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THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 27, 1847.

POLITICAL MOVEMENTS.

THE RESPONSE.

The Washington *Union* continues to give prominence to the letter of Mr. Buchanan, by republishing the warm commendations it receives from the press of the slave States; and occasionally a response from some Northern press is duly heralded in its columns. As its aim is to shape, and not indicate, public sentiment, it studiously abstains from any notice of the counter directed against the Wilmot Proviso by party friends in various sections of the country. How this one-sided representation of a party harmonizes with the central position and pretensions of a paper which aspires to reflect the views of "the Democracy" generally, we cannot exactly understand.

Without being no mere organ of any party, we are anxious, while laboring to promote public opinion, to show at the same time what it really is—not only in the North, but in the South—not as indicated by one faction or party, but by all factions and parties. An extensive exchange, numbering not less than five hundred papers, coming from all sections of the country, enables us to accomplish this purpose.

Last week, after publishing the complimentary notices bestowed upon Mr. Buchanan by the Southern Democratic press, we presented opinions entirely adverse, from the Cincinnati Morning Signal, the Onondaga (N. Y.) Standard, the Niagara (N. Y.) Cataract, and the Jefferson (N. Y.) Democrat. We proceed now to quote from other Democratic papers.

THE TRUE COMPROMISE.

From the New York Evening Post.

The Southern politicians insist that the territory to be acquired from Mexico shall be open to the introduction of slavery. In the last Congress, a proposition was offered by Mr. Burt, in the House of Representatives, after consultation and advice with Mr. Calhoun, to the effect that such part of the new territory as lies south of thirty-six degrees and a half of north latitude shall be open to the introduction of slaves with their chattels, applying to the new domain the geographical line of the Missouri compromise. To this scheme of Mr. Calhoun and his friends, Mr. Buchanan assents. He says in his letter:

"The line of the Missouri compromise should be extended to our new territory which we may acquire from Mexico."

The Southern planters demand that they shall be allowed to introduce their slaves into that part of the new territory which lies south of the line of the compromise. Mr. Buchanan says he will agree to the demand. What is this but an opinion in favor of leaving the territory open to the introduction of slavery? Mr. Buchanan represents himself hostile to prohibition of slavery in that portion of the territory. If slavery be not excluded by a prohibition, the country is left open to its introduction.

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The friends of the Wilmot Proviso are in fact the only class of men who are for leaving this question to the decision of the inhabitants of the acquired territory. That Proviso, it will be remembered, prohibited the existence of slavery within the new domain only while it should be subject to a Territorial Government, and thus under the jurisdiction and guardianship of the Federal Government. It contained no perpetual prohibition of slavery; it provided only for its exclusion while the colonies were in an unformed and immature state; but the moment the time should arrive to frame their institutions for themselves, and to become members of our Confederacy, they were to be at perfect liberty to say whether they will introduce slavery or not.

The Wilmot Proviso is the true compromise in this fiercely agitated question. It renounces the perpetual prohibition of slavery both north and south of the thirty-sixth parallel. It only requires that slavery shall be prohibited in the infancy of the settlements, leaving to the judgment of the new community when it shall have arrived at that maturity which fits it to be admitted into the Union, to consider whether the benefits of slavery are so great that it deserves to be incorporated into its political institutions. The author of the subject was well and strongly stated last winter, in the speech with which Mr. King reintroduced the Proviso.

From the Cadiz (Ohio) Sentinel—an old and radical Democratic paper.

MR. BUCHANAN.

A letter from this gentleman will be found on the first page. We totally differ with the Secretary of State on the Slavery question, which he has trustfed out of the record to drag up, with what motives a child can divine. The true ground of the Democracy of the North was proclaimed by the unanimous vote of their Representatives in Congress on Wilmot's Proviso. Mr. B. has missed his mark. The Northern Democracy are entitled to the next Presidential candidate; but he must be *unalloyed*, free from the dross of slavery—one, in short, who will stand square up in the place which the lamented Wright has vacated. The letter is as erroneous in fact as it is in policy, and does little credit to the acknowledged ability of the writer.

From the Democratic (Sandusky, Ohio) Mirror.

MR. BUCHANAN'S LETTER.

We always admire a public man who boldly takes his position upon controverted subjects. However much we may differ in his sentiments, we know what to expect from him. For this reason, we admire Mr. Buchanan's letter to the Democracy of Berks county, declaring the extension of slavery over California. Mr. Buchanan has thrown himself into the arms of the South; they will now have no difficulty in supporting him for the Presidency. Of the modified Wilmot Proviso, we have recreant to sound principles of Liberty and the interests of the section of the Union to which he belongs, we have not time to speak. If we did speak, what we should say would be widely different from our former admiration of James Buchanan. Of his position, we will say a few words.

Mr. Buchanan says our fathers made a compromise with the South on the subject of slavery, and we are bound to carry it out in good faith. True. And the citizens of the South are allowed by this compromise a larger representation in Congress than those of the other States, on account of their possession of slaves. But Mr. Buchanan fails to show, as every other man must, that this has anything to do with, or is any argument in favor of, instituting slavery in free territory that may be added to the Union. On the contrary, it proves the inexpediency and unjustness of thus creating slavery. To say that our forefathers made any compromise about California is too absurd to talk about.

Mr. Buchanan fears a dissolution of the Union, if we do not allow slavery in California. All such fears are groundless. Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, have been added to the Union. Slavery existed in those Territories, and we of the North consented to leave it undisturbed. It is expected that free territory is now about to be acquired; and we are told, that unless we create slavery in it, the South will dissolve the Union. If they should make an attempt, they would not succeed on such a question, and they will make no such attempt. They will bluster and clamor, of course, but when they find the North stands firm upon the principles of Liberty and Equal Rights, they will quietly acquiesce.

