free vent in every channel. By the literature of the time, by the voice of the Church, and by the solemn judgment of the College, Slavery was condemned, while all the grandest names of our history were arrayed openly against it. Of these, I might dwell on many; but I am always pleased to mention an illustrious triumvirate, from whose concurring testimony there can be no appeal. There was Washington, who at one time declared that "it was among his first wishes to see some plan adopted by which Slavery might be abolished by law," and then at another, that, to this end, "his suffrage should not be wanting." There also was Jefferson, who, by early and precocious efforts for "total emancipation," placed himself foremost among the Abolitionists of the land—perpetually denouncing Slavery—exposing the pernicious influences upon the master as well as the slave—declaring that the love of justice and the love of country pleaded equally for the slave, and that "the abolition of domestic Slavery was the greatest object of desire." There also was the venerable patriot, Benjamin Franklin, who did not hesitate to liken the American master of black slaves to the Algerine corsair with his white slaves, and who, as President of the earliest Abolition Society—the same of which Pasmore Williamson is now Secretary—by solemn petition, called upon Congress "to step to the very verge of the power vested in it to *discourage* every species of traffic in human souls of our fellow-men." Thus completely, by this triumvirate of Freedom, was Slavery condemned, and the power of the Government invoked against it.

By such men and in such spirit was the National Constitution framed. The emphatic words of the Declaration of Independence, which our country took upon its lips as baptismal vows, when it claimed a place among the nations of the earth, were not forgotten. The preamble to the Constitution renews them, when it declares the object of the people of the United States to be, among other things, "to establish justice, to promote the *general* welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity." Thus, according to undeniable words, the Constitution was ordained, not to establish, secure, or sanction, Slavery—not to promote the special interest of slave-masters, bound together in oligarchical combination—not to make Slavery national in any way, form, or manner, but to "establish justice," which condemns Slavery—"to promote the general welfare," which repudiates every Oligarchy—and "to secure the blessings of Liberty," in whose presence human bondage must cease. Early in the Convention, Gouverneur Morris broke forth in the language of an Abolitionist: "He never would concur in upholding domestic Slavery. It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of Heaven." In another mood, and with mild juridical phrase, Mr. Madison, himself a slaveholder, "thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea of property in man." The discreditable words, *Slave* and *Slavery*, were not allowed to find a place in the instrument; while a clause was subsequently added by way of amendment, and therefore, according to the rules of interpretation, particularly revealing the sentiments of the founders, which is calculated, like the Declaration of Independence, if practically applied, to carry Freedom everywhere within the sphere of its influence. It was specifically declared that "no person shall be deprived of life, *liberty*, or property, *without due process of law*"—that is, without due presentment, indictment, or other formal judicial proceedings. Here is an express guard of personal Liberty, and a prohibition of Slavery everywhere within the national jurisdiction.

In this spirit was the National Constitution adopted. In this spirit the National Government was first organized under Washington. And here there is a fact of peculiar significance, well worthy of perpetual memory. At the time this great chief took his first oath to support the Constitution of the United States, *the National Ensign nowhere within the National Territory covered a single slave.* On the 15th of May, an execrable piracy, the trade in slaves, was still, to the national scandal, tolerated beneath the national flag. In the States, as a sectional institution, beneath the shelter of local laws, Slavery, unhappily, found a home. But in the only Territories at this time belonging to the Nation—the broad region of the Northwest—it had already, by the Ordinance of Freedom, been made impossible, even before the adoption of the Constitution. The District of Columbia, with its Fated Dowry, had not yet been acquired.

The original policy of the Republic, begun under the Confederation, and recognised at the initiation of the new Government, is clear and unmistakable. Compendiously expressed, it was *non-intervention by Congress with Slavery in the States, and its prohibition in all the national domain.* Thus we reconciled all discordant feelings on this subject. Slave-masters were left at home in their respective States, without any intervention from Congress, to hug Slavery until it stung them to contrition, while the great mass opposed to this wrong were properly exempted from any responsibility for it in the national domain.

Most true it is—beyond all question—that our Constitution was framed by the lovers of Human Rights; that it was animated by their divine spirit; that the institution of Slavery was regarded by them with aversion, so that, though covertly alluded to, it was not named in the instrument; that, according to the debates in the Convention, they refused to give it any "sanction," or "to admit into the Constitution the idea of property in man," which they looked forward to the certain day when it would be obliterated from the land. Surely, Fellow-Citizens, they did not contemplate any oligarchical combination, constituting a mighty Propaganda, such as we now witness, to uphold and extend it; nor can any person put his finger on any clause, phrase, or word, which sanctions any such Propaganda; and, in making this assertion, I challenge criticism and reply.

But the original policy of the Government did not long prevail. The generous sentiments, which filled the early patriots, giving to them historic grandeur, and which stamped upon the Republic, as upon the coin which it circulated, the very image and superscription of LIBERTY, gradually lost their power. The blessings of Freedom being already secured to themselves, the freemen of the land became indifferent to the freedom of others. They ceased to think of the slaves. The slave-masters availed themselves of this indifference, and, though few in number, compared with the non-slave-masters, even in the slave States, they have, under the influence of an imagined self-interest, by the skillful tactics of party, and especially by an unhesitating, perseverving union among themselves—swaying by turns both the great political parties—succeeded, through a long succession of years, in obtaining the mastery of the National Government, bending it to their purposes—compelling it to do their will, and imposing upon it a policy offensive to Freedom, and directly opposed to the sentiments of its founders; while on the forehead of the Republic, once beaming with Liberty, they have stamped the image and superscription of SLAVERY.

The actual number of slaveholders in the country was for a long time unknown, and on this account was naturally exaggerated. It was often represented to be very great. On one occasion, a distinguished Representative from Massachusetts, whose name will ever be cherished for his devotion to Human Rights, the Hon. Horace Mann, was rudely interrupted on the floor of Congress by a member from Alabama, who averred that the number of slaveholders was as many as three millions. At that time there was no official document by which this assumption could be corrected. But at last we have it. The last census, taken in 1850, shows that the whole number of this peculiar class—including men, women, and children, who, we are told, are so unfortunate as to hold slaves—was only 347,000; and, of this number, the larger part are small slaveholders, leaving only 92,000 persons as the owners of the great mass of slaves, and as the substantial representatives of this class. And yet this small oligarchy—constituting, in the slave States, a little more than a better called the Slave Oligarchy—now dominates over the Republic, determines its national policy, disposes of its offices, and sways all to its absolute will. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, it is an Oligarchy, odious beyond precedent; hearing neither pity nor shame, and trampling under its feet the Rights of Humanity, wanting that foundation of justice which is the essential base of every civilized community; stuck together only by confederacy in spoliation; and constituting in itself a *magnum latrocinium;* while it degrades the free States to the condition of a slave plantation, under the lash of a vulgar, despised, and revolting overseer.

There is nothing in the National Government which the Slave Oligarchy does not appropriate. It entered into and possessed both the old political parties, Whig and Democratic—as witnesses and martyrs at Baltimore testify, making them its subservient instruments, though double in form; and renewing in them the mystery of the Siamese twins, which, though separate in body and different in name, were constrained by an unnatural ligament to a community of exertion. It now holds the keys of every office, from that of President down to the humblest postmastership, and, by the patronage of these offices, controls the Press. It directs the Army and Navy. It manages every department of public business. It presides over the census. It controls the Smithsonian Institution, founded by the generous charity of a foreigner, to promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge among mankind, and, yet, called in the national capital and in the remotest village of the North. It sits in the chair of the President of the Senate, and also in the chair of the Speaker of the House. It arranges the Committees of both bodies, placing at their head only the servitors of Slavery, and excluding therefrom the friends of Freedom, though entitled to such places by their character and the States they represent; and thus it controls the legislation of the country.

In maintaining its power, the Slave Oligarchy has applied a test for office, very different from that of Jefferson—namely, "Are you a slaveholder? Is he faithful to the Constitution?" These things are all forgotten now, in the single question, "Is he faithful to Slavery?" With arrogant ostracism, it excludes from every national office all who cannot respond to this test. So complete and tyrannical has this proscription at last become, that, if Washington, if now speak, could Washington, or Jefferson, or Franklin, once more descend from their spheres above, to mingle in our affairs and bless us with their wisdom, not one of them, with his recorded *unextracted* opinions on Slavery, could receive a nomination for the Presidency from either of the national parties calling themselves national; nor, stranger still, could either of these sainted patriots, whose names alone open a perpetual fountain of gratitude in all your hearts, be confirmed by the Senate of the United States for any political function whatever—not even for the office of postmaster. What! now say, amidst your natural astonishment, I have often said before to whole crowds of the people, and more than once uttered from my seat in the Senate; and no man there has made answer, for no man who has sat in its secret sessions, and there learned the test which is practically applied, could make answer; and I ask you to accept this statement as the solemn testimony, derived from a service of four years, which has been my lot under the commission which I have received from our honored Commonwealth. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, had this test prevailed in the earlier days, Washington—first in war, first in peace, first in the hearts of his countrymen—could not have been chosen to the Presidency by the American forces; Jefferson could not have taken his place on the Committee to draft the Declaration of Independence; and Franklin could not have gone forth to France, with the commission of the infant Republic, to secure the invaluable alliance of that ancient Kingdom.

All tyranny, like murder, is foul as the best; but this is most foul, strange, and unnatural, when it is considered that the States, which are the home of the Slave Oligarchy, are far inferior to the free States, in population, wealth, education, schools, churches, literature, manufactures, and resources of all kinds. By the last census, there was in the free States a solid population of freemen amounting to upwards of 13,000,000, while in the slave States there was a like population of only 6,000,000. In other respects, important to civilization, the disparity was as great. And yet, from the beginning, they have taken to themselves the lion's share among the honors and trusts of the Republic. But, without exposing the game of political "sweepstakes," which the Slave Oligarchy has perpetually played—interesting as it would be—I prefer to hold up for one moment the aggressive and usurping spirit, which, in defiance of the Constitution, has made Slavery national, when it is in reality sectional. Here is a brief catalogue:

Early in this century, when the District of Columbia was finally occupied as the national capital, the Slave Oligarchy succeeded, in defiance of the spirit of the Constitution, and even of the express letter of one of its amendments, in securing for Slavery, within the District, the countenance of the National Government. Until then, Slavery had existed nowhere within the exclusive jurisdiction of this Government.

The Slave Oligarchy next secured for Slavery another recognition under the National Government in the broad Territory of Louisiana, purchased from France.

The Slave Oligarchy next placed Slavery again under the sanction of the National Government, in the Territory of Florida, purchased from Spain.

The Slave Oligarchy, waxing powerful, was able, after a severe struggle, to dictate terms to the National Government in the Missouri Compromise, compelling it to receive that State into the Union with a slaveholding Constitution.

The Slave Oligarchy instigated and carried on a most extensive war in Florida, mainly to recover fugitive slaves—thus degrading the army of the United States to be Slave-Hunters.

The Slave Oligarchy wrested from Mexico the Province of Texas, and, triumphing over all opposition, finally secured its admission into the Union, with a Constitution making Slavery perpetual.

The Slave Oligarchy plunged the country in war with Mexico, in order to gain new lands for Slavery.

The Slave Oligarchy, with the meanness as well as the insolence of tyranny, has compelled the National Government to abstain from acknowledging the neighbor Republic of Hayti, where slaves have become freemen, and established an independent nation.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to stoop ignobly before the British Queen, to secure compensation for slaves, who, in the exercise of the natural rights of man, had asserted and achieved their freedom on the Atlantic Ocean, and afterwards sought shelter in Bermuda.

The Slave Oligarchy has compelled the National Government to seek to negotiate treaties for the surrender of fugitive slaves—thus making our Republic assert abroad, in foreign lands, property in human flesh.

The Slave Oligarchy has joined in declaring the foreign slave trade *piracy*, but insists on the coastwise slave trade under the auspicies of the National Government.

The Slave Oligarchy for several years rejected the petitions to Congress asking for Slavery—thus, in order to shield this wrong, practically denying the right of petition.

The Slave Oligarchy, in defiance of the privileges secured under the Constitution of the United States, imprisons the free-colored citizens of Massachusetts, and sometimes sells them into bondage.

The Slave Oligarchy insulted and exiled from Charleston and New Orleans the honored representatives of Massachusetts, who were sent to those places, with the commission of the Commonwealth, in order to throw the shield of the Constitution over her colored citizens.

The Slave Oligarchy has, by the pen of Mr. Calhoun, as Secretary of State, in formal despatches, made the Republic stand before the nations of the earth as the vindicator of Slavery.

The Slave Oligarchy has put forth the hideous effrontery, that Slavery can go to all newly-acquired territories, and enjoy the protection of the national flag.

The Slave Oligarchy has imposed upon the country an act of Congress, for the recovery of fugitive slaves, revolting in its requirements, and many times unconstitutional—especially on two grounds: first, as a usurpation by Congress of powers not granted by the Constitution, and an infraction of rights secured to the States; and, secondly, as a denial of Trial by Jury, in a question of Personal Liberty, and a suit at common law.

Such, Fellow-Citizens, are some of the aggressions and usurpations of the Slave Oligarchy! By each step, the National Government has been perverted from its original purposes, its character changed, and its powers all surrendered to Slavery. Surely, no patriot soul can listen to this recital, without confessing that our first political duty is, at all hazards and without compromise, to oppose this Oligarchy, to dislodge it from the National Government, and to bring the administration back to that character which it enjoyed when first organized under Washington, himself an Abolitionist, and surrounded by Abolitionists, while the whole country, by its Church, its Colleges, its Literature, and all its best voices, was united against Slavery, and the national flag nowhere within the national territory covered a single slave.