From the Albany Atlas.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

A direct and just criticism of Mr. Buchanan's recent letter on this subject, from the St. Lawrence Republican, will be found in another column of this evening's paper.

Our high respect for Mr. Buchanan cannot restrain the expression of our regret, that he, being the organ of the Government in its intercourse with foreign nations, in virtue of his official position, should have judged it proper to publish at this time, many views on this subject, and of our surprise that he entertains such opinions as he has expressed. We venture to say, that this feeling of regret and surprise is not confined to an individual, but is felt by more or less popularity. It pervades the Northern, Middle, and Western States, and thousands of honest and influential Democrats will repudiate his views, unless he is greatly misjudged.

The design and object of extending the line of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, to the Pacific Ocean, as the boundary between slaveholding and non-slaveholding communities, cannot be mistaken. It is to give up all territory hereafter acquired, south of that line, to the domain of the slave interest, and to give to equality. It proves

liable to forfeit their lives for violating a multitude of criminal laws, of which they are ignorant, and for the violation of which the free white class suffer merely fine and imprisonment.

There are also almost countless statutes, in all the slave States, authorizing the slave owner, or his agent, to flog unmercifully his naked victim of either sex, for the most trivial and contemptible offences—such as being out after certain prescribed hours of the night—off the plantation on which such slave may reside, without permission—for keeping or carrying a gun, or powder, or shot, or a club—for having *any article* of property for sale, which he collects or procures by any means—for trafficking—for travelling by himself from his master's land, and upon the land of a neighbor, without permission—for travelling in the night without a pass—for being found in land another person's negro quarters, or kitchen—for hunting with dogs in the woods, even of his master—for being on horseback without a pass—for being in the house of his master—for keeping a dog—or "for being *guilty* of rambling, riding, or going abroad in the night, or riding horses in this *sly* manner, without leave." A host of similar offences I might detail, but I need not here enumerate them, for which the slave may be legally beaten by his owner or overseer, and not infrequently by any person whatsoever, who chooses to lay violent hands upon him.

Of these, then, are *some* of the physical cruelties and privations authorized by law; and other privations I might notice, where law steps in to prescribe *a quart of corn per diem*, as food for the slave. (North Carolina,) and a linen shirt and pantaloons for summer, and a linen shirt and woollen great coat and pantaloons for the winter, (Louisiana slave code, unless lately revised,) as sufficient clothing for his body. Most of the slave States have no laws upon the subject; but, unless the owners of slaves in each and all of them are much superior in point of humanity and benevolence to the citizens of our State, there must be immense privation and suffering, from want of sufficient food and clothing, on the part of many slaves. That such is the case, we have *good reason to believe*, and we do believe, that it *may be the fact*, has been over and over attested, by legions of witnesses, both bond and free, both slave holding and non-slaveholding, and that where such terrible, absolute power is possessed by one class over another class, it *must needs be so*.

Now, in how "many cases" the law "*wises to* provide against" cruelty and mortification, is one thing, and to provide against them really, is quite another thing. With thy article I fully agree, that however the law "*wises*," it is notoriously *are nothing*, where the master is wanting in humanity." And it the authors of these laws really *wised* to guard the physical wants of the slave, why did they not make the master pay some something? For it is a burlesque on law, or civil and criminal jurisprudence, to enact statutes designed for the protection of a class, and then prohibit the testimony of that class being given in our courts of justice.

But were these "sims," foolish as they are, really honest? Let us see how far some of them appear so.

The law *protecting* the slave's life in North Carolina, thus, whoever shall murder him "wilfully and maliciously," shall suffer the penalty of death, "provided, *always*, (now we have it!) this act shall not extend to a person killing a slave *outlawed* by virtue of any act of Assembly of this State, or to any slave in the act of *resistance* to his lawful owner or master, or to any slave *dying under moderate correction*."

What is an "outlawed" slave? A slave against whom his owner proclaims outlawry, for having run off, authorizing any one to shoot him, "as fitting, dead or alive. Such outlawry frequently occur. What is an "act of resistance?" Merely the slave's raising his hand against his master, or even if he be a man or a child, is an "act of resistance;" and the law says that slave may be struck dead.

Nor is the owner to suffer death, if he killed his slave in the act of *quietly* correcting him! Merciful protection! Georgia has a similar law, embodied in her fundamental law—her State Constitution.

My sheet is full, and I must forbear offering further evidence of the *kind* of legal protection afforded the slave; else have I almost any quantity of it, which I could gather lying before me, which I should like to present.

J. Fulton, Jun.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, SEPTEMBER 30, 1847.

CORRESPONDENTS.

"*Vela*"—Two communications from.

"*An Old Settler*"—Your numbers from.

"*A Carolinian*"—One communication from.

"*E. H. N.*"—Strictures by.

"*Mrs. Emma D. E. Southworth*"—Another story from.

These articles will soon be published, and many others on hand will be attended to. The long communication from "*Agricola*," of Illinois is not forgotten. But correspondents must be patient. Some articles of our own have been waiting, in type, for a month or more.

LIBERTY ALMANAC FOR 1848.

We are happy to be able to announce that this interesting and valuable annual, compiled by Rev. Joshua Leavitt, is now in the press, and that by the middle of next week the agent at New York expects to be able to supply orders for Almanacs to any amount. The size and price ($3.50 per 100, or $30 per 1,000) will be the same as last year; and we hope to hear that the demand is for double the number published for 1847. All orders must be accompanied by the cash, and addressed to "William Harned, 22 Spruce street, New York city."

Mr. H. requests us to ask that our friends be careful to insert his No. and street on the address of their letters.