Fellow-Citizens, I have said enough to stir you; but this humiliating tale is not yet finished. An Oligarchy seeking to maintain an outrage like Slavery, and drawing its inspiration from this fountain of wickedness, is naturally false, and heedless of justice. It is vain to expect that men, who have screwed themselves to become the propagandists of this enormity, will be restrained by any compromise, compact, bargain, or plighted faith. As the less is contained in the greater, so there is no vileness of dishonesty, no denial of human rights, that is not implied in the support of an institution, which begins by changing man created in the image of God into a chattel, and sweeps little children away to the auction-block. A power which Heaven never gave, can be maintained only by means which Heaven can never sanction. And this Oligarchy has continued to trample on compact, and here I approach the special question under which the country now shakes from side to side. The protracted struggle of 1820, known as the Missouri Question, ended with the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding State, and the prohibition of Slavery in all the remaining territory, west of the Mississippi and north of 36° 30′. Here was a solemn act of legislation, called at the time a compromise, a covenant, a compact, first brought forward by the Slave Oligarchy, vindicated by it in debate, finally sanctioned by its votes, also upheld at the time by a slaveholding President, James Monroe, and his Cabinet—of whom a majority were slaveholders, including Mr. Calhoun, himself—and made the condition of the admission of Missouri, without which that State could not have been received into the Union. Suddenly, during the last year—without any notice in the press or the prayer of a single petition—after an acquiescence of thirty-three years, and the irreclainable possession by the Slave Oligarchy of its special share in the provisions of this Compromise—in violation of every obligation of honor, compact, and good neighborhood—and in contemptuous disregard of the out-gushing sentiments of an aroused North, this time-honored Prohibition, in itself a Landmark of Freedom, was overturned, and the vast region, now known as Kansas and Nebraska, was opened to Slavery; and this was done under the disgraceful lead of Northern politicians, and with the undisguised complicity of a Northern President, forgetful of Freedom, forgetful also of his reiterated pledges, that during his administration the repose of the country should receive no shock.

And all this was perpetrated under pretences of popular rights. Freedom was betrayed by a law, in defiance of an uninterrupted prescription down to our day—early sustained at the South as well as the North—leaning at once on Jefferson and Washington—sanctioned by all the authoritative names of our history, and beginning with the great Ordinance by which Slavery was prohibited in the Northwest Territory, and which, in the words of the United States, who are the proprietors of the national domain, and who, according to the Constitution, may "make all needful rules and regulations" for its government, nevertheless were not its sovereigns—that they had no power to interdict Slavery in a Territory, but that immigrants from other States, who are settlers, called squatters, whom chance or a desire to better their fortunes first hurried into these places. To this precarious handful, sprinkled over immense spaces, it was left, without any constraint from Congress, to decide whether into these vast unfitted lands, on the very verge of the tropics, should be poured the festering poison of Slavery, destined, as time advances, to show itself in cancers and leprosy disease, or whether they should be filled with all the glowing life of Freedom. And this great power, transferred from Congress to these few settlers, was hailed by the new-fangled name of *Squatter Sovereignty.*

It was fit that the original outrage, perpetrated under such pretences, should be followed by other outrages, perpetrated in defiance of these pretences. In the race of emigration, the Freedom-loving freemen of the North promised to obtain the ascendency, and, to secure this end, the conscript fathers, the settlers, to prohibit Slavery. The Slave Oligarchy was aroused to other efforts. Of course, it stuck at nothing. On the day of election, when this vaunted popular sovereignty was first invoked, hirelings from Missouri, having no home in the Territory, but being in the habit of filling vacant places, assuming an electoral franchise to which they had no claim, trampled under foot the Constitution and laws. Violently, ruthlessly, the polls were possessed by these invaders. The same Northern President, who did not shrink from sustaining complicity in the outrage, now lifted his hand against complicity. Though prompt to lavish the Treasury, the Army and the Navy of the Republic, in hunting a single slave through the streets of Boston, he could see the Constitution and laws which he was sworn to protect, and those popular rights which he had stricken down, trampled in the dust by a mob, and then give new scope to these invaders by the removal of the faithful Governor—who had become obnoxious to the Slave Oligarchy because he would not become their tool—and the substitution of another, who vindicated the dishonest choice of the ballot-box, and lifted his hand against them, to embrace the partisans of Slavery. The Legislature, which was constituted by the overthrow of the electoral franchise, proceeded to overthrow every safeguard of Freedom. At one swoop, it adopted all the legislation of Missouri, including its Slave Code; by another act it imposed unconstitutional conditions upon the exercise of the electoral franchise, and by still another act it denounced the *punishment of death* no less than five times against as many different forms of interference with the alleged property in human flesh, while all who only write or speak against Slavery are threatened with the same. Yes, Fellow-Citizens, should any person there presume to print or circulate the speech in which I now express my abhorrence of Slavery, and deny its constitutional existence anywhere within the national jurisdiction, he would become liable under this act as a felon. And this overthrow of popular rights is done in the name of Popular Sovereignty. Surely its authors follow well the counsels of the earliest Squatter Sovereign—none other than Satan—who, stealing into Eden, was there discovered, by the celestial angels, just beginning his work; as Milton tells us,

"——— him there they found
Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve."

Would you know the secret of this unprecedented endeavor, beginning with the repeal of the Prohibition of Slavery, down to the latest atrocity? The answer is at hand. It is not merely to provide new markets for slaves, or even to extend the institution into Missouri, by the admission of a new Slave State, by the presence of two additional slaveholding Senators, to give increased preponderance on the Slave Oligarchy in the National Government. As men are murdered for the sake of their money, so is this Territory blasted in peace and prosperity, to subserve the political influence of the South. But a single usurpation is not enough to employ the rapacious energies of our Oligarchy. At this moment, while the country is pained by the heartless conspiracy against Freedom in Kansas, we are startled by another effort, which contemplates, not merely the political subjugation of the National Government, but the actual introduction of Slavery into the free States. The vaunt has been made, that slaves will yet be counted in the sacred shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill, and more than one step has been taken towards this consummation. A resolve in Virginia has been adopted, that they to hold slaves in New York on the way to Texas; and this claim is still pending before the highest judicial tribunal of the land. A similar claim has been asserted in Pennsylvania, and thus far been sustained by the Courts. A blameless citizen, who, by the ordinances of Pennsylvania, has been a citizen of the National Government, but the actual introduction of Slavery into the free States. The vaunt has been made, that slaves will yet be counted in the sacred shadow of the monument on Bunker Hill, and more than one step has been taken towards this consummation. A resolve in Virginia has been adopted, that they to hold slaves in New York on the way to Texas; and this claim is still pending before the highest judicial tribunal of the land. A similar claim has been asserted in Pennsylvania, and thus far been sustained by the Courts. A blameless citizen, who, by the ordinances of Pennsylvania, has been a citizen of the National Government, merely gave notice to a person held as a slave in a free State, that she was in reality free, has been thrust into jail, and now, after the lapse of months, still languishes there, the victim of this pretension; while—that no opportunity may be wanting to the full development of the great writ of *Habeas Corpus*, proudly known as the writ of deliverance, has been made the instrument of his imprisonment. Outrage treads upon outrage, and great rights pass away to perish. Alas! the needful tool for such work is too easily found in place high and low—the allies and cohorts of Boston—on the bench of the Judge—in the chair of the President. But it is the proper hand which I arraign. The Slave Oligarchy does it; the Slave Oligarchy does it all.

To the prostration of this Oligarchy you are bound by a three-fold cord of duty: first, as you would secure Freedom for yourselves; secondly, as you would uphold Freedom in Kansas; and, thirdly, as you would preserve the Union in its early strength and integrity. The people of Kansas are many of them from Massachusetts—bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh; but, as fellow-citizens under the Constitution, they are bound to us by ties which we cannot disown. Nay, more! by the subtle cord which connects this embryo settlement with the Republic, they are made a part of us. The outrage which touches them, touches us. What galls them, galls us. The fetter which binds the slave in Kansas, binds every citizen in Massachusetts. Thus are we prompted to their rescue, not only to save them, but also to save ourselves. The tyranny which now treads them down, has already trampled on us, and only awaits an opportunity to do it again. In its complete overthrow is the only way of safety. Indeed, this must be done before anything else can be done. In vain you seek economy in the Government, improvement of rivers and harbors, or dignity and peace in our foreign relations, while this Power holds the national purse and the national sword. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the door will be wide open for all generous reforms. Oh! the imagination loses itself in the vain endeavor to picture the good that will be then accomplished. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and Liberty will become the universal law of all the national Territories; Slavery will cease at once in the national capital; the slave trade will no longer skulk along our coasts, beneath the national flag; and the wickedness of the Fugitive Slave Bill will be driven from the statute book. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the National Government will be at length divorced from Slavery, and the national policy will be changed from Slavery to Freedom. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will no longer be the vassal of the South. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the North will be admitted to its just share in the trusts and honors of the Republic. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and you will possess the master-key with which to unlock the whole house of bondage. Prostrate the Slave Oligarchy, and the gates of emancipation will be open at the South.

To this work, Fellow-Citizens, you are now summoned. By your votes you are to declare, not merely your predilection for men, but your devotion to principles. Men are erring and mortal. Principles are steadfast and immortal. Forgetting all other things—especially forgetting men—you are to cast your votes so as best to promote Freedom.

But in the choice of men we are driven to the organization of parties; and here occurs the practical question on which hinges our immediate duty. By what political party can our desire be accomplished? There are individuals in all the parties, even the Democratic, who hate Slavery, and say so; but a political party cannot be judged by the private opinions of some of its members, but by the acts and professions of its organs. Of the two great parties which we select, to bear the burden and honor of our great controversy, must be adapted to the work. It must be a perfect machine. Wedded to Freedom for better or for worse, it must go to the work with a grasp which shall not relax, it must be clear, open, and unequivocal, in its declarations, and must admit no other question to divert its energies. It must be all in Freedom, and, like Cesar's wife, it must be above suspicion. But besides this character which it must assume in the abstract, it must be prepared to take its place in close phalanx with the united masses of the North, now organizing through all the free States, *junctaque unbone phalanges*, for the protection of Freedom, and the overthrow of the Slave Oligarchy.

Bearing these considerations in mind, there are three parties which we may dismiss, one by one, as they pass in review. Men do not gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles; nor do they expect patriotism from Benedict Arnold. A party which sustains the tyrannies and perfidies of the Slave Oligarchy, and is represented by the President through whom has come so much of all our woe, need not occupy our time; and such is the Democratic party. If there be within the sound of my voice a single person, who, professing sympathy with Freedom, still votes with this party, to him I would say: The name of honorable is a tower of strength; let it not be a bulwark of Slavery; for the sake of a name, do not sacrifice a thing; for the sake of a party, do not surrender Freedom.

According to a familiar rule, handed down from distant antiquity, we are to say nothing but good of the dead. How, then, shall I speak of the late powerful Whig party—by whose giant contests the whole country was once upheaved—but which has now ceased to exist, except as the shadow of a name? Here in Massachusetts, a few, who do not yet know that it is dead, have met together and proffered their old allegiance. They are the Rip Van Winkles of our politics. This respectable character, falling asleep in the mountains, drowsed undisturbed throughout the whole war of the Revolution, and, then returning to his native village, ignorant of all that had passed, proposed to drink the health of King George. But our Whigs are less tolerant and urbane than this worthy Dutchman. In petulant and irrational assumptions they are like the unfortunate judge, who, being aroused from his slumbers on the bench by a sudden crash of thunder, exclaimed, "Mr. Crier, stop the noise in Court." The thunder would not be hushed; nor will the voice of Freedom, now resounding throughout the land. Some there are among these who openly espouse the part of Slavery, while others, by their indifference, place themselves in the same unhappy company. If their position at this moment were of sufficient importance to justify grave remark, they should be exhibited as kindred in spirit and isolation to the Tories of the Revolution, or at least as the Bourbons of Massachusetts—always claiming everything, learning nothing, forgetting nothing, and at last condemned by an aroused people for their disloyalty to Freedom.

That any person who loves Freedom may join this company, tempted by its name, its music, and its banners, I now read the language of welcome and sympathy, addressed to them by a distant journal, the St. Louis *Republican*, a paper which has sustained the Kansas and Nebraska Bill, and the worst outrages which have followed. The article is entitled, "A Bugle Note from the Right Quarter;" and after saying that "the Whig Spirit is up in Massachusetts," proceeds to say:

"When we see Stevenson and Hilliard and Walley, and hosts of such men, consulting together for the public good; and Winthrop and Choate and Washburn, and others, deliberately putting upon record their approval of the movement, and their condemnation of a geographical party, we cannot doubt the regeneration of Massachusetts."

After this commendation of our Whig brethren, the same paper proceeds in its next article to express its sympathy with what it calls "the Pro-Slavery men of Kansas."

There is still another party, which claims your votes, but permit me to say, at this crisis, with small pretence. I am at a loss to determine the name by which it may be properly called. It is sometimes known as the Know Nothing party; sometimes as the American party; but it cannot be entitled to these designations—if they be of any value—for it does not claim to belong to the organization which first assumed and still retains them. It is an isolated combination, peculiar to Massachusetts, which, while professing certain political sentiments, is bound together by the support of one of the candidates for Governor. At this moment, this is its controlling idea. It is therefore a *personal party*, and I trust that I shall not be considered as departing from that courtesy which is with me a law, if I say that, in the absence of any appropriate name, expressive of principles, it may properly take its designation from the candidate it supports. It is not a party of Whigs, Democrats, Hunkers or, Free-Soilers; but it is a party of Gardnerites.

Of course, such a party has no essential condition of the organization which we seek. It is a *personal party*, whose controlling idea is a predilection for a man, and not a principle. Whatever may be the private sentiments of some of its members, clearly it is not a party wedded to Freedom for better and for worse, and obeying to the last its behests as its inalienable. While professing opposition to Slavery, it also arraigns Catholics and foreigners, and allows the question of their privileges to disturb its energies. It is not all in Freedom; nor is it, like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Besides, even as a party of Freedom, it is greatly deficient in organization; for it stands by itself, and is in no way associated with that great phalanx now rallying throughout the North. In this condition, should it continue to exist, it will, in the coming Presidential contest, from natural affinity lapse back into the American party of the country, which is a part of its intimate life. As a party, or as a separate party, it is necessarily short-lived. Cut off from the main body, it may still show a brief vitality, as the head of a turtle still bites for some days after it is severed from the neck; but it can have no permanent existence. Nothing can be not in Freedom's cause can be permanent.

But the incompetency of this party, as the organ of our cause, is enhanced by the uncongenial secrecy in which it had its origin, and yet shrouds itself. For myself, let me say, that on the floor of the Senate I have striven, by vote and speech, to overthrow the secret conclave, by distinguished friend, Mr. CLAYTON, for the limitation of the secret sessions of that body, under which, more than any other much of the business of the nation is transacted; and I have there presented, as a fit model for American institutions, the example of that ancient Roman, who bade his architect so to construct his house, that his guests and all that they did might be seen by passers-by. Here, in the light I have urged here. But the special aims which this party proposes seem to be in harmony with the darkness in which it begins. Even if justifiable on any grounds of public policy, they should not be associated with our cause; but I am unwilling to think so lowly of any portion of my fellow-citizens.

It is proposed to attaint men for their religion, and also for their birth. If this object can prevail, vain are the triumphs of

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1855.