DR. COX AND MR. FEE.

Mr. Fee, to whom we alluded recently as being the son of a large (we should say, a small considerable) slaveholder in Kentucky, has a reply on the outside of this week's Era to Dr. Cox.

One or two papers have seen proper to condemn us for having "descended to stand sponsor for the courtesy and Christian character of a man who never lets an opportunity slip of heaping upon Abolitionists the vilest abuse." We did nothing of the kind. We "stood sponsor for the Christian character" of Doctor Cox, nor are we aware that that gentleman expected us to do so. But we commended "the great courtesy and Christian spirit exhibited in his bearing towards Mr. Fee." And were not these qualities exhibited? Is it a crime to commend what is commendable in an opponent? We see no reason in morals or manners why the *bearings* of the social circle should not be observed in editorial life. Some editors—we speak no one—may find their types among those whom St. Paul says, "their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness." Meantime, we ask attention to the excellent reply of Mr. Fee.

HINTS.

A correspondent of some newspaper recently wrote that it was understood Mr. Benton intended to support Martin Van Buren for the Presidency.

In the *Albany Atlas* is an article from the *Oswego Democrat*, of which the following is an extract:

"In our opinion, the statesman who stands next highest (to the late Governor Wright) in the public estimation, particularly of Democrats, is Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri."

SCIENTIFIC MECHANIC.

This is the title of a weekly paper, published at Washington, D. C., and in New York city, devoted to the interests of mechanics, inventors, &c., and containing engravings of new inventions, and much interesting and valuable matter. It is conducted by Rufus Porter, late editor of the Scientific American.

C. H. Brainard, near the Patent Office, Washington, is the Washington publisher. It is a well-printed sheet, and (one of the cheapest in the country, being furnished at one dollar a year, in advance. Mr. Porter is an experienced editor, and makes a very useful paper.

GOVERNOR SEWARD AND O'CONNELL.

The obsequies of O'Connell were celebrated, a few days since, in New York, in a highly impressive manner. Thousands attended the celebration, and Governor Seward pronounced an oration of great power, a full report of which has reached us in the New York Tribune. Had we room, we should transfer it from it liberally this week, but we must defer further notice of it till our next number.

VICE PRESIDENT DALLAS—THINGS BECOMING COMPLICATED.

In the *Era* of last week, and on the outside of this week's paper, the reader may learn how the Buchanan movement is working. Meantime, another political development demands our attention. It seems unfortunate, under our present constitutional arrangements, that two great men should fall to be the leaders of one party, especially both may be said to be in "the same and yellow leaf." Knowing that their time is short, and that but one can reach the prize, their strife is not apt to be as fraternal as that of Abraham and Lot. We doubt whether the compromises of the Constitution, even as construed by the *Union*, would be potent enough to heal their differences.

But Mr. Dallas seem to have a worse chance than in Pennsylvania, we are inclined to think that "his Excellency" and the "right honorable" Secretary of State would have been true yoke-fellows. As it is, war, horrid war, begins to rear his front.

The Vice President has been out to Pittsburgh, making a speech, while the Secretary has been writing a letter. And such a speech! Against Compromises, and in favor of internal improvements! What will the organ say? Besides taking care of President Polk and the War, Mr. Buchanan and the Compromises, it must not look after the Vice President, Internal Improvements, and the Virginia Resolutions of '98.

The speech referred to is reported from the Pittsburgh *Morning Post*, and was made at a great Democratic meeting assembled at Pittsburgh on the 16th instant. We shall glance briefly at its leading features.

He justified the war against Mexico, but deeply lamented it; and, while paying a glowing tribute of praise to the "brave, magnanimous, patriotic, and long-tried soldier, old Zachary Taylor," he did not forget to remind his audience that the much of the American army to the Rio Grande, alleged to be the immediate cause of hostilities, was by him first suggested and recommended. He argued in favor of the revenue tariff of 1846, but denied that ours was a Government of "free trade."

In relation to peace, we find the following remarkable expressions:

"What more can we desire? We have repelled invasion, we have secured victory after victory; the laurels have all been gathered—they have been all gathered by our brave countrymen; but the plaudits of the people, which should be all ours, and our country's, forever! I would therefore again say, let us have peace. The majesty of justice—our national honor—the rights of our citizens, have been vindicated; let us, then, have peace. But how shall this peace be secured? Is there a man in the country who is willing to inflict a wound upon the honor of our country? Is there any man who already endured? I do not believe there is one. Our only wish is, to obtain from them a guaranty that we will not be insulted hereafter. Let us, then, be at peace. Let our rights be respected. But we must have security against the repetition of injuries upon us. And to whom must we look—to whom do we look for this security? We look to the Government of Mexico alone. We ask only their own solemn pledge that we shall not hereafter be wronged with impunity!

And is this all? Was vindicated one national honor, and now all we ask is, a solemn pledge from Mexico that we shall not hereafter be wronged with impunity?"