BILLS! BILLS!

Look out for your bills. They may drop out of your papers unperceived.

ENCOURAGING.

Our friends are doing nobly. Many who left us last year, come back this. If every friend of the paper continues to work, the reaction will be successful. Now is the time. Send in the clubs, so that new subscribers may begin with the session.

Congress met last Monday, at twelve o'clock. The Administration members of the House concentrated on Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, as their candidate for the Speakership, and gave him 74 votes, out of 225, the whole number cast. The Opposition, as every one foresaw, is divided, and there must be many ballotings before it can be sufficiently harmonized to elect a Speaker.

A majority of the House was returned on the simple Anti-Nebraska issue—but there are members of this majority who propose, in the election of Speaker, to advance other issues—in der. This is the source of all the difficulty in organizing the House. Were it not for the intervention of this element, an Anti-Slavery Speaker could be chosen without difficulty. The telegraphists and letter-writers are sending out all sorts of rumors and speculations—but the People may as well understand at once, that should the ballotings be protracted for a month longer, it will be owing solely to the cause we have just pointed out.

Meantime, let the Opposition keep cool, and proceed calmly, and without hurry, allowing time for members to become acquainted with each other, and for prejudices to wear away.

TROUBLES IN KANSAS.

Reports of the beginning of civil war in Kansas reach us by the telegraph. They seem to have been conveyed first to the Missouri Legislature, where the election for Senator is pending, and then to have been forwarded to Washington. As might have been expected, the blame is laid on the Free State men. The Slavery Propagandists, we all know, are a meek, long-forbearing tribe! It is said that Gov. Shannon has applied for help, and that the President has put the military at his disposal. We are inclined to think the rumors are exaggerated, for sinister purposes.

☞ We respectfully commend to the notice of subscribers, and our friends of the Press, the Prospectus of the *National Era* for 1856. Subscriptions should be renewed without delay.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

Tenth Volume of The National Era,

Washington, D. C.

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

The signs of the times indicate an approaching crisis in the conflict between Freedom and Slavery. The Democratic Party and the Whig, with their peculiar issues, have ceased to exist, the latter being totally disorganized; the organization of the former being appropriated as the machinery of a Party devoted to the Cause of Slavery, while nearly all that was healthful and progressive in both has been absorbed by the Anti-Slavery movement, now organized in the form of a Republican Party. The one great Question before the People is, the Slavery Question; and there are really but two Parties, the Republican and the Pro-Slavery.

Henceforth, these Parties must meet each other face to face. The Congress that shall meet within the next two weeks, must witness their first national struggle. Who shall be Speaker—what Power shall organize the House, constitute its Committees, initiate and determine its action?—will be the first questions to be settled. Next must be considered the affairs of Kansas. A spurious Delegate, chosen by fraudulent votes, at a spurious election, ordered by an illegal Legislature, representing the policy and interests of Missouri Slaveholders; and a genuine Delegate, chosen by the votes of actual settlers, at an election held in accordance with the principles of self-government, assumed to be embodied in the law organizing the Territory, will demand admission to the floor of Congress. At the same time will arise the question of the admission of Kansas as a State, in conformity to the application of its inhabitants, who, in Convention assembled, have duly formed a State Constitution. Add to this, a bill for the admission of Oregon as a free State—and Congress will have before it a series of practical Questions of vast magnitude, involving the entire issue between the Slave Power and its opponents. The struggle will not be confined to that body. Already commenced among the People, it will derive new interest from the proceedings in Congress. All those Questions must enter into and decide the canvass for the Presidency now opened. The next twelve months, then, will be a period of surpassing importance. The People must array themselves under the banner of Republicanism, or the banner of Slavery. There can be no neutrality, no evasion, no compromise. There can be no intermediate parties, although there may be sinister factions working insidiously for the defeat of Republicanism, and the continuance of power in the hands of the Slaveholding oligarchy. He that is not for Freedom is against it.

The responsibilities of Republicans at such a moment cannot be too urgently impressed upon them. The great Question, to the exclusion of all others, should be made the test in Congress, and by the People, on every occasion, at every election. The work of organization ought to be vigorously prosecuted, till every county and town be fully prepared for the decisive struggle.

Above all, the *Press should be put in active operation*. Local and Metropolitan newspapers—there ought *to be* no jealousy between them—are alike needed. Republican papers should be encouraged, and their issues multiplied, until every man and woman, who can read, be furnished with the whole argument for Liberty.

To the readers of the *National Era* we address ourselves specially. It has fought the battles of Freedom for nine years, and is now entering its tenth campaign. What it has been, it will be. The doctrines it has urged, the aims it has announced, are still dear to it. Its course has been a straightforward one, without concealment, without compromise, without resort to questionable expedients to achieve temporary success. So long as the Republican Party shall continue true to the principles of Civil and Religious Liberty we have advocated through the *Era*, true to the rights of conscience without distinction of sect, true to all the rights of Humanity without regard to race or birth, the *Era* will labor for its ascendency.

Our tenth volume will begin with the first of the new year. We need hardly say that no pains will be spared to maintain its position as a Literary and Family newspaper. We have on hand several new stories, and the promise of one from the pen of MRS. SOUTHWORTH, to commence in the first number of the new volume.

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A POLITICAL SURVEY—HOW UNION IS TO BE EFFECTED.

Silver men who shall adhere to the Know Nothing Party. Let us reason together.

The Michigan *Free Democrat*, a paper which we had supposed to be *Republican*, a week or two since remarked—

"Now that the Know Nothing party has become so extensively dominant in the country, it is a matter of some solicitude whether or not it will be spoiled by its unexpected success. One thing is certain, that a party so large and influential as this, and controlling so much the affairs of Government, will be speedily compelled to avow its policy in the most distinct manner."

This is remarkable language for a *Republican* journal. It assumes, first, that the Know Nothing Party is pure and sound; secondly, that it has not yet avowed its policy! Must we say that this is a pretty fair illustration of the tactics of a large portion of the old Free Soil Press? Speaking of the differences of opinion among the Know Nothings in the several States, the same paper says:

"These differences will now undoubtedly either be reconciled, or some one of the measures of anonymistic policy will be taken up, and become of universal acceptance, and then we shall be enabled clearly to see just what the cause of Freedom has to expect at its hands."

This is the attitude of patient waiting on the footsteps of Know Nothingism, maintained by many old Anti-Slavery men. They have been laboring under the strange hallucination that this Secret Order was the chosen instrument of Heaven for the redemption of the nation; while others, not so deplorably misled, still would tamper with it, under the delusion that it can be made ultimately subservient to the Anti-Slavery Cause. The Cleveland *Leader*, for example, disappointed at the result of the Massachusetts election, "apprehends the great issue of Slavery and Freedom was too little attended to, while the question of Know Nothingism attracted too much notice. That the Know Nothings of Massachusetts are Anti-Slavery in their feelings, will not be denied; that they would have united with the Republicans on an Anti-Slavery platform, is, we think, equally certain. Know Nothingism, as at first organized, is virtually dead in the North; but there is enough of it still left to be formidable when it is driven into a hostile attitude. We think that the Republicans of Massachusetts erred in this, though their platform, taken as a whole, was themselves and to their own principles: it will not do for some to pull one way, and some, another—for any of them to tamper with other Parties, whom their fellow-laborers are opposing. No Party can live, or deserves to live, the members of which do not maintain good faith to each other.

Let us survey the political field.

There will be three distinct nominations in the Presidential election—*Republican, Pro-Slavery Democratic, Know Nothing* or "*American.*" Three Parties are already organized—the *Republican*, the *Pro-Slavery Democracy*, and the *Know Nothing*. The first, represents the Principle of Liberty, the second, that of Slavery, the third, the policy of Caste and Compromise.

The Slavery-Democracy has an organization in every State of the Union, but is really ascendant only in the slave States. It has been the main instrument of the Slave Power. Its one policy is, to yield to its exactions, and to enforce popular acquiescence in them. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, for the purpose of nationalizing Slavery, and it insists upon acquiescence in this repeal. The endorsement of the Fugitive Bill, of the Compromise of 1850, of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and of the policy embodied in them and implied by them, will be the test in the National Convention of the Party to be held in Cincinnati next year, and the sole issue tendered by its nominations.

The Republican Party is organized expressly to meet this issue. It refuses its endorsement to the Compromise and Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, [illegible] the Missouri Compromise; and, striking at the Principle and Policy of all these measures—the extension and nationalization of Slavery—it demands, *the total prohibition of Slavery in all Federal Territory.*

These two Parties, then, confront each other on a single issue—Freedom and Slavery. Will the men who, adhering to the Know Nothing Order, profess devotion to the cause of Freedom, answer this question: Suppose these two Parties, so arrayed, should be left, undisturbed by any other organization, undistracted by any other question, to decide this single, grand issue, by their votes next November, what would be the decision? Can they hesitate—can they for a moment doubt, that the Right would triumph, and the Slave Power be overthrown? But, another Party, with other issues, does intervene, and the result at once becomes doubtful. Who are responsible for this—who, responsible for thus interposing in the conflict between the Slave Power and its Opponents, and for giving to the former a new lease of life? The twenty-four thousand Free-Soilers who voted a Know Nothing ticket in Massachusetts, and the thousands of Anti-Slavery men who are still tampering, in other States, with the Know Nothing Order.

Look at the exact position of this Party. We leave out of view its secret mummeries, of which it has grown ashamed—its extra-judicial oaths, which it proposes to give up—its anti-Christian policy of proscription, which it still clings to; our concern now is, simply with the position of the Party in its bearings on the Slavery Question. It was not organized with a view to meet this issue, to dispose of it in any way. What business with it, then, has any Anti-Slavery man, holding this issue to be of paramount importance? It has diverted a large share of public attention from this issue. Does this give it a claim upon their continued support? It has divided the free States on the issue: and yet, they adhere!

After the Order had been at work for a year, marshalling adherents in all the States, from all the Parties, in some States absorbing nearly all the Anti-Slavery voters, it held its National Convention, and, to the surprise of these deluded voters, adopted a platform affirming acquiescence in the Compromise of 1850, in the Fugitive Act, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—in a word, in all existing laws on the subject of Slavery. Some of the Northern members seceded, others adhered. The seceders were sustained at home, but what followed? Not a single State Council disbanded—only two or three indeed dissolved their connection with the National Order. The organization was kept up, and the seceding delegates called a Convention, to meet at Cincinnati on the 21st November, to see what further should be done.

Had the Order in the North been loyal to Freedom, had it verily believed the Slavery Question the paramount issue, it would have dissolved itself, and its members would have united with the only Party, arrayed distinctly against the Slavery Democracy, on the one issue it audaciously tendered. It was not true to Freedom—it subordinated it to other objects. Its managers generally contemplated a reunion with National Know Nothings, on a "National" basis, as it is affectedly styled. In New York, the Party planted itself openly on the basis of caste, compromise, and "nationality." In Massachusetts, it arrayed itself against the only Party, organized to meet distinctly, both locally and nationally, the Slavery issue. No sooner were the results of the election in those States known, than the project of forming a Republican Party in New Jersey was postponed; and in New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, the Order resolved to maintain its organization, to insist upon its peculiar Know Nothing Principles, accompanying the resolution, however, with such declarations of Anti-Slavery sentiments as were calculated and designed to preclude anything like a successful attempt at a separate Republican organization. Then followed a strong demonstration on the part of the Know Nothing members of the Legislature of Vermont, a State in which, until then, the Order had not undertaken to assume the lead.

On the 16th November, they, and others sympathizing with them, met in the State House at Montpelier, and, after the passage of the usual Anti-Slavery resolutions, laid down their platform, as follows:

"7. *Resolved*, That we are determined to use all lawful efforts to secure such a modification of our naturalization laws, aided by yet an elevation of public sentiment, as will preserve the true interests of the nation, and will guaranty the three vital principles of a Republican Government—POLITICAL FREEDOM, A FREE BIBLE, AND FREE SCHOOLS—thereby promoting the great work of *Americanizing America.*

"8. *Resolved*, That we invoke the arm of legislation to arrest that growing evil, the deportation, by foreign authorities, of paupers and convicts to our shores; and that as our National Constitution requires the chief Executive of our country to be of native birth, we deem it equally important that other high official functionaries, and especially our diplomatic representatives abroad, should also possess no foreign principles to bias their judgment or to influence their official action.

"9. *Resolved*, That *we are not opposed* to the emigration of foreigners to our shore from the Old World, who come imbued with the spirit of Republican Freedom, who seek not to impose upon us the decrees of a foreign ecclesiastical hierarchy, so eminently foreign and hostile to the spirit of our republican institutions, but who are willing to labor with us in extending and perpetuating the blessings of civil and religious liberty, until, from one end of our land to the other, all shall be actuated by the high and holy principles embodied in the Constitution of our land, and in that constitution of principles emanating from the Throne of God.

"10. *Resolved*, That we deem the present prohibitory liquor law of this State a part of its settled legislative policy, and that we are opposed to any modification thereof, except such as experience shall demonstrate to be requisite, in order to its greater perfection and efficiency.

"11. *Resolved*, That we cordially invite all our fellow-citizens who feel that the above principles are correct and just, and eminently called for by every consideration of justice and patriotism, to meet us upon this *broad platform*, and with us labor to secure their ascendency in our State and Federal Governments, that we may hasten on the day when our beloved country shall stand forth to the world, a model Republic for *freedom, virtue, intelligence*, and PATRIOTISM.

"12. *Resolved*, That the several Editors in this State are respectfully requested to publish the above resolutions."

The *Green Mountain Freeman*, which used to be a Free Soil paper, but now evidently prefers Know Nothingism to Republicanism, is delighted. "We publish," it says, "the Anti-Slavery American resolutions of a large and harmonious meeting of the members of the Legislature, to the number of about one hundred, which was held at the State House on one of the last days of the session, that all may judge for themselves how much the friends of Freedom may have to hope for or to fear from the action of that party in this State."

Next comes the Cincinnati Convention of November 21st, representing the Know Nothings of the North, with the exception of New York, where, the Order being already nationalized, no inclined plane is required to let it slide easily into the National Order. We need not here reprint the report of its doings, published in the *Era* last week. Lieutenant Governor FOND, elected by the *Republicans* of Ohio, presided, and made a "*national*" speech. That must be remembered. Ex-Governor [illegible] was also conspicuously active. Know Nothing from Pennsylvania, made a "*national*" speech. Let that be remembered. The liberal, Anti-Slavery platform of Mr. Spooner, of the Ohio Know Nothings, was rejected, only eleven names being recorded in its favor out of 104. Let that be remembered. As the Convention had been called by those members of the Philadelphia Convention who would not acquiesce in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and as the call had specified opposition to this repeal as one reason for assembling, the delegates could do no less than adopt the following declaration:

"That the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was an infraction of the plighted faith of the nation, and that it should be restored; and, if efforts to that end should fail, Congress should refuse to admit into the Union any State tolerating Slavery, which shall be formed out of any portion of the territory from which that institution was excluded by that Compromise."

Well, this is a mere declaration: will they stand by it? They do not say so. They simply recommend to the National Council, to be held at Philadelphia, its adoption, in place of the 12th section. *But they do not insist upon it, declare that it is an ultimatum, or intimate that they or their constituents will refuse to act with the National Council, should it decline to follow the recommendation.* On the contrary, they evidently proceed on the assumption that the National Council is to be and will be recognised; for they adopted another resolution recommending that Council "to abolish all but one degree, and to require the word of honor instead of the obligation now required by the Order." To demonstrate the determination of their constituents in the free States, to maintain their Order, to refrain from the policy of fusion with Republicans, and to hold themselves in a position where they can act for a Know Nothing Presidential nomination, they resolved further—and this was the great work of the Convention—

"*That this Convention protest against coalescing with any party which demands the postponement or abandonment of American principles, or the disorganization of the American party.*"

Mark, this is the position of the men who seceded from the Philadelphia Convention, on account of hostility to the 12th section of the platform! We recollect with what honor they were received at home. Even those who opposed the Order were loud in their praises of the integrity and constancy of these seceding delegates. But how many of them have fulfilled the expectation their conduct then authorized? Henry Wilson can count them on his fingers. The rest have held their Cincinnati Convention, and hybold the "result!

We have looked over the whole political field, and ascertained the positions and relations of the three Parties. We now appeal to the Anti-Slavery adherents of the Know Nothing Order. Do you expect that the electoral vote of a single slave State will be given to a Presidential candidate, not known to be opposed to the prohibition of Slavery in Federal Territory, to the restoration of the Anti-Slavery clause of the Missouri Compromise, and to all agitation with a view to secure either object? Do you not know that, on this whole question of Slavery, the slaveholding States will be a unit? Do you not believe that the object they unitedly oppose, is of paramount importance? Can it be secured, except by a union of the masses of the free States, acting together for its accomplishment? Do you not know that, thus acting, they could elect a President, openly and honestly committed to the Principle and Policy of Slavery-Prohibition in all Federal Territory? To effect such a union, is it not plain that there must be one organization, one set of nominations, a common mode of operations?

Say, then, what organization shall this be? Your National Know Nothing organization proposes to save the Union, to maintain all existing arrangements in regard to Slavery, to put down agitation respecting it, and put in the Presidential chair, a man pledged to this policy. Your seceding Know Nothings propose to act with the National Know Nothings, but to *recommend* to them the adoption of the policy of restoring the Missouri Compromise. Your organization in New York, and to a great extent in Pennsylvania, accepts the Philadelphia Pro-Slavery platform; and in Connecticut, while assuming Anti-Slavery ground, proposes to act with the Nationals. Suppose you could organize a Northern Know Nothing Party on the Anti-Slavery, Native American basis, you could not carry New York and Pennsylvania against the National Know Nothings and Old Line Democracy, too. But, you know that you cannot organize an efficient Party on that two-fold basis.

In a few States, you have effected a combination of Anti-Slavery and Native American voters, in one Party; but you know perfectly well that such a combination can never be effected in Ohio, Wisconsin, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. The real Republicans in those States will suffer defeat a hundred times before they will sacrifice their Principles for a combination embracing a doctrine and policy they believe wrong. No matter, then, how Anti-Slavery you make your Order in some States, you cannot hope to absorb the hundreds of thousands of Anti-Slavery voters who reject your peculiar Know Nothing principles. The only result of your efforts must be, to divide the masses of the free States, and give the victory to the Slave Interest, which, amidst all Party revolutions and combinations, is true forever to itself.

We cannot come over to you, without standing upon your platform, adopting your issues, sustaining your policy, in relation to Know Nothingism, for, in your plan of action, you make that a Question equal in importance to that of Slavery.

How can you ask this at our hands? But, you profess to believe that the Question of Slavery is now, and will be in the coming Presidential election, of greater urgency and importance than any other. You then can give up your organization, and act with us, on this single issue, without any sacrifice of principle. We institute no censorship over private opinion. Hold what views you please, concerning Banks, Tariffs, the Public Lands, Naturalization—only do not make them the basis of Party action—the one Question is, in brief, *Prohibition of Slavery in all Federal Territory.* On this the opponents of Slavery, who can control the electoral college, can be united, and on this alone. Will you then give up all other organizations, unite in the one formed for the settlement of this Question, and thus secure a Republican President, or, by adhering to your Know Nothing Order, divide the opponents of Slavery, and invest the Slave Interest for another four years with all the power and patronage of the Federal Government?

Choose, this day, whom ye will serve.

REPLY TO AN "EXPLANATION."

The *National Era* lays no claim to infallibility, or to exemption from criticism. With its cotemporaries it sustains friendly relations, but it does not expect that its views, or the style in which they are promulgated, shall pass unquestioned. It is the right of one journalist to point out what he considers the wrong opinion, to resist what he believes to be the ill-judged policy, of another. Our course is from time to time criticized, sometimes with severity, but we are not apt to take offence.

A week or two ago, we commented, with some plainness, upon the constant attempts of the New York *Tribune* to revive at this time the agitation of the Question of Protection, and upon its pro-Russian policy, desiring to counteract, so far as we could, the influence of what we considered mischievous errors in an influential supporter of the Republican movement. We did full justice to the many excellencies of the paper, questioned neither its ability nor honesty, uttered no word which one gentleman may not speak to another, without violating the rules of good breeding.

It seems, however, that a criticism well meant and courteously uttered, has been badly received. The *Tribune*, in a long editorial, replies to our comments, with ill-nature and arrogance. Our failure to recognise the impersonality of the paper as a shield to the *individuals* editorial contributors, it styles "impertinent." It has "no faith in that wretched tissel [of free trade] which the *Era* cries up with such solemn credulity and such *pitiable arrogance* for, good gold." It has not the "happy faculty of professing a great devotion to Freedom, and *doing the work of Slavery.*" It is a free trader, "but not of the school of Calhoun, Jeff. Davis, Pierce, and the *National Era.*" Our opinion on Protection it prefers to attribute, not to "moral perversity," but to "mental weakness, and a blind adherence to early and ignorant prejudice." "Very dishonest or very dull," is the *Era*, in its attempts to define the position of the *Tribune* on the Russian question, but it prefers to consider it "very dull."

This is a fair specimen of the style and temper of the *Tribune's* reply. We do not complain of it. It is so much more civil in its treatment of us than of others who differ from it, that we feel under obligations to it, as for an extraordinary act of courtesy.

It is so much better to be called, *dull, mentally weak, impertinent, pitiably arrogant*, than "*a liar* and a *villain*," epithets not unknown in the editorial controversies of the *Tribune* that we really imagine that distinguished Impersonality has quite a friendly regard for us.

Still, we always prefer that our friends should be *gentlemen*. The most cordial relations are never impaired by courtesy. We may like a rude fellow, in spite of his bad breeding—but all the while we cannot but regret that his mother had not taught him to behave himself.

The *Tribune* says we are "impertinent," "pitiably arrogant," &c. Well, it is easy to call names, and just as easy to retort—but Billingsgate would furnish specimens in that line far beyond our genius, if not that of the *Tribune*—so we shall not enter into that contest—the *Tribune* may have the whole field of epithets, without a rival.

As to the Immunities claimed by the *Tribune* on account of its *impersonality*, we have a few words to say. Should the editor of the London *Morning Advertiser* have learned that the writer of a certain mischievous article in the London *Times* was Lord John Russell, and should he conclude that such an allusion to this fact as might give the public a hint of it, would help to counteract its influence, the *Tribune* would be very apt to call him a fool if he did not. Suppose, in commending certain articles on sectionalism in the *Tribune*, anxious to invest them with additional weight in a certain quarter, we should remark that we have reason to believe that they were written by the distinguished author of a standard History of the United States—would this be deemed "impertinent?" We believe that the New York papers, not excepting our standard of good breeding, the *Tribune*, have occasionally, in commenting upon certain articles in the Washington *Union*, for the sake of giving more point to their comments, ascribed authorship to one or another member of the Cabinet. How very "impertinent!"

Now, we tell our cotemporary that its claim to shield, by its impersonality, twenty individuals comprising its corps of editors, from all allusion, is simply childish; and, as this term is the only personality we have been guilty of, we hope our readers will forgive us. When, in a journal professing to regard the Anti-Slavery movement, represented by the Republican Party, as of paramount importance, we see editorial articles designed to give undue magnitude to other issues, articles which, from certain car-marks, we know to have been written by one who thinks that the Anti-Slavery movement, from the beginning up to this time, has been a blunder and a failure, we shall state the fact, and the *Tribune* may say just what it pleases.

The *Tribune* attempts to make the *Era* odious to a certain class of its readers, by classing it with "Calhoun, Jeff. Davis, and Franklin Pierce," on the Free Trade Question. Does it not see how easy it is for us to retort, by classing it with the Washington *Union*, "Jeff. Davis," "Franklin Pierce," and "the Slave breeders and Slavetraders," as it calls them, on the Russian Question? Such *ad captandum* appeals to unthinking prejudice, is unworthy any journal that can argue.

The *Tribune* says the Tariff of 1846 was "forced upon the country, for the advantage of the slave-breeding and slave-trading interests," and that the *National Era* lends its "zealous support" to that great Pro-Slavery measure. That Tariff was passed before the *Era* was commenced, and we have never devoted a single article to its support! "Zealous support," this! We have never, in fact, expressed any opinions about it. We hope the *impersonality* of the *Tribune* will not deem it "impertinent" if we admonish it to be more careful in its statements. But, we never dodge responsibility. Now, that there is an occasion, we say frankly, that the Tariff of 1846, in so far as it reduces or removes duties imposed by the Tariff of 1842, is an improvement, and the interests of the free States have prospered under it; but, it is not a Free Trade Tariff, and, in retaining a duty on sugar, so as to make the People pay taxes for the support of a few thousand sugar growers in Louisiana, it deserves public reprobation.

The *Tribune* says that "the Cause of Freedom has never suffered a more injurious blow" than from the Tariff of 1846! Of course, the annexation of Texas, the war against Mexico, the sacrifice of the Wilmot Proviso in 1850, the Fugitive Slave Act, the election of Franklin Pierce, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and all the aggressions of the Slave Power, are no worse than the Tariff of 1846! This needs no answer. Error is never more harmless than when so extravagant as to shock common sense.

We have not time to notice all the strange inconsistencies of the *Tribune*. It holds, as all Protectionists of its school hold, that the Slaveholders want a good market to sell their cotton in, and a cheap market to buy their goods in, and therefore they insist upon Free Trade. Well—that is human nature. But, because, for certain reasons of universal application, we also favor Free Trade, therefore we are an ally of "the slave-traders and slave-breeders!" The *Tribune*, on the other hand, denounces this policy—it scorns to be an ally of these *respectable* classes—it goes therefore for Protection. Mark, the assumption is, that Free Trade plays into the hands of Slaveholders, while Protection is against them. But, what is the argument of this class of political economists at the North? Protect your manufactures, and you ultimately cheapen the price of the manufactured articles, so that, without a Tariff, in the end, the foreign articles could not enter into competition with them. Besides, the increase of manufacturing industry occasions an increased demand for raw materials. Oh—then the upshot of Protection is to cheapen to the planter his machinery and cotton and agricultural implements, in fact all that he needs for housing, working, and clothing his slaves, while it quickens the demand for his cotton, thereby giving new impetus to Slavery and Slavery Extension! Aye, railing at Free Trade because it makes Cotton, King, you would substitute Protection, which will only aggrandize his Kingdom!

As to the Pro-Russian sentiment of the *Tribune*, we must deplore it. It is painful to see a liberal journal denouncing in one column the filibuster usurpation of Walker in Nicaragua, heralding, it says, the absorption of Central America by the United States and Slavery, and advocating in another the absorption of unoffending Turkey by slaveholding and aggressive Russia. There is no consistency or decency in such a course. It is fit that the Richmond (Va.) *Enquirer* should be an advocate of Russian propagandism, for it says—

"Russia with Slavery has become great, powerful, and contented. Western Europe, without Slavery, has rapidly retrograded, and become poor, seditious, and revolutionary. Taunted as we are with our institutions, we like to appeal to the example of Russian progress and Western European decline. No people in Christendom are so happy and contented as the Russians, except the people of our Southern States."

Nor can we sympathize with the bitterness with which the *Tribune* is accustomed to speak of England. We are the partisans of no foreign Power, but the true policy of this country is to cultivate peace and friendship with the English People. Such inflammatory tirades as the following, from the *Pennsylvanian*, are absolutely hateful.

"Above all causes of aversion [to England] aggravated to a feeling of absolute animosity, if not of hatred or revenge, there is that monster pet of English birth and foster-nursing—*Negro Abolitionism.*

"It is even possible that there was a small catch in the arrangement that the English succeeded in making with the United States, respecting the joint attempt to suppress the slave trade. Perhaps JOHN succeeded in slightly *doing* JONATHAN.

"The time is about to arrive when there may be an end to English interference generally, and especially to English Abolitionism. As a suitable and altogether proper finish to the present war, England ought to lose India. It is of the deepest interest to the commerce of the United States that she should now quietly disgorge all her Indian conquests. Such a consummation would annihilate Abolitionism. That ebony woman of American politics, whose silly but impudent face blushes not, nor betrays emotion, though spit upon, would then disappear forever.

"Indignities have been freely offered to the United States by England, and especially in the perpetual interference with the condition of American negroes. That is as yet unatoned for, but the time will arrive. *England must lose India.* Let this be the conclusion of all our speeches, as *Delendo est Carthago* was of the noble Cato."

It is false that England has interfered in the question of Negro Slavery in this country. She has scrupulously respected our sovereignty, but she has abolished Slavery within her own limits, and for this we honor her. When Russia shall put an end to serfdom, establish constitutional Government, cease to put her heel on the Peoples of Europe striving for Liberty, give shelter to political exiles, proscribed for their devotion to Freedom, and institute a *Free Press*, it will be time enough for the *Tribune* to become her apologist.

A POLITICAL MOVEMENT.