The Vice President has expressed himself very bluuderingly, or he and the President differ radically in their notions about a peace. We believe that he is disposed to show that he does not concur in all the policy of the Administration; and our belief is confirmed by his declarations of opinion on the subject of River and Harbor Improvements, which we find thus reported:

"A great Convention recently assembled at Chicago, composed to some extent of gentlemen from all parts of the country, of both the leading political parties. What led to this meeting, it seems, was a desire to see whether something could not be done to change the face of a measure which has been vetoed by the Executive—the bill providing for the improvement of rivers and harbors. Upon this subject, the people of the United States have had their minds made up, and not resolutely. Our first inquiry should be, Does the Constitution authorize Congress to improve the navigation of Western rivers? Respecting improvements calculated to facilitate commercial operations, a great difficulty has been to find what Congress might do. The subject is one of extreme interest and importance, and is likely to claim much of our attention hereafter. It has arisen under that provision of the Constitution which gives to Congress the power to regulate commerce with foreign nations in the United States, and also between the several States themselves; and it is claimed, with great force, that, under this provision, the right to appropriate money for the improvement of rivers and harbors is constitutional. It is, however, certain, that the American people are determined to fill up the Western valley of the Atlantic; and that, where they go, their industry, and energy, and wealth, will mark out roads for commerce, which will require the attention of the Government. And if there be no constitutional inhibition, why should not the West partake of the means of improvement which she so materially aids in supplying? Some gentlemen of the East, even States grudge to the sons of the West a portion of those means? Why virtually say to them, you may look at our lighthouses, our piers, our harbors, and our navigation, but we will not allow your rivers to be cleared. The beacon light may shine forth, to warn our sailors of rocks and shoals; but you are remanded to the Ark of Noah and sawyers—we can not. We have had what we wanted, what we needed, for the protection of our commerce—take care of yourselves. Such distinctions as would prevent, by this course are unworthy, and would never be made by a generous mind. If the Constitution speaks of equality among the States and the people of the States, and the Government encourages, as it has done, improvements in the East, let us wisely appropriate the public money for the benefit of all.

"Not long since, an objection was raised. We will be constantly liable, say some, to have the most gross impositions practiced upon us. We will be obliged to improve every harbor and river in the West." There is no necessity for yielding to attempts at imposition, if they should be made. You never do so; for you examine critically what is the character of the proposed improvement. Therefore you need not refuse all, because men try to impose upon you. This would be like determining to be blind, because you may be misled; and ignorant, because you may be misinformed. Let us adopt a course in relation to these rivers and harbors compatible with the Constitution, and such as has been adopted by a portion of the country since the formation of the Government."

In thus referring to the veto of the President, while he not only does not pretend to excuse it, but avows his adhesion to a directly opposite course of policy from what it sanctions, pronouncing ungenerous the "distinctions" on which its defence was rested, he places himself in an attitude of direct antagonism to the Administration.

The *Union* republishes the speech; (how could it do otherwise?) and, like the jockey with his horse, praises largely the good points, (in its estimation,) but slurs over the rest. This portion of his speech, for example, though occupying far more prominence than his remarks on a revenue tariff, is thus disposed of:

"The question of a constitutional power to create internal improvements is stated by Mr. Dallas rather in an hypothetical form; and the principle is not fully traced out; but we should have been happy if Mr. Dallas had given the weight of his high name in opposition to the general principle itself."

Let the reader examine the extract from the speech. If Mr. Dallas did not intend to commit himself by such declarations to the cause of Internal Improvements in the West, his statements are not hypothetical, but hypocritical. "If the Constitution," says Mr. Dallas, "speaks of equality among the States and the people of the States, and the Government encourages, as it has done, improvements at the East, let us wisely appropriate the public money for the benefit of all!" Then he proceeds to obviate the objections that may be raised to this exercise of power, and closes as follows: "Let us adopt a course in relation to these rivers and harbors, compatible with the Constitution, and such as has been enjoyed by a portion of the country since the formation of the Government."

Does any Western man, any advocate of the improvements of the great harbors and rivers of the West, ask more? And is it not by "distinctions," such as Mr. Dallas pronounces "ungenerous," that the *Union* has sought to suppress all action in favor of just such improvements as Mr. Dallas here recommends? There is nothing "hypothetical" in his position. He aimed to be rather diplomatic, but any man of common sense can see that his position is directly adverse to that of the Administration on this subject.

But this is not all. Recently the *Union* has been endeavoring to evoke from their slumbers the old party questions, which political managers have hitherto found so convenient for use in the struggles for the spoils of office; but the Vice President seems to think that by-gones should be *by-gones*. After having in the country, who voted in favor of the Tariff of 1846, the War, Peace, the Wilmot Proviso, and Internal Improvements, he said:

"I hope to be pardoned for having dwelt so long upon these topics; but as I have very seldom had an opportunity of addressing my fellow-citizens of Pittsburgh, and may never again enjoy that privilege, I have thought it proper to give you some general views upon these subjects. Perhaps, I may be thought to have occasionally referred to; *but they may, many of them, be now considered, as a distinguished statesman has termed them, obsolete ideas. Among the Ideas of these is a Bank of the United States, which has intellectually descended to the 'tomb of the Capulets' It is not now necessary to conjure up its ghost—as there is hardly a man in the country who would be willing to sink himself beneath the weight of such an undefined mass. The same may be said of a Protective Tariff—hardly a Tariff strictly with reference to protection. No statesman will propose either of these measures now.*"

This sinking of the old party issues, taken in connection with his repudiation of a part of the policy of the Administration, and his strong hallucination, that "the people" might be induced to the suspicion that he may not be indisposed to humor the Idea of a No-Party President, in the person of the General, but for the fact that he he himself is of suitable age for the Presidency.

We next come to his remarks on the Wilmot Proviso, and, in relation to it, he favors the public with the following wonderfully satisfactory answer:

"What shall we do with the Wilmot Proviso? For me, I hold myself in readiness for the crisis, whenever it shall be presented, even should I be called upon to cast the casting vote of the terrible *casting vote!* I shall carefully examine the subject, weigh well the able arguments on both sides of the question, which may be presented by the giant intellects of our country, and endeavor to myself the right to do as I think right, when the time may come for action."

By an easy transition, he passes to the general subject of slavery-agitation, becoming a little more explicit:

"There is but one political course which a man can take, in safety to his conscience. That course is a strict adherence to the Constitution. That course I have pursued, and I shall continue to do. That is the compass by which alone we can safely steer our political bark. If you can accomplish the abolition of slavery in the Southern States through its instrumentality, why, do so. But I hope there are none who would do so at the hazard of our union, liberty, and independence. The only test, then, which I would ask, was to submit that question, or any other that may arise, is the Constitution. But it is unfortunately the case that many of those who profess most interest in the question of abolishing slavery, that they are not much governed by such a principle as this. There is something above our Constitution, above our laws, above our union, and that is invisible. These persons should remember that there is a means by which to accomplish their ends, if they be right, much more sure and sure than that of destroying the only safeguard which they have for their own liberty. If they be indeed sincere in their objects, let them pass laws which shall be able to effect such a change in the Constitution itself as they desire."

From all which, it appears that the Vice President thinks it unconstitutional and inexpedient to do anything unconstitutional, even in pursuit of a good object.

A man so reverential towards the *Constitution* can have little sympathy for *Compromise*, and accordingly we find him despatching the Secretary of State in a very compendious style:

"But we hear, in some quarters, much talk of what is called *compromise*. I am of that old school of Democrats who never recognized the Constitution of my country. This is one of the words not to be found in that instrument. It was itself a result of compromise. It was, in fact, between a thing of shape, of life, of spirit, then all compromise was at an end. It was a settled principle, a fixed fact, a thing which might be broken, but having no power to bend, it must be broken or being bent. In it are to be found all the provisions for our government; and if you wish for other provisions you cannot put them there, all the legislation of Congress cannot put them there, unless in accordance with its provisions. At the time of the admission of Missouri into the Union, I found the same sentiment very generally prevailing in some sections. I had the same opinions then on this subject that I have now; and, in the short time I had been in congress, there were many who could not see where the agitation would end. Then men got together and talked of compromise, and a compromise was adopted. I insisted on what they had no right to ask, and the other half submitted to that which they should never have submitted to. Any such system as this is dangerous to the Constitution and to our union. Far better would be an instantaneous change in its provisions, by Convention, than any compromise whatever inconsistent with that instrument itself."

Thus does this Vice President execute the Secretary of State, and the Washington Union, and the Administration, with their loving compromises, by a most summary process. What his own opinions are cannot be inferred with certainty from anything yet quoted. What opinions were they which he entertained in 1819—20? One-half insisted upon that they had no right to ask, says Mr. D. Well, who were they? "The other half submitted to what they never should have submitted to." Who were they? The Vice President is as direct, as unambiguous as the oracle of Delphos.

But the closing paragraph of this remarkably involved, yet disingenuously hidden part of his speech furnishes some indications of his

"The officers of the General Government are awake to the importance of this subject; and there is no doubt that there will be much agitation in the Halls of Congress on the subject. In the Senate, I have no doubt it will be examined in all its bearings; and I sincerely hope that something will be found to arise from it calculated to place our institutions on a firm, and, I will add, unalterable basis than they even now are. The very best thing which can be done, when all is said upon the subject that may be said, will be to let it alone entirely, leaving to the people of the territory to be acquired the business of settling the matter for themselves; *for, where slavery has no existence, all the legislation of Congress would be powerless to give it existence;* and where we find it to exist, the people of the country have themselves adopted the institutions; they have the right, alone, to determine their own institutions; and, as the matter so exists elsewhere, they are not to be condemned for its existence."

Here, again, we find the same doctrine proclaimed which we noticed as having been broached before the Jackson Association of this city by F. P. Blair. To this body belongs Amos Kendall, with other leading Democrats, many of whom are warm friends of Mr. Dallas. We have little doubt that the new doctrine (new to the Democracy) is to be used as a rallying point in opposition to compromise and Wilmot Proviso. *Where slavery has no existence, all the legislation of Congress would be powerless to give it existence!* So say we; and why? Mr. Dallas has not stated his reasons—Mr. Blair did not—but there can be but two: first, the Constitution confers no power on Congress to create slavery; secondly, the Constitution, in providing that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," prohibits it from creating slavery. "Let it alone, therefore, entirely," says Mr. Dallas; "leaving to the people of the territory to be acquired the business of settling the matter for themselves." But, as Congress is empowered "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States," as, according to Mr. Polk's appointing the Governor of a Territory, and provides for a Territorial Legislature, this Legislature, which has no other Constitution than that of the United States, and whose acts are subject to revision by Congress, cannot certainly exercise a power prohibited or not conferred by that Constitution, and it also has the power of Congress itself; nor can it, therefore, create slavery. Are we to infer that this is the understanding of Mr. Dallas and the Jackson Association of this city?

We shall continue this subject at our leisure, meantime calling attention to this movement of Mr. Dallas, as one probably concerted deliberately in Washington, and one understood to be antagonistic to that of Mr. Buchanan.

* *Note.*—"We *will* be constantly liable"—"We *will* be obliged," &c. This is an outrage upon the People's English. Did reporters and newspaper editors ever hear of the Frenchman who exclaimed—"I *will* drown, and nobody *shall* help me?"

† This doctrine we shall examine hereafter.

THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER—THE PROVISO—THE POLICY OF THE WHIG PARTY.

The *National Intelligencer*, departing from its rule not to introduce the question of the Wilmot Proviso to its readers, on the ground that it is one of no present consequence, admitted a communication, a few days since, the design of which was to show that the Proviso ought not to be made an issue by the Whig party, but that the "grand issue" should be, "no more Mexican territory." "The writer," says the Intelligencer, "is a gentleman of great political sagacity and experience in public affairs, and, withal, a truly patriotic Whig statesman."