The subjoined official notices indicate a determination on the part of the "American Order" to be promptly in the Presidential field with their candidates. We may merely remark, as an item of information to some of our readers, that the Councils of Virginia and North Carolina have intimated decided objections to any nomination at so early a day, preferring to await the action of the Democratic Convention.

To the American Order in the United States:

In accordance with section three of article three of the Constitution of the National Council of the United States of North America, authorising the President to call a special meeting "upon the written request of five delegates representing five State Councils," the provisions of said section having been complied with by the authority of said Constitution, notice is hereby given to the several State Councils, and to the delegates to the National Council, that there will be a special meeting of said Council, to be holden in Philadelphia, on Monday, the 18th day of February next, for the transaction of such business as may be brought before it.

E. B. BARTLETT,
President National Council U. S. N. A.

To the American Order in the United States:

NATIONAL AMERICAN COUNCIL,
Executive Office, Covington Ky.,
November 28, 1855.

Be it known, that at the annual meeting of the National Council, in June, 1855, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That a Convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency be held in Philadelphia on the 22d of February, 1856, to be composed of delegates elected by the subordinate Councils, one in each Congressional district, and two by each State Council as Senatorial delegates at large.

In consequence of the existence of this resolution, and to give it full effect, I hereby proclaim and make it known that, without delay, the Councils of the Order in each Congressional district in each State, and that each State Council, shall proceed to elect delegates to represent them in said National Convention appointed by said resolution; and, to secure a full representation, it is recommended that for each Congressional and State delegate, two alternates be at the same time chosen by each district and State Council.

E. B. BARTLETT,
President National Council U. S. N. A.

The Review.

LETTER TO A WHIG NEIGHBOR, on the approaching General Election. By an Old Conservative. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

We are indebted to some friend for a copy of a pamphlet bearing the foregoing title, understood, we believe, to be from the pen of Dr. Palfrey, and circulated in Massachusetts during the late canvass. It is a cogent appeal in behalf of Republicanism, and it abounds in home thrusts at Straight-out Whiggery. It is to be regretted that some pamphlet equally powerful was not issued against Know Nothingism.

A DISCOURSE ON THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF REV. SAMUEL K. JENNINGS, M. D. March, 1855. By P. H. SCOCKTON.

A fine, discriminative discourse, on a distinguished pioneer in the work of reform in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Dr. Jennings, who subsequently assisted in the organization of the Methodist Protestant Church.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. November, 1855. New York: Leonard Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

The articles on the Eastern Shores of the Black Sea, and on Professor Johnston's Last Work, are instructive; "Zaidee" and the "Story of the Campaign," entertaining. The writer of "Paris and the Exhibition" has a very poor opinion of Yankees, and a most exalted idea of his own countrymen. On the whole, this number will pass.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW. October 1, 1855. J. McClintock, D. D., Editor. New York: Carlton & Phillips. For sale by Gray & Ballantyne, Washington, D. C.

A peculiarly good number. The topics are capital, for example—German Gymnasium and English Public Schools, Niebuhr, Geology of Words, Huc's Travels in China, First Chapter in the History of Methodism, &c.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY. Philadelphia: Abraham H. Sce, $3 a year.

The new volume, commencing with January, 1856, will contain 1,200 pages, together with music, steel and wood engravings, &c. The most distinguished American writers are secured for its columns, and the editor shows much tact and industry in his department. Each number contains also a monthly summary of current events.

REPUBLICAN QUARTERLY REVIEW. Vol. 1, No. 11. October, 1855. New York: James M. Lane.

Its motto is, "Independent in everything—Open to Free Discussion."

The opening article, on the Democratic Party, proceeds on the cool assumption that the Democratic Party really exists, as of yore. Its conversion into a Slavery-propagating party is entirely overlooked, and the writer does not even pretend to understand the reasons why the present Administration has become so unpopular! Whittier's poems are very liberally reviewed, and the copious quotations given, are about the best things in the Review. Another article is dedicated to an exposition of the American Party.

On the whole, the Review appears to be liberal, but not very strong. Each number contains 144 pages octavo, making a volume of over 500 pages. Price $5 a year.

THE INVENTOR. New York: Quimby, Haskell, & Co., 271 Broadway.

A neatly-printed periodical, containing matter of special interest to all persons concerned in inventions and patents, with illustrations, &c., at one dollar a year, or ten cents a single number.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF BIOGRAPHY.

We have received a specimen sheet of a new work, entitled, Appleton's Cyclopædia of Biography, Foreign and American, embracing a series of original memoirs of the most distinguished persons of all times. Edited by Francis L. Hawks, D. D., LL. D., with numerous illustrations, to be issued from the press of D. Appleton & Co., New York.

From the specimen, we infer that the work will be quite attractive and highly useful.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW. October, 1855. New York: Leonard Scott & Co.

The Westminster has a most interesting paper on the position of Woman in Barbarism and among the Ancients. In another article, Dr. Cummings, the famous preacher, is handled with great severity. The other papers are thus designated: Theism, Marcus Tullius Cicero, Drunkenness not curable by Legislation, the London Daily Press, Cotemporary Literature.

HOUSEHOLD WORDS. A Weekly Journal. By Charles Dickens. New York: Dix & Edwards, Publishers

Few periodicals rival this in point of entertainment. It contains just the kind of light reading a family wants.

THE GLORIA IN EXCELSIS.

Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have got out what they call a book of new music, instead of a new music book. It has been prepared with great care by W. Williamson, Organist and Director of Music at the Bowdoin Square Church, Boston. Many of the most eminent composers have contributed to the original department of the work.

LAND, LABOR, AND GOLD; or, Two Years in Victoria, with Visits to Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. By William Howitt. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1855. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

William Howitt excels as a traveller. With powers, well trained, of close observation, a fine perception of the beauties of Nature, a good humor, taking things easily, and thus getting along more easily than many of his countrymen, he writes likewise in an easy, simple style, and places at once before the reader's eye what is passing as he goes and comes. The inaccuracies of language he now and then leaves on his pages are easily pardoned, for the sake of the fresh and buoyant spirit which enlivens his adventures. The present work is full of information, description, and incident. It must be valuable to the emigrant to Australia, as it puts him on his guard against the many impositions practiced, and gives him a fair and truthful account of what he may expect in the Land of Labor and Gold.

There is a raciness about Mr. Howitt's off-hand sketches of adventure, which renders the book, too, very interesting to the reader whose quest of knowledge as to that country has no reference to visiting it; and among numerous volumes called forth by the spirit of enterprise in that direction, we know of none to which we could point as more likely to reward the reader who wishes to gather up facts, and acquaint himself with the scenery and mode of living among the various classes who meet in that new continent, than those of Mr. Howitt. His statistics are evidently reliable, and the whole being in form of a journal, gives us a picture of life as it is. There are many humorous incidents and conversations, such as are nowhere else to be found, except in a country the resort of all descriptions of persons from all climes.

Like the books which come from the press of Ticknor & Fields, the outward appearance of these volumes accords well with their valuable contents.

THE PERSON OF WOLFENBÜTTEL, and a Glance at the East Indian Archipelago. By Walter M. Gibson. Illustrated by original sketches. New York: J. C. Riker. 1855.

The reading public is probably by this time familiar with Captain Gibson's story of real or fancied wrongs, and his claims, as detailed in the journals of the day. Having failed to obtain the redress and compensation he deemed his due, he has turned his thoughts to another method of using the calamities he has suffered, and thrown together a history of his event

THIRTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

First Session.

Monday, December 5, 1855.

SENATE.

The First Session of the Thirty-fourth Congress commenced this day, conformably to the Constitution of the United States.

The Senate having assembled at 12 o'clock, the oath prescribed by law was administered to the new Senators:

Mr. Crittenden presented the credentials of the Hon. Lyman Trumbull, of Illinois; which were read.

Mr. Chase desired to submit a protest against the election of Mr. Trumbull, from members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Illinois, which he wished laid on the table, and as soon as the Senate was organized he should move its reference to the Committee on the Judiciary or a select committee.

[The protest was not read, but is understood to be signed by thirteen Senators and twenty-nine members of the House.]

Mr. Trumbull, having taken the oath of office, took his seat.

Mr. Jones, of Iowa, presented the credentials of the Hon. James Harlan, of Iowa; which were read.

Mr. Jones adverted to the fact that a protest had been laid on the table last session, from the Senate of Iowa, in relation to the election of Mr. Harlan; but, as he desired that the State should have the benefit of his service, he presumed there would be no objection to his being sworn in; and when the committees were formed, the credentials or protest could be submitted together for decision.

Mr. Mason asked for the reading of the protest, as there were members of the Senators, to whom the subject was not familiar.

The protest was read.

Mr. Mason considered it a duty to call for the reading, in order that the subject might be understood. He had formed no definite opinion on the subject, and would therefore make no motion.

Mr. Harlan, having taken the oath prescribed by law, took his seat.

A resolution was agreed to, informing the House that the Senate was organized, and ready to proceed to business; and also one fixing the daily hour of meeting at 12 meridian.

And the Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

At 12 o'clock M. the House was called to order by John W. Forney, Esq., Clerk. The roll was called, when two hundred and twenty-five Representatives and five Delegates answered to their names.

The following are the names of the Representatives who were absent:

Messrs. Childs of New York, Powell of Virginia, Seward of Georgia, Wright and Bennett of Mississippi, Davidson of Louisiana, Harrison of Ohio, Miller of Missouri, and Trumbull of Illinois.

The following are the names of the Delegates who were absent:

Messrs. Gallegos of New Mexico, and Chapman of Nebraska.

Vote for Speaker.—Mr. Jones, of Tennessee. I move that we do now proceed, *viva voce*, to the election of a Speaker to preside over this body during the present Congress.

The question being put, the motion was agreed to; and Mr. Benson of Maine, Mr. Dowdell of Alabama, Mr. Hickman of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Washburne of Illinois, were appointed tellers to conduct the election.

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, I presume the name of William A. Richardson, a Representative from the State of Illinois, as the Democratic candidate for Speaker of this House.

Mr. A. Wilson, of New York, nominated Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky.

Mr. Knight, of Pennsylvania, nominated Henry M. Fuller, of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Leiter, Ohio, nominated Lewis D. Campbell, of Ohio.

Mr. Bishop, of New Jersey, nominated Alexander C. M. Pennington, of New Jersey.

Mr. De Witt, of Massachusetts, nominated Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts.

The roll was then called, and the tellers reported that the whole number of votes given was 225; necessary to a choice, 113; and that—

Mr. Richardson, of Ill., had received	74 votes.
Mr. Campbell, of Ohio - - - -	53
Mr. H. Marshall, of Kentucky -	30
Mr. Banks, of Massachusetts - -	21
Mr. Fuller, of Pennsylvania - -	17
Mr. Pennington, of New Jersey -	7
Mr. Harlan, of Ohio - - - -	3
Mr. Wheeler, of New York - -	3
Mr. Thurston, of Rhode Island -	3
Mr. Howard, of Michigan - -	2
Mr. Washburn, of Maine - -	2
Mr. Mace, of Indiana - - -	1
Mr. Bennett, of New York - -	1
Mr. Williams, of New York - -	1
Mr. Lake, of Mississippi - -	1
Mr. Haven, of New York - -	1
Mr. Galloway, of Ohio - - -	1
Mr. Nichols, of Ohio - - -	1
Mr. Miller, of New York - -	1
Mr. Sage, of New York - -	1
Mr. Jones, of Tennessee - -	1
	225

The following is the vote in detail:

For Mr. Richardson—Messrs. Aiken, Allen, Barclay, Barksdale, Bayly, Bell, Bocock, Bowie, Boyce, Branch, Brooks, Burnett, Cadwalader, Caruthers, Caskie, Clingman, Cobb of Georgia, Cobb of Alabama, Craige, Crawford, Denver, Dowdell, Edmundson, Elliott, English, Evans, Faulkner, Florence, Fuller of Maine, Goode, Greenwood, Hall of Iowa, Harris of Alabama, Harris of Illinois, Herbert, Hickman, Houston, Jewett, Jones of Tennessee, Jones of Pennsylvania, Kelly, Kelly, Kidwell, Letcher, Lumpkin, Marshall of Illinois, Maxwell, McMullen, McQueen, Miller of Indiana, Millson, Oliver of Missouri, Orr, Packer, Peck, Phelps, Quitman, Ruffin, Rust, Sandidge, Savage, Shorter, Smith of Tennessee, Smith of Virginia, Stephens, Stewart, Talbott, Taylor, Vail, Warner, Watkins, Wells, Winslow, and Wright of Tennessee.

For Mr. Campbell.—Messrs. Albright, Barbour, Bennett of New York, Benson, Bingham, Brenton, Clark of Connecticut, Colfax, Cumback, Day, Dean, Dickson, Dunn, Durfee, Galloway, Gilbert, Granger, Harlan, Holloway, Horton of New York, Horton of Ohio, Howard, Hughston, Kelsey, King, Leiter, Mace, Mattson, McCarty, Miller of New York, Moore, Morgan, Morrill, Murray, Norton, Parker, Pelton, Pennington, Pettit, Sabin, Sapp, Scott, Sherman, Simmons, Stanton, Walbridge, Waldron, Washburne of Illinois, Washburn of Maine, Watson, Welch, Woodruff, and Woodworth.

For Mr. Marshall.—Messrs. Campbell of Kentucky, Cadile, Clark of New York, Cox, Cullen, Davis of Maryland, Etheridge, Eustis, Foster, Harris of Maryland, Hoffman, Kennett, Lake, Lindley, A. K. Marshall of Kentucky, Paine, Porter, Purviance, Reed, Ready, Ricaud, Rivers, Smith of Alabama, Swope, Trippe, Underwood, Vail, Walker, Whitney, and Zollicoffer.

For Mr. Banks.—Messrs. Buffington, Bullinguame, Chaffee, Comins, Cragin, Damrell, Davis of Massachusetts, De Witt, Dodd, Eurie, Hall of Massachusetts, Knapp, Knowlton, Mott, Perry, Pike, Sage, Tappan, Thorington, Trafton, and Wood.

For Mr. Fuller.—Messrs. Bradshaw, Broom, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Covode, Dick, Edie, Knight, Kunkell, Millward, Pearce, Purviance, Richey, Roberts, Robison, Sneed, Todd, and Tyson.

For Mr. Pennington.—Messrs. Bishop, Clawson, Fuller of Pennsylvania, Meacham, Robbins, Straughan, and Wakeman.

For Mr. Harlan.—Messrs. Bradshaw, Broom, Campbell of Pennsylvania, Covode, Dick, Edie, Knight, Kunkell, Millward, Pearce, Purviance, Richey, Roberts, Robison, Sneed, Todd, and Tyson.

For Mr. Pennington.—Messrs. Bishop, Clawson, Fuller of Pennsylvania, Meacham, Robbins, Straughan, and Wakeman.

For Mr. Harlan.—Messrs. Bal, Bliss, and Wade.

For Mr. Wheeler.—Messrs. Banks, Oliver of New York, and Thurston.

For Mr. Thurston.—Messrs. Spinner, Wheeler, and Williams.

For Mr. Howard.—Messrs. Billinghurst, and Washburn of Wisconsin.

For Mr. Washburn.—Messrs. Allison and Flagler.

For Mr. Mace.—Mr. Campbell of Ohio.

For Mr. Bennett.—Mr. Edwards.

For Mr. Williams.—Mr. Nichols.

For Mr. Lake.—Mr. Humphrey Marshall.

For Mr. Haven.—Mr. Knox.

For Mr. Galloway.—Mr. Giddings.

For Mr. Nichols.—Mr. Grow.

For Mr. Miller.—Mr. Haven.

For Mr. Sage.—Mr. Pringle.

For Mr. Jones.—Mr. Richardson.

Three more ballots were had, with similar results.

No election having yet been made—

Mr. Keitt moved that the House adjourn until to-morrow at 12 o'clock. He, however, withdrew the motion, at the request of

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, who moved that until otherwise ordered, the daily hour of meeting of the House be 12 o'clock M.; which motion was decided in the affirmative.

Mr. Keitt then renewed the motion to adjourn, and it was agreed to—ayes 119, noes not counted.

And at half past two o'clock the House adjourned.

Tuesday, December 4, 1855.

SENATE.

Messrs. Hale, of New Hampshire; Durkee, of Wisconsin; Yulee, of Florida; and Pearce, of Maryland, new members, severally took their oath of office.

The Senate then proceeded to elect a Chaplain, by ballot, with the following result:

Whole number of votes given, 45; necessary for a choice, 23.

Robert C. Dean received 23; W. Hodges, 3; J. G. Butler, 10; Henry Ward Beecher, 2; T. Parker, 1; David (Paul) Brown, 2; B. H. Chapin, 1; Leonidas Rosser, 1; Wm. H. Holcomb, 1; Archbishop Hughes, 1.

The Senate then adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

The Clerk of the last House (presiding at the Clerk's desk) having read the journal of yesterday's proceedings,

Mr. Jones, of Tennessee, moved that the rules of the last House be enforced, so far as they exclude persons not admitted under them within the Chamber, while the House may be in session.

Mr Morgan objected.

The Clerk put the affirmative of the question, and announced the motion carried.

On motion of Mr. Bocock, they next proceeded to the fifth ballot for a Speaker, with the following result:

Whole number of votes cast, 220. Necessary for a choice, 111.

Mr. Richardson received 74; L. D. Campbell, 58; Banks, 23; H. M. Fuller, 20; H. Marshall, 19; Pennington, 9; Wheeler, 1; Walker, 2; Nichols, 1; Haven 2; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Lindley, 1; Williams, 1; Thurston, 1; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1.

No choice being made, the House proceeded to the sixth ballot, with the following result, viz:

Whole number of votes cast, 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 74; Campbell, 57; Pennington, 9; Banks, 25; Fuller, 22; Marshall, 19; Wheeler, 1; Nichols, 1; Haven, 2; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Lake, 4; Thurston, 2; Zollicoffer, 1; Mace, 1; Carlile, 1; and one or two others received scattering votes.

No choice having been effected, they proceeded to a seventh ballot, with the following result:

Whole number of votes cast 223; necessary to a choice, 112. Mr. Richardson received 74; Campbell, 54; Pennington, 10; Banks, 28; Fuller 20; Marshall, 20; Wheeler, 1; Walker 1; Haven, 1; Oliver, of New York, 1; Howard, 2; Washburn, of Maine, 1; Zollicoffer, 2; Thurston, 2; Williams, 1; Bridges, 1.

No choice having been effected, the House adjourned.

FROM ST. LOUIS.

ST. LOUIS, *Nov. 26, 1855.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

Sir:—The country in St. Louis is *hard times*, and this seems strange, when it is well known that the vast extent of country, of which St. Louis is the metropolis, is at this time in the most flourishing condition ever known, every town and city in the neighboring States making rapid strides to wealth, unimproved lands in Illinois selling readily at ten dollars an acre, while thousands of acres in Missouri, equally as good, fail to attract the settler at the low rate of a bit an acre.

But this is no new thing. Slavery blights all that it touches; and yet how astonishing, when this is so well known, that the infatuated citizen of the slave State is ready to unite with the unprincipled politician, and "cry aloud" for the extension of Slavery; but this state of things will not always continue, depend upon it; a great change is now taking place, and whole communities in the South as well as North will dare to speak and act against this great evil, that has grown to such magnitude in our country. Look at the change in Alton, Ill., where eighteen years ago Lovejoy was killed, in attempting to establish, for the third time, a Religious Anti-Slavery Press. But what do we find now in that city of more than ten thousand inhabitants? Why, not enough Nebraska Democrats to fill the offices in the gift of the Administration, making it necessary to import their own creatures for that purpose.

The Alton *Courier* is edited and published by George Brown, Esq., a young man of rare endowments, and who will yet make his mark in Illinois. This excellent paper has done a good work, and will no doubt continue to labor faithfully in the free Soil cause. We believe that outside of Chicago it has the largest circulation and is the most extensively read of any paper in the State; but Alton is not the only place where the people are shaking off the shackles that have long bound them. In this City, we affirm that men can so boldly declare their sentiments as in any city in the Union, none daring to molest them.

We are more than pleased at your course in exposing the evils of Know Nothingism. By all means, labor to separate liberal principles from such narrow-minded selfishness. They have not one redeeming quality; and should they succeed to much success, ruin and evil can alone follow in their train. St. Louis is already suffering from the consequences of their but partial success, as a writer in the *Democrat* proves.

The New York *Tribune* has many readers here, but I lament its being on sides with Russia. How can it possibly strengthen the hands of the Slave Oligarchy in this country? Its hatred of the Free Trade policy of England is the secret cause of its present course. Your exposure of its inconsistency is well timed. May it be continued against all that tends to wrong or oppression. Yours, truly, ST. LOUIS.

FROM OHIO.

TOLEDO, OHIO, *Nov. 24, 1855.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

I have just read the communication of a correspondent at Cadiz, in Harrison county, Ohio, signed "Lucy," published in your paper of the 15th instant, which, in my opinion, contains a sentence calculated to convey a wrong impression with regard to Mr. Chase's popularity and standing in Ohio, though doubtless it was not so intended. The correspondent says "*Chase we fought the battle under many discouraging circumstances, and Mr. Chase was a great load.*"

Now, the fact is, that no other man could have so well united the friends of Freedom in Ohio as Mr. Chase. Some ten or twelve thousand Pro-Slavery Whigs, who would have voted for no prominent or reliable Anti-Nebraska man, voted for Governor Medill, in hopes of preventing, by a large majority, the success of parties who would indicate, any decided or popular expression of the people on the Slavery question, such as the election of Mr. Chase would be conceded and admitted by all to be. Add to this number the twenty-five thousand Pro-Slavery proscriptive Know Nothings, who voted for Trimble, and you have between thirty-six and thirty-seven thousand voters, who were simply opponents of this Administration from prejudice and old antipathies, and not because of its Pro-Slavery character, they themselves being the very embodiment of doughfaceism and conservatism. To a man, these men voted against Mr. Chase, but to a man they supported the balance of the Republican State ticket, in order, if possible, to justify the charge, that everywhere industriously and pertinaciously circulated, of Mr. Chase's unpopularity. So loud were they in their clamors about Mr. Chase being a load under the ticket, that many of our best friends, both in and out of Ohio, appear to have become deluded with such a belief, when in fact these men only raised the cry, and by frightening as far as possible away from Mr. Chase the liberal Democratic vote, and then either voting themselves for Mr. Medill or Mr. Trimble, succeeded, as they thought, in making their declarations appear plausible to the people.

The truth is simply this: not one thousand voters, of all the thirty-six or thirty-seven thousand who voted against Mr. Chase, and for the rest of the Republican ticket, would have voted for any prominent Anti-Nebraska man, and the great majority of them for no man not a member of the National Nov Party organization, subscribing to the doctrines of the Philadelphia Platform.

Mr. Chase, by his personal popularity, or, if you please, by his unqualified devotion to the great cause of human freedom, was enabled to overcome this unprincipled combination, and have a clear majority of over 15,000 votes; and in *twenty-two* counties in the State ran ahead of Judge Swan, who, but the year before, was elected by over eighty thousand majority.

To some, this may appear as if the Republicans had a great load to carry in electing Mr. Chase; but to me it simply appears, that, without Mr. Chase at the head of our ticket, we should have been literally defeated. And I am very certain that, had Mr. Chase been running with but two tickets in the field—one an Administration ticket, and the other an Anti-Administration ticket—and free from the charge of Know Nothingism, he would have been elected by over one hundred thousand majority.

This matter is daily being better understood by all intelligent and observing men. Indeed, it is but a day or two since that I saw in the Cincinnati *Gazette*, a paper which had most earnestly opposed Mr. Chase's nomination, an acknowledgment that to him, more than any other man, were we indebted for the success of the Republican cause in Ohio, declaring most unqualifiedly that his nomination was a wise and judicious one; and this is the conviction and judgment of the great mass of the solid people of Ohio.

Our friends at home and abroad would do well, I think, to examine all the facts connected with our recent canvass, before they make public such statements, and not thoughtlessly take up and reiterate the base calumnies of our vilest foes, especially when it is calculated to do no good, but greatly injure the cause of Freedom and its advocates and defenders.

Truly, yours, J. M. A.

NEW HAVEN, *Dec. 1, 1855.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

We obtained a glorious victory for Freedom and the Maine Law in our town election last Tuesday. The direct issue was Freedom, Maine Law, and opposition to the present Administration. Our majority is 400, and it would have been 600 or more if all those who are with us had done their duty, more especially those of the 6th ward. We trust, however, that the corrupt Administration party has received its death wound in this town. Such, without the shadow of a doubt, is the fact, if the friends of good law and order are only united.

Hartford, I believe, has raised five thousand dollars for the New England Emigrant Aid Company, and I trust we shall do as well here.

A very great majority of our best citizens are deeply interested in Freedom for Kansas. We have had of late several very interesting meetings on the subject, which were addressed by Hon. Mr. Thayer of Worcester, Mr. Wilcox of Kansas, and other gentlemen. Yours, &c.

STOCKBRIDGE, *Nov. 24, 1855.*

To the Editor of the National Era:

You will perceive that in those counties in this State where the greatest amount of Anti-Slavery labor has been performed, and the *Era* has had the greatest circulation, the Republicans have carried the State, to wit: Madison, Oneida, Otsego, St. Lawrence, and Onondaga, &c., which should be a warning and encouragement to an energetic perseverance on the part of Anti-Slavery pioneers. In our little town of Stockbridge, which used to be two-thirds Democratic, we had a majority of Republicans of thirty-eight, over all the three other parties put together. I tell you I felt richly paid for sixteen years' service in the good cause.

Respectfully, your friend and fellow-laborer,

DAVID WOOD.

KANSAS AFFAIRS.

Our valuable correspondent in Kansas, reciting the facts in the late affray resulting in the death of Collins, shows that there is no cause for alarm to peaceful settlers.—*Ed. Era.*

LEAVENWORTH CITY, KANSAS,
November 16, 1855.

To the Editor of the National Era:

On the 30th ult., Mr. Collins, a prominent and highly respectable Free State citizen of Douphan, was murdered. It occurred in this way: Pat. Laughlin, who was a member of the Free State Convention of September, has lately deserted the cause, and in the Pro-Slavery papers published a professed expose of an alleged secret military association, which he affirms exists among the Free State men of the Territory. After this publication, Collins's children taunted Laughlin with being a traitor. He resented that the injury were false. Collins demanded afterward that he should retract that slander by ten o'clock the next day. At the time appointed he called upon Laughlin, gun in hand, to require the retraction. He and his friends have given different accounts of them, named Foreman, probably thinking Collins would shoot, struck down his gun, and by the jar it went off, without injury to any one. Upon this, a man named Lynch discharged a rifle, loaded with ball and buck shot, into the side of Collins. As he staggered, mortally wounded, he knocked down Lynch, and, drawing a knife, stabbed Laughlin. Collins died immediately. Neither of the others was dangerously wounded. Foreman has absconded, and Laughlin has gone to St. Joseph's, Missouri.

It is evident that Collins was a brave and honest man; but he did not justly weigh the considerations, which would have dictated greater caution. I dislike to mention such facts, because they give countenance to the exaggerations which have been spread abroad in regard to the perils that attend a residence in Kansas. Along the Missouri border one needs considerable prudence, but in most parts of the Territory people can dwell as securely as elsewhere.

The Constitutional Convention has adjourned. It has framed a Constitution, to be submitted to the people on the 15th of December. January 15th is the day appointed for the election of State officers and the members of the first Legislature of Kansas. The Legislature is to meet at Topeka on the 4th of March, 1856.

The Constitution contains no Black Law clause. It prohibits the introduction of slaves after its adoption by the people, but allows the slaves now here to be retained till July 4, 1857.

The Law and Order Convention, composed in part of the men who tarred and feathered Phillips, has just been held in this place. Governor Shannon presided, and Dr. Stringfellow was Secretary. The Governor is a very pleasant, courteous man in social intercourse. But I am sorry to inform you, he has made a weak and uncandid stump speech against the Free State movement. No word of censure did he utter against the Missouri forays, but freely poured out his indignation on the Free State men, for their alleged unconstitutional and revolutionary movements. He expressed his belief in the validity of the Legislature and its laws; and he affirmed, that whoever might be against them, they might rest assured that they had a fast and firm friend in President Pierce. Mr. Calhoun, of Illinois, Surveyor of the two Territories, made an abusive and slanderous speech against the Free State men—declaring that he would not believe them on oath, and that he would rather the Czar of Russia should rule over this country, than see the Free-Soilers in power.

I did not hear the resolutions of the Convention; but I understand they are very temperate and conservative in character. Governor Shannon was appointed chairman of a committee to draw up an address to the People. The address, as well as the resolutions, will be made to suit the new character of these "Law and Order" men, who recently figured in the name of "Border Ruffians." They will paint these conservative documents upon the people as the real sentiments of the men who recently acted as the leaders, followers, and friends, of the Missouri invaders.