He first attempts to show that the "Wilmot Proviso is a matter of no practical value:"

"It will not prevent any State from establishing slavery *after its admission into the Union*. The Legislature of Maine has proposed that the Anti-Slavery provision of the ordinance of 1787 should be extended to all territory hereafter acquired. This will give the Wilmot Proviso its most efficient form. Now, admitting for the moment the justness of the reasoning, I put the question, if the State of Ohio should to-morrow establish slavery, what power in the United States *would* nullify the act? The argument of Ohio would be, that the sovereignty of the State is in the people, and sovereign power rests in the people of the State—the living people—to be exercised by a majority; and that it is competent to that body of Anti-Slavery voters to determine the political condition of its people; and that, to every extent, that sovereignty, where not restricted by the Constitution of the United States, is as unalienable, as perpetually, in the people of each State *in* the Union. What power, Ohio would ask, had the State of Virginia and the Congress of the United States to force upon the inhabitants in that State, to determine for all time the political condition of its future population? She might put a question of peculiar pungency to the North. Had Ohio, when she was a slaveholding slavery, *established* it; must it have endured forever in Ohio?

"The South, questioning the justness of the analogy, may put the still more stringent questions: From what clause in the Constitution does Congress derive the power to limit the sovereignty of the People of the States, to determine for themselves the political condition of its people forever? In the Territories of the United States, Congress may prohibit slavery, by its power of admission into the Union. They may even refuse to admit a State under a Constitution that establishes slavery. But, when a State *is admitted* into the Union, the question recurs, What power had Congress over the sovereignty of that State, to determine or restrict the political condition of its people?"

"Against such arguments, however you or I may appreciate them, with what hope could an appeal be made to the Supreme Court—composed as it is, of a majority of slaveholders—to nullify slavery established in the State of Buena Vista, or Matamoros, or Vera Cruz, &c., in violation of the Wilmot Proviso? For what act could Congress nullify? And if it could, is there any hope that it would nullify it? What can be hoped against an evil so rife in the Republic—from a new growth of principles in the House of Representatives?"

Admitting that the assumptions of this writer, in regard to the rights of the States after admission into the Union, are sound, they do not prove that a provision excluding slavery from the territory out of which they are formed, is "of no practical value." On the contrary, they furnish an additional argument in its behalf. For, if the State, when in the Union, will have the right to establish or prohibit slavery, as it may choose, without interference on the part of the General Government, how vitally important is it that the Government, by wise legislation, should secure to the territory out of which it is to be formed, a population that will not desire slavery! The writer evidently overlooked this bearing of his argument. Then, as a matter of fact, how stands the question? Many States in our Union, once slaveholding, have abolished slavery; but no non-slaveholding State has established it. Such an event is so entirely improbable, that an argument which depends for its force upon *supposing* it, can have no force at all. Was the Anti-Slavery proviso of 1787 of no "practical value?" Was the Missouri Compromise of no "practical value" in relation to the territory above 36 deg. 30 min.? But, let the editors of the *Intelligencer* state their question. An editorial which appeared in its columns pending the Missouri struggle insisted on what they had no right to ask, and the other half submitted to that which they should never have submitted to. Any such system as this is dangerous to the Constitution and to our union. Far better would be an instantaneous change in its provisions, by Convention, than any compromise whatever inconsistent with that instrument itself."

Thus does this Vice President execute the Secretary of State, and the Washington Union, and the Administration, with their loving compromises, by a most summary process. What his own opinions are cannot be inferred with certainty from anything yet quoted. What opinions were they which he entertained in 1819—20? One-half insisted upon that they had no right to ask, says Mr. D. Well, who were they? "The other half submitted to what they never should have submitted to." Who were they? The Vice President is as direct, as unambiguous as the oracle of Delphos.

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"The officers of the General Government are awake to the importance of this subject; and there is no doubt that there will be much agitation in the Halls of Congress on the subject. In the Senate, I have no doubt it will be examined in all its bearings; and I sincerely hope that something will be found to arise from it calculated to place our institutions on a firm, and, I will add, unalterable basis than they even now are. The very best thing which can be done, when all is said upon the subject that may be said, will be to let it alone entirely, leaving to the people of the territory to be acquired the business of settling the matter for themselves; *for, where slavery has no existence, all the legislation of Congress would be powerless to give it existence;* and where we find it to exist, the people of the country have themselves adopted the institutions; they have the right, alone, to determine their own institutions; and, as the matter so exists elsewhere, they are not to be condemned for its existence."

Here, again, we find the same doctrine proclaimed which we noticed as having been broached before the Jackson Association of this city by F. P. Blair. To this body belongs Amos Kendall, with other leading Democrats, many of whom are warm friends of Mr. Dallas. We have little doubt that the new doctrine (new to the Democracy) is to be used as a rallying point in opposition to compromise and Wilmot Proviso. *Where slavery has no existence, all the legislation of Congress would be powerless to give it existence!* So say we; and why? Mr. Dallas has not stated his reasons—Mr. Blair did not—but there can be but two: first, the Constitution confers no power on Congress to create slavery; secondly, the Constitution, in providing that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," prohibits it from creating slavery. "Let it alone, therefore, entirely," says Mr. Dallas; "leaving to the people of the territory to be acquired the business of settling the matter for themselves." But, as Congress is empowered "to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting, the territory or other property belonging to the United States," as, according to Mr. Polk's appointing the Governor of a Territory, and provides for a Territorial Legislature, this Legislature, which has no other Constitution than that of the United States, and whose acts are subject to revision by Congress, cannot certainly exercise a power prohibited or not conferred by that Constitution, and it also has the power of Congress itself; nor can it, therefore, create slavery. Are we to infer that this is the understanding of Mr. Dallas and the Jackson Association of this city?

We shall continue this subject at our leisure, meantime calling attention to this movement of Mr. Dallas, as one probably concerted deliberately in Washington, and one understood to be antagonistic to that of Mr. Buchanan.