Gov. Shannon predicted that in the next Presidential election the strife would be between the "Black Republican party" and the "Union Democrats;" and, says he, "knowing your patriotism and love for the Union, I doubt not on which side you will be found."

During the meeting, a letter from your Kansas correspondent, which has been republished in the Kansas *Herald*, was called for, and read. The letter contained the statement that Nebraska Democrats, who were believed to act under the influence of Senator Douglas, had entered heartily into this Free State movement. This statement disturbed them; and, on the principle of the boy who kicks the snake over which he has stumbled, they fell upon your correspondent, and his character was dreadfully blasted, if the abuse of such men could effect it. Gen. Calhoun said he was intimately acquainted with the man whose name was attached to that letter, and, in the classic language of this gentleman, your correspondent was described as without character among his acquaintances in Illinois, and "more loathsome in their view than the rotten carcass of a dead hog" and "he so stunk of Abolitionism, that they could not be persuaded to touch him with a pair of tongs twenty feet long." Your correspondent was not present at the meeting, but the next morning he called upon Calhoun, and informed him that he was the person thus denounced, and inquired if he had any acquaintance with him. He replied, "You are not the man I knew in Illinois." He was advised to be more careful in future about vilifying persons whom he did not know. I presume his slanders, without the retraction, will go the rounds of the Pro-Slavery prints.

The District Court of the Territory is in session. The grand jury of last Court has been collected, and six more added, and they have now brought in an indictment against McCrea for willful murder, and, if his enemies can succeed in selling a packing of a petit jury, they will probably hang him. The County Commissioners have met, and decided on the subject of a county seat for this county. It was given to Delaware, with its handful of legal voters, instead of Leavenworth, with its hundreds.

A majority of the Commissioners decided that they had no right to go behind the records. The judges knew who were voters, and they must give it to Delaware, because its poll-book showed the largest number of votes. Kickapoo, the other competitor, lacked just one boat load of voters from Weston, to equal the number at Delaware from Platte city; so it is said, in this district, that Platte city beat Weston. Leavenworth obtained an injunction, and the question is to be decided by the United States Judge, Lecompte. Yours, truly, KANSAS.

TRIAL OF McCREA—REBELLION AND CIVIL WAR AT LAWRENCE, KANSAS.

Correspondence of the St. Louis Intelligencer.

I learn that the case of McCrea, who is being tried at Leavenworth city, before Judge Lecompte, for the murder of Malcom Clark, last spring, progresses but slowly. The court has progressed very slowly. A great deal of difficulty has been experienced in getting jurors. The counsel for the prisoner filed demurrer to the indictment, partly for defects in form, and partly on account of the manner of forming the Grand Jury. We learn that this demurrer has been overruled by Judge Lecompte, as also a motion to plead in abatement.

The case, we believe, has occupied ten days, and no progress in it has yet been made. I was told that an effort would be made to get a change of venue, as it was apprehended that the prisoner could not get a fair trial here. Great dissatisfaction is expressed by the Free State men, because several members of the bar, and clerk of the Court, and some of the jury, both grand and petit, are of the "Border Ruffian" class, some of them having been engaged in lynching Phillips last spring. A motion has been made by one of the attorneys to dismiss the clerk and those of the attorneys who had been thus engaged, and affidavits were filed to prove these facts; but the Court has not granted the motion.

JEFFERSON CITY, Mo., *Nov. 29, 1855.*

Col. McCarty, of the Missouri House of Representatives, received a despatch this evening, which was read before the House. Colonel McCarty says there is no doubt of its genuineness or correctness. Some report it as a humbug, to influence the Senatorial election. Jones is sheriff of Douglas county; Lawrence is the county seat:

"*Westport, Nov. 27.*—Col. McCarty: Gov. Shannon has called out the militia against Lawrence.. They are now in open rebellion against the laws, and Jones is in danger. We want help. Communicate this to the friends.

"A. G. BOONE."

IMPORTANT FROM KANSAS.

The St. Louis papers of the 30th ultimo contain a despatch from Westport, Missouri, of the 28th, confirming the intelligence published yesterday, that there has been an open rupture in Kansas between the Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery parties. The despatch was addressed to a member of the Legislature at Jefferson city, and is to the following effect:

"That Governor Shannon, of Kansas, had the night before ordered out the militia against Lawrence, the county seat of Douglas county. There is an open rebellion against the laws, and Jones, the Sheriff of the county, is in danger. The call is for help."

Mr. McCarty, to whom the dispatch was addressed, thought there was no doubt of its genuineness, which others believed it was intended to influence the election of a Senator in Missouri.

We understand that the President yesterday received a telegraphic dispatch from Gov. Shannon, of Kansas, by which it appears that a civil war is really threatened. The Governor requests prompt assistance from the General Government, and, in conformity with this request, the President has ordered the immediate dispatch of troops from the posts nearest the disturbed district, for the purpose of preserving the peace.

National Intelligencer.

MORE TROUBLE IN KANSAS—PRISONERS RESCUED BY A MOB.

St. Louis, Dec. 3.—Advices from Kansas state that Gov. Shannon has telegraphed the President the condition of affairs in Kansas. He states that 1,000 men had arrived in Lawrence, and rescued the prisoners from the sheriff of Douglas county, who were arrested for burning the houses and other property, and asks the President to order troops from Fort Leavenworth to aid in the execution of the laws.

Despatches to the same purport with the starting news has been received from Atchison. The Free State officers had taken possession of important papers, and an attack on Atchison was anticipated. The officers had sent to Weston for 50 armed men.

COMING EVENTS FORESHADOWED.

From the Philadelphia North American.

More Territory.—The twenty-ninth parallel of latitude is named as the next Southern boundary of the Union. General Gadsden is said to have been negotiating with Santa Anna for a new cession of territory, including all that of Mesilla, when the progress of the revolution interrupted the proceedings. Of course, no one knows how true this is; *but General Gadsden has a way of writing home to his friends vague hints of important things going on, which seem to conjecture all opog to ascertain the precise truth.* The difficulty about the payment of the three millions of the last indemnity, and the demand for reparation for Callahan's invasion and the burning of Piedras Negras, is imminent to result in a rupture, and probably before President Pierce goes out of office, he will communicate a new treaty, with a fresh demand on our surplus millions. The twenty-ninth parallel would throw into the United States two-thirds of the Mexican State of Sonora and two-fifths of Chihuahua, with population enough to form one of our States. In such case, the new territory would have to go under political pupilage as a Territory, or else New Mexico would have to be admitted as a State. A rumor is afloat in the newspapers, to the effect that General Gadsden has sent word to Washington, that if the balance of the Mesilla indemnity be not paid to the present Government of Santa Anna, another foot of territory will be ceded to the United States. Meantime, we have various other projects for acquiring new colonies. Thus the report is revived that Russia is willing to sell her American possessions to us for a consideration in money—rather too Arctic a matter for the folks at Washington, as neither cotton, tobacco, hemp, rice, nor sugar, can be grown up there. Then there is a report coming from Europe that Russia has suggested to Denmark the propriety of settling the difficulty between the latter and the United States by selling to us the Danish West India Island of St. Thomas, the price of which, five millions of dollars, may be taken also as our consideration for freeing us of the Sound dues. St. Thomas is a small island to the windward of Porto Rico, with a population of seven thousand souls. Right near to it is another small island, called Santa Cruz, also owned by Denmark, with thirty-two thousand inhabitants. Just five millions of dollars, we ought to get both of these. But St. Thomas is of much importance from its geographical position, which is such as would render it a formidable position in the hands of a naval Power. It has a fine harbor, and is always first sought by vessels in distress coming from seaward. Were it in our possession, it would, in a great measure, nullify the purpose for which the British Islands of the West Indies, as a naval Power might from it command the whole eastern front of the West Indies and the coast of the United States.

NEBRASKA ELECTION.—*Ottawa, Ill., Nov. 28.*—The result of the election in Nebraska for a delegate to Congress is still in doubt. The present returns indicate the election of Bennett, the Anti-Slavery candidate.

ONE WEEK LATER FROM EUROPE—ARRIVAL OF THE ATLANTIC.

Turkish Victory over the Russians.

The United States mail steamer Atlantic, Capt. West, from Liverpool, one o'clock afternoon of Saturday the 17th, arrived at this port last evening.

The Sun of Sunday, arrived at Southampton on Sunday, the 11th, the Atlantic having arrived at Liverpool early the same morning.

Latest dispatches from the seat of war report a victory gained by Omer Pasha over the Russians at the River Ingour, in Asia Minor. We have as yet but a mere announcement of the fact. There are indications that Ayen Murraveiff is about to raise the blockade of Kars, and retire into winter cantonments. In the Crimea, both armies—Russian and Allied—are wholly inactive in butting and preparing for winter. A desultory fire is kept up between the north and south side of Sebastopol, while the fortifications on both sides are being augmented. The bulk of the fleets in the Black Sea are withdrawing toward Constantinople, and but a few ships remain in the liman of the Dneiper. The Emperor Alexander has returned from the Crimea to St. Petersburgh. Peace rumors are again very prevalent, and great diplomatic activity prevails, especially at Vienna, Berlin, Stockholm, and Brussels. The French Exposition has been officially closed. Medals, including money prizes and stars of the legion of honor, were distributed with a lavish hand. We give elsewhere a list of the Canadian awards, but have not received a list of the successful competitors from the United States.

Latest.—The following is Lord Stratford de Redcliffe's official dispatch:

"*Therapea, Nov. 15.*—At noon of the 5th, Omer Pasha forded the River Ingour, at the head of 20,000 men, and defeated the Russians, computed at 10,000, including militia, and partly entrenched. The enemy lost about 400 in killed and wounded, and twenty prisoners, and three guns. The Turkish loss was upward of 300. The British officers did honor to their country."

The Liverpool cotton market, which in the beginning of the week was active, had become quiet, and closed at last week's quotations. Breadstuffs had been in fair business, at a further slight improvement. Provisions are slightly improved. The Manchester market had been quieter, and a "strike" of the operatives seems inevitable. The money market had unexpectedly become stringent; the demand for accommodation has increased, and a further advance in the rate of interest is apprehended. Consols closed on Friday dull, at 87¼ @ 88.

Among the passengers by the Atlantic is Col. Tal. P. Shaffner, who has resided some considerable time past in Russia, and now returns to make arrangements to carry out the contracts he has made with the Russian Government. Col. Shaffner has secured contracts for railroads, telegraphs, and other public works, on the most gigantic scales and on very favorable terms. In addition to the enterprises above named, the Colonel has become largely interested in property belonging to the Archduchess Marie, sister of the Emperor, and to others of the princes and princesses of the house of Romanoffsky. The aggregate cost of the works undertaken by Col. Shaffner, representing the enormous amount of $26,000,000, affords a splendid margin for the triumphs of American skill and enterprise.

GREECE.

Considerable remark has been excited by the new United States Minister to Greece paying a formal visit to the Russian Minister, who returned the visit on board an American ship of war. There is a statement in the French papers, that the United States make an offer to pay up the indebtedness of Greece to England and France, in consideration of receiving the Island of Milo for a term of years.

Athens letters of Nov. 9 announce the departure of the American squadron from Constantinople; also, that the legislative session closed on the 6th.

THE VERY LATEST.

London, Saturday, P. M.—It is reported in Paris that one object of General Canrobert's mission to Stockholm is to demand the hand in marriage of a daughter of the King of Sweden for Prince Napoleon, at present the next heir to the French Imperial throne.

The line of telegraph from Sympheropol and Nicolaïef to St. Petersburgh is now open.

The Bourse of Paris has not known whether to interpret the speech of the Emperor in a pacific or a warlike sense. It expresses a desire for peace, without evincing any disposition to take the first step.

Consols closed this afternoon week at 88,

NICARAGUA.

Walker, the filibuster, seems to be on the high road to renown, as the founder of a new State. His control of Nicaragua is represented by the latest intelligence, given in our columns this morning, as more solid and secure than ever. Indeed, the man who might have headed a movement against his authority, has been convicted of treasonable correspondence with some relics of the opposite party, and shot. By every arrival from California, reinforcements swell the army of the chieftain, and, if he continues to manage his affairs with the same discretion which he has hitherto exhibited, no power can expel him from his position.

The Provisional chosen by Walker for the union of Nicaragua was the best compatible. The country was exhausted by a prolonged civil war. Everybody desired peace, and any commander who could secure it would have been welcomed by the masses in the State generally. The leaders of the contest on both sides were those, removed either by battle or by pestilence, and their followers had also been decimated by the same causes. In fact, there was no longer even the semblance of a native army to conquer, when Walker moved upon the capital. The plaza of that town, where for months Chamorro had held Castellon at bay, had not now a defender, and the only military man of any prominence remaining to the country—Corral—made haste to submit and make a treaty with the invader, to break it, however, very soon, and to pay the penalty with his life. A more facile conquest is not recorded in history. The acquisition of Texas by the Americans was nothing to it.

We must admit that since his triumph the conqueror has exhibited a great degree of political sagacity. The Presidency was in his grasp, but he preferred that Don Patricio Rivas, a prominent native Nicaraguan, should be put into that office at least for the present. By this means, Walker saved the Government from that revolutionary and alien air, which in his hands it would have worn. The Nicaraguans would certainly be very unwilling to refuse their allegiance to an Administration with one of their own number at its head. Besides, had he become President, foreign Governments would have looked on him as a mere adventurer, the new regime; but there could be no reason why they should not recognise Rivas, who had been in high office before, and had borne a decent character as the world goes. The shrewdness of his plan is justified by the result. The Minister of the United States has already exchanged congratulations with the new chief magistrate, and the others are likely to follow. When the revolution is thoroughly legitimated by the recognition of several Powers, Walker will be ready to make himself nominally dictator, as he already is in reality, and to carry his great project another step toward its consummation.

That project is briefly to fill the country with Americans, to introduce Slavery, and to procure the annexation of Nicaragua to the North American Union as a slave State, with the prospect of a similar result for the adjoining countries. This is the scheme, and it is being introduced into execution with unexampled rapidity. What do the people of the free States think of this new conspiracy to extend the power of the oligarchy by which they have so long been ruled and used?—*N. Y. Tribune.*

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.—The foreign despatches received by the steamer Atlantic represent our affairs with England to be unabated since the sailing of the previous steamer. Mr. Buchanan says that Lord Clarendon and the British Cabinet are endeavoring to patch up a reply to our Government's communication in reference to the violation of our neutrality by British agents, in order, if possible, not to wound our sensibilities, and at the same time shield Mr. Crampton.

Our Government has formally acted on the memorial from Denmark, proposing capitulation, or a tax according to the value of the cargo, in lieu of the present Sound dues, and rejected the proposition.

OREGON AND CALIFORNIA INTELLIGENCE.

From the San Francisco Herald of Nov. 4 and 5.

The Indian war which now rages at the North, and news of which reached us by the last steamer from Oregon, is about to be grappled with by the distinguished veteran commanding the Pacific division, with all the energy characteristic of that gallant officer. The whole disposable force at the command of General Wool is to be concentrated at two points—one division, the operations of which General Wool will direct in person, at Fort Dalles, and the other at Fort Lane. The General proceeds from this place on Tuesday, on board the steamer Columbia, for Humboldt, and thence to Fort Dalles, from which point he will direct the operations against the enemy. He takes with him the company stationed at the Presidio, under command of Captain Keyes, and another company from Fort Humboldt. The General is accompanied from this city by Major Cross, at the head of the Quartermaster's Department; Major Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General; Captain Cram, Topographical Engineers; and Lieutenants Bonneville and Arnold, his immediate aids. Large quantities of ordnance, subsistence, and quartermaster's stores are being speedily shipped on board the Columbia, for the use of the expedition.

There will be then concentrated at Fort Dalles, the following force: The company from the Presidio; a company of the fourth infantry from Fort Humboldt; one company of the first dragoons, under command of Major Fitzgerald, who proceeds from Fort Lane to join the expedition; and all the available troops of the district comprising Fort Vancouver and Fort Dalles, under Major Raines, who has already taken the field.

For

WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Entered according to act of Congress, in the year 1855, by Elbert Parce, in the Clerk's Office of the Circuit Court of the District of Columbia.]

FOR THE NATIONAL ERA.

ROSA AND HER SUITORS.

A TALE OF SWEDISH DOMESTIC LIFE.

BY EMILIE F. CARLEN,

Author of "One Year of Wedlock," "The Bride of Ombury," &c., &c.

TRANSLATED BY ELBERT PERCE.

CHAP. XIV.

The Breakfast—A Visit to Professor Ling's.

When Mr. Garben arrived, at the time appointed, he was received by the family in the eating-room, where an excellent breakfast was served up. With a light heart he saw that no stranger was expected, and that all promised a speedy settlement of the desired object.

The entire breakfast itself had a business-like appearance—cold meats, and a kind of previously arranged hasty attendance, as if despatch was requisite.

"We will dispense with everything else," said Madame Widen, smiling, "in the hope of having all the better dinner," as she politely pressed her guest to let her help him again; "but I could tell you, too, that my husband is no friend to slow measures, when business is in hand. And so I wish to show our valued guest how readily Swedish wives seek to meet their husbands' wishes; and I am sure you will, on that account, excuse a somewhat hurried breakfast."

"I find it excellent, I assure you," returned Mr. Garben, and his behaviour showed that he only said what he thought. "But," added he, "as to the kindly characteristics of Swedish wives, I esteem it my duty to assure you, also, that thoroughly as I feel convinced of their amiable qualities, the Danish ladies, in this respect, are no ways behind them; and as I shall soon be a married man myself, I feel all the more bound to defend my assertions."

At this unexpected novelty, the lady let an egg-shell fall upon her new cashmere dress; and her husband said—

"We have the honor to congratulate you;" and in the same breath tossed off a bumper of port wine, as if life and death depended upon swallowing it.

Mrs. Widen had sufficiently collected herself to say, in her very sweetest tone—

"Ah, how very agreeable—such an interesting piece of news. We may venture to hope that we shall have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Garben and his wife at our house on their next visit to Sweden."

As mamma concluded, Rosa, taking up her glass, with a graceful, pleasing air, said, with an expression of unaffected pleasure, as she slightly bowed—

"Health and happiness to Mr. Garben's bride."

"I thank you, with all my heart," replied the Danish merchant, putting his glass to his lips. "My bride has the happiness of very much resembling Miss Widen; and for that reason I have felt so much at home, and so gratified in being allowed the pleasure of associating with one so like a very dear friend."

"I am very much obliged," said Rosa, with a smile. "I hardly believed Mr. Garben could have chosen so young a bride."

"Well, though I am already middle-aged myself, yet I confess that I have a great liking for youth, especially in a bride. My Rika is about full twenty-three years old."

"Is everything prepared?" inquired Mr. Widen, impatiently, of his head book-keeper, whose whole energies were engrossed in getting through his breakfast.

"All, patron."

The book-keeper spoke and ate with equal rapidity, for he saw the moment of cessation rapidly approaching.

"How soon may we expect the gentlemen back again?" asked Madame Widen, quite unpoisoned by pushing back her chair.

"At three o'clock, as usual, my dear," replied her husband, looking at his watch; however, if Mr. Garben finds it quite convenient, it is now time to begin."

The person addressed gave an approving nod; but at the very moment when Mr. Widen was on the point of getting up, he seemed to reel and tumble. Several violent quiverings, as if produced by sudden and severe inward pains, succeeded his features, and he seemed about to fall; his wife screamed out, in a heart-rending tone—

"Oh, Widen! my dear, for Heaven's sake, what is the matter with you?"

The whole party had sprung up from the table at once; the two book-keepers ran to support their patron, who was rather dragged to the sofa than able to walk thither. Then he sank down, exhausted, with severe spasms and suppressed cries of agony.

Rosa ran for water, his wife brought drops, and all was noise and confusion. The head book-keeper was sent for the Doctor, and Mr. Garben endeavored to comfort the ladies. But when Mr. Widen, after a quarter of an hour, were fruitless; she ran to and fro, wringing her hands in despair, which appeared excessively natural and affecting.

Symptoms of violent sickness now showed itself, and Madame Widen became more tranquil.

"Dame Bern, Dame Bern," she cried, with all her energy, "come here, and help; where is Larson, and Stina, and Louise? We must get my poor husband to bed before the Doctor comes."

With the greatest difficulty, Mr. Widen was conveyed to his apartment when he just arrived; for Rosa and Mr. Garben, who stayed outside, heard quite plainly that the bewildered attendants had by no means proved deceptive, there was a terrible clatter of crying and screaming; and as the Merchant now sunk, powerless and faint, back again upon the pillows, his wife sobbed aloud, and fell down by the side of the bed, and softly whispered in his ear—

"My dear Widen, you are so pale, you really frighten me. Look up; I shall die with terror."

However, he did not look up, but remained lying upon the sofa, pale and with closed eyes, and another messenger was despatched for the Doctor.

At length the Doctor arrived, and stood by the sick man's bed. He declared that Mr. Widen had a violent cold, and had, perhaps, eaten something indigestible the previous day; and after prescribing sudorifics and quiet, he pronounced the attack to be of no consequence; that Mr. Widen would, in a few days, be quite well again, if no fresh cold be caught. Mr. Garben and Rosa heard every word.

"Thank God!" said the young girl, "the Doctor gives good hope; and if Mr. Garben could only remain until to-morrow, perhaps he might be so far recovered as to be able to enter upon the business so unfortunately postponed."

"I am very sorry that it is impossible for me to remain any longer. Indeed, I must depart this very day; for, as nothing can be done here now, immediate departure will at least have the effect of bringing me back all the sooner; and then, with God's help, I trust to see your father perfectly recovered."

As the invalid was inclined to sleep, the Doctor and Madame Widen now came out of his room, and entered the drawing-room.

"Ah! how very sad, my dear Mr. Garben," sighed Mrs. Widen, shaking her head, with great signs of affliction; "it is how little do we poor mortals think what the next minute the sun may bring. I had calculated upon such an agreeable evening, but now it is out of the question. We hope, however, to have the pleasure of seeing Mr. Garben again very soon."

"In fourteen days I hope to be back again; however, I will no longer intrude upon you, while you have sorrow and trouble in the house."

Mr. Garben took leave, politely kissed the ladies' hands, and was accompanied by Madame Widen, with incessant regrets, to the very bottom of the stairs. Two hours later, as she was sitting alone by her sick husband's bed, the great travelling coach was at the door before Swansiold's door. The whole personals of the hotel stirred and bustled about with the same hurry and confusion as on his arrival. At length all was packed, and the gentleman entered, the postillions cracked their whips, Mr. Garben bowed courteously, the carriage rolled away down the street, and Madame Widen, drawing a deep sigh, said—"God be blessed and praised! he is off at last, my dear old man!"

The Merchant raised himself in his bed, and with a kind of smile, between sweet and sour, said—

"That was cursed hard to do, but it is done; and now we must think of other matters. It was fortunate that he mentioned his engagement; otherwise, with the hopes we cherished about Rosa, I should have gained nothing beyond fourteen days' grace; now, on the contrary, as all that is at an end, I must follow my first plan—that is all."

Seeing that his wife was preparing to urge some objections, he said at once—

"Brigitta Marie, my old woman, do go into the next room, my love; for I must collect my ideas."

The day after, in the evening, Rosa wrapped herself in her cloak, and went to the Professor's house, to execute the commission for Ferdinand.

The old gentleman, pipe in mouth, was seated in his arm-chair by the fire, and, as he puffed away, an occasional "hem, hem," escaped his lips.

Rosa lightly tripped over the carpet to his side, and laid her hand on his shoulder.

"Good evening, dear uncle—how are you today?"

"Eh, eh; is it you, dear child?" The Professor turned kindly round. "Have you come once more to look after me? After what has passed, I hardly expected that; but you are a true-hearted girl, and now, as always, heartily welcome."

"I do not understand you, uncle," said Rosa, in astonishment. "Why should I not come here?"

"Oh! I only thought that since your father had written me that letter, yesterday morning, which, together with my reply, he probably showed you, you might possibly have objected to do the same girls usually do on such occasions."

"Neither regarding his own letter, nor uncle's either, has he mentioned a single word to me," replied Rosa; "but this morning, papa has been seriously ill, and I believe that he could not have occupied himself with any other matters than those which were most pressing."

"Well, then, sit down, my dear," continued the Professor, "and then you shall read the letter yourself, which your father wrote me yesterday morning. Look, there it is upon the table. I will tell you the rest afterwards."

With no little tremor and anxiety, Rosa took a match, lighted the wax candle, and, by its dim light, read the following lines:

"Highly respected friend and brother:

"I have already, for some time, been purposing to put the friendly inquiry to my good brother, whether it is his intention either to settle a sum of ready money, or to make over, in land, to his nephew, what he will see is absolutely necessary, if an alliance with my daughter is to take place; for, though I trust to be able to give Rosa a fitting fortune, it will not be sufficient, by a great deal, for them to live upon, as the Captain has far more considerable debts than my good brother is aware of, and which must naturally be paid before thinking of anything else. I am very far from wishing to be too upon this as a demand; my good brother will dispose as he thinks right of his own property; only this much I wish to say, that in case you should consider this proposition unreasonable, and do not feel inclined to consent thereto, I shall find myself under the necessity—much as I should have rejoiced to have entered into a nearer connection with you—to break off the engagement between the Captain and my daughter, for my good brother must clearly see, that it would be only a source of misfortune to the young people, allowing them to marry without any settled prospect of an income. I felt more inclined to apply myself directly to your money or lands, as I have already frequently spoken to Captain Ferdinand about it, and he has probably not given himself the trouble to bring the matter to your attention. It therefore becomes my duty to do so; and I must also add, that the betrothal would never have been made public, or, rather, would never have taken place at all, had I for an instant doubted that my old friend would have with pleasure contributed his share towards setting up the young people. Hoping for an early reply, I have the honor to remain my good brother's most obedient servant,

"PETER WIDEN."

[Remainder of Chap. xiv next week.]

For the National Era

THE HAUNTED HOUSE.

BY MRS. BELL SMITH.

Ov'r all there hung a shadow and a fear;
A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said, as plain as whisper in the ear,
'The place is haunted!'

* * * * * *

A shriek that echoed from the joisted roof,
And up the stair, and farther still and further,
Till it some distant listener drew aloof,
It ceased its tale of murther!

Hood.

The time was when a ghost story had a significance—when men of learning were superstitious, and the great mass shuddered at any mention of the sheeted dead again revisiting their former haunts. But that has past. We are a practical people. "What is the use," says one of Hood's characters, "in a ghost? Suppose he is a ghost, he can't punch you; and what's the benefit of being a ghost, if the ghost cannot pitch in?" I quote from memory, but that is the meaning, and with that meaning the ghost is ignored; and when you bring your spirits from the vasty deep, most people laugh at them, have their doubts, and hesitate not to show their contempt. In return for such treatment, the ghosts do not "pitch in"—so Hood's excited character was about right.

This is eminently a practical age. No one pretends to say that hard skepticism has seized upon humanity. By no manner of means. We yet believe firmly in a spiritual existence, but in a practical manner. We have regulated the manifestations, and brought the subtle, wayward representatives to something like order. We have given them respectable habitations, and taught them to keep regular hours. One need not now seek the graveyard at midnight—the ruined house—the murderer's glen—for communication with souls of the departed. In any of our cities, you will find advertised a circle of spiritualists, or office of a medium, where, by paying twenty-five or fifty cents, you may be put in communication with any of the departed, from the warlike Julius Cæsar to the martyred Uncle Tom, and examine, to any extent, the willing or unwilling ghost. Be under no apprehension—the effort is certain to be successful, the process entirely safe.

I shall not forget soon my first experiment in this way. The scene of enchantment was a room in a fashionable hotel—time, noon. I found myself in company with two divines, one lawyer, six women, and a retired dealer in hardware. The mediums, or witches, were a young, giddy, enchanting, little Foxes, formerly of Rochester, and said to be the originators of this singular pursuit. The only ingredients thrown into the cauldron were the coins charmed out of our pockets; and, for the amount of one dollar paid by each, we had the privilege of calling some familiar to account. The Misses Fox requested us to be seated, in the centre of a circle, on a handsome centre-table, which being done, we were soon favored with a series of knocks, varying in tone from the timid rap of a poor relation to the loud demand of a creditor, which, they assured us, was the spirit announcing their readiness to respond to any reasonable question, put in a proper, confiding style. The process was interesting, but somewhat tedious, and it was some time before my turn came for a converse with the departed.

To tell the truth, I was and am such a believer, that I dared not call upon those whose very names are buried in my heart; so I requested the presence of a late distinguished politician, who at that time breathed the breath of life, but was politically dead. To my astonishment, he responded. Politicians are so accustomed to answering all questions, that I suppose my friend could not resist. In the dark