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MR. CORWIN—THE PRESIDENCY.

Mr. Corwin has been nominated for the Presidency by the Boston Whig, Roxbury Gazette, Cleveland True Democrat, and a few other Anti-Slavery, Anti-War Whig papers. We understand that it is their intention to urge his claims upon a National Whig Convention, but we are not apprised of the nature of action, should the Convention disregard (as it certainly will) their recommendation. If, however, they contemplate the policy of running Mr. Corwin, even in that contingency, it must be because they believe him a sound Anti-Slavery man, and one who will rally the Anti-Slavery voters of the country. On both these points, we are confident they are greatly mistaken. We impeach neither their patriotism nor philanthropy. They have given evidence that they seek the true welfare of their country, but, on the points named, they proceed, we are sure, without evidence sufficient to authorize any such belief or calculation.

We have long known Mr. Corwin, and we know he has never been identified in any way with the practical Anti-Slavery men of the West. We know of no effort that he has ever made to renovate the sentiment or reform the policy of his party in relation to Slavery. He has always been regarded by the Anti-Slavery men there as a man of good impulses, general Anti-Slavery sympathies, but without any definite Anti-Slavery principles. This, we believe, we stated to the respected editor of the Boston Whig, in a conversation with him a few months ago.

We entertain too high an opinion of the editors of the papers above named to suppose that they will adhere to a candidate they have suggested, should it be shown to them that he is lacking in Anti-Slavery principle. For this reason, we ask their attention to his present course in Ohio. At a recent mass meeting of the Whigs in Hamilton county, he conducted himself in a way which will recommend him to the Slave Power, and convince that he is not such a man as they can vote for. We quote the remarks of the Cincinnati Atlas and Cincinnati Chronicle (warm friends of Mr. Corwin) in relation to his remarks at that meeting:

"The Atlas of this morning, in noticing the proceedings of Whig meetings in Hamilton county, says: 'Senator Corwin delivered an eloquent and powerful address, of two hours, in opposition to the war and the extension of slavery into new territory.' The Atlas does not specify the character of his justice, in the latter part of the above paragraph. He did not oppose the acquisition of territory upon the ground that it would be wrong, or unjust or injustice to Mexico, it was no more than right that we should refuse to take any of her territory. He therefore went against the acquisition of any territory, lest it should be made the home of slavery. The Wilmot Proviso was a dangerous question. It ought not (said Mr. Corwin) to receive the serious consideration of the people. All good men should unite to preserve the Union as it is. The Wilmot Proviso was calculated to endanger the Union. Such a measure did not meet his approbation."—*Cincinnati Chronicle.*

"Our neighbor endeavors to correct an *apparent* mistake of the Atlas, but has itself fallen into an inadvertent mistake, not unlike our own. Mr. Corwin did submit resolutions and questions above reported by the Chronicle, which in manner many notice we omitted to state, but he did also take the ground, decidedly, that if, contrary to all justice, public law territory be forced into the Union, slavery should not be extended into such new territory, which the Chronicle omits to state."

Cincinnati Atlas.

"SENATOR CORWIN AND THE ABOLITIONISTS.

"In his speech at Carthage, on Saturday last, Senator Corwin showed that he had no sympathy with the Abolitionists. He, in effect, charged them with being the cause of the war with Mexico. They voted for Mr. Clay, who was pledged against the annexation of Texas, the country never would have been annexed, if he was elected. They, by voting for Birney, they defeated Mr. Clay's election, and thus brought upon the country the very evils which were predicted would follow in the train of his defeat. They, also, failed to oppose the acquisition of Texas, but pursued the very course that secured its admission into the Union. He (Senator Corwin) then proceeded to speak in regard to their course in that election, but, also, with regard to their course touching the Wilmot Proviso. That measure (he said) never can pass the Senate. The Senate (said he) had voted against it, and that Proviso had two majority in the Senate. How useless, then, to agitate the question! Suppose a large enough to make Senator Mr. Clay because he was a *slaveholder*, and what was the result? Why, more slave territory was annexed, large enough in extent to make *three slave States!* It is not ridiculous for such creatures to talk about the restriction of slavery within its present limits? They prate a great deal about the danger of extension of slavery, but, by their ill-advised, impolitic, and reckless course, have made his condition infinitely worse, and, in all probability, entailed upon the country perpetual slavery!

"With Senator Corwin, we have either to deplore their ignorance, or doubt their sincerity."

Cincinnati Chronicle.

In addition to this, we extract from a report of his speech in the Cincinnati Morning Signal the following;

"The slave States, by the annexation of Texas, will have enough Senators to effect this. Thanks to those Abolitionists and Anti-

A GREAT INVENTION.

There are few articles of modern dress which may not be improved. Some of them (the hat, for example) are clumsy, ungraceful, uncomfortable; and others, like the shoe and boot, if made to look neat, are painful—if made to be comfortable, are often slovenly. The string in the shoe or the half boot always seems like an unpleasant afterthought; and the side lacing of the gaiter still admits of an ugly pouching on the inside of the foot. The great object is, to obtain easy entrance into a shoe, to have the shoe and boot made to look neat, and yet not an appearance of the foot, as your own eye can test upon with complacency.

A few days ago, our friend, Mr. H. Janney, (8th street, near the General Post Office,) presented us with a pair of wearables, having all these requisites delightfully combined. They are made on the plan and patent of Hiram H. Day, of New York, and are not the better or worse for being called "Congress Boots." The secret of their fit and finish is, that the manufacturer has brought under contribution, that article of universal aptitudes—India Rubber—using it in the form of a gore, so as to substitute strings, buckles, or buttons, obviate the necessity of wide tops, maintain the arch of the foot without pain, and secure elasticity to the step.

The following account of it we extract from a paper, the name of which we have lost:

"The Congress Boots.—In 1839, Messrs. Dupont & Hyatt, leather dressers, of Brooklyn, New York, invented and applied *elastic gores*, as substitutes for buttons and laces, for boots and shoes, and in 1840 took out letters patent for the same in the United States. Mr. Dupont has continued to manufacture the improvement, to a small extent, down to the present time. But the invention, though very valuable, has not been generally used, mainly from the fact that *the elastic material used* has been too expensive, and unsuited to the peculiar and required. And, besides this, few men are willing to hazard the infringement of a patent, until some person has made it valuable, or extensively known. This patent of Messrs. Dupont & Hyatt has recently been made exceedingly valuable by the present owner of the patent right, in preparing a new and beautiful style of elastic material, which is free from the imperfect state, every requisite for the purpose of these *elastic* gores, and which is much cheaper than that formerly used.

"In Dupont's 'Congress Boot' has come into extensive use; it is patronized by 'England's fair Queen,' by the nobility, and by ladies of literary distinction. In fact, it is there considered an indispensable article of fashion, as well as of comfort. (See Hall's Book of the Feet, lately republished in this country, from the second London edition.)

"This, however, is only one application of the invention. For a morocco boot, half boot, and even a Grecian tie, *the elastic gore* is, for every reason, far preferable to strings or buttons. In children's shoes, to say nothing of the time and trouble saved in the tying or untying, the elastic gore is far preferable, because it will prevent their speedy destruction by 'running down at the heel.' It may be applied in front or back, as well as at the *sides*, and *children will wear* a shoe or half gaiter may be made with or without small pieces of whalebone up the side, between the elastic material and the outside leather, at the point of juncture of the two materials.

"Men's calf-skin boots, out without seam in the vamp, and to come up to the ankle, are a high step as the Grecian tie or half gaiter—is the greatest triumph of the invention. The material used for the gores will stretch three times its quiescent length, and will be so powerful that it will elongate by continual wear. The calf boot may be made to come up above the ankle, in the same way as the half gaiter, by taking '*cues*' for the front pieces, and crimped backs.

"This is an improvement interesting to every man, woman, and child. *It administers to their comfort and economy.* Hence, it has become a universal and completely relieves the painful pressure upon the arch of the foot, peculiar to all other kinds of boots and shoes! It makes the exercise of walking perfectly free and easy; and from the freedom afforded the muscles and joints, and the bracing support of the ankles, the Congress boot will soon be the only boot worn by those who study *comfort and economy*, as well as fashion—all three being blended in this improvement.

"In the most fashionable society in Europe, the Congress boots are used instead of slippers for dancing, *being made very light and neat*, as well as bracing to the ankles, and calculated to show off, in the best possible manner, a neat foot and ankle, with no encumbrance of lacings or buttons, which in the old style are so indispensable."

For the National Era.

CIRCULAR FROM THE DELAWARE STATE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

To all the Benevolent, wherever this may come:

Brethren and Sisters: This circular is addressed to you, for the purpose of soliciting your aid in the work of abolishing slavery in the State of Delaware. The preaching of Anti-Slavery truth for the last twenty-five years has not been useless. The facts and arguments which have been so freely published in our country have been gradually leavening the public mind of this State. The tone of public sentiment has undergone a material change. An undercurrent has been setting towards the port of freedom, silent, perhaps, but powerful, and, we hope, sure. These are of progress on that account, until now individuals and whole States are prepared, or nearly so, for the bold and decisive steps of emancipation. Kentucky, Delaware, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, are moving—slowly—all too slowly, it is true, but they are moving; a most gratifying fact in a slaveholder day coming." In Delaware there are now about two thousand three hundred slaves. These are held by a comparatively small part of our population. The great majority of our citizens are non-slaveholders—many of them from the Northern States, and the number of this class rapidly increasing. They are opposed to the system of slavery in interest and in feeling, if that could be properly reached and developed. A prospective bill for emancipation was before our Legislature at its last session. The vote on its final passage in the House stood—for the bill, 8; against it, 4. In the Senate, after the second reading, amendments made for an indefinite postponement, on which the vote stood—for the motion, 5; against it, 4. When the result was known, considerable excitement manifested itself, and tempers were sent to the Senate, which were the occasion of a motion for reconsideration, which was lost by a tie vote, one member being absent. This occurred just at the close of the session. Had the bill been earlier before that body, there is a probability of a different result having obtained.

From these facts, the friends of freedom feel that they have great cause for encouragement to put forth renewed efforts for the accomplishment of our object, which is the emancipation of our slaves. (We would send forth the living agent, as well as tracts and periodicals, appealing to the consciences and common sense of our citizens.) We would have no cause untaxed, to have that accomplished at the next meeting of our Legislature, which failed at the last. We doubt not that a concerted and vigorous effort would be made determined to adhere to the system of slavery. Yet unwilling to release their captives, they will appeal to all that is selfish, deter by threats the timid, and bribe the venal and the unwary. We would be more active, more vigilant, more untiring than they; but we are few in number and limited in our resources. For the means of carrying on our warfare, we must look to benevolence abroad. We invite you, then, to whom this is addressed particularly—we invite all to whom notice may come, to contribute of your abundance, or may be of your poverty, that which you can, to forward the work. Let Delaware abolish slavery, and other States will follow. It will be the opening wedge for further action. It is here, then, the battle of Freedom must be fought. It is here the first victory is to be gained. Who is willing to come to the rescue? "Come one, come all," come to the relief of the downtrodden. Come, clear our fair country of the foul blot of slavery. By your love of kindness—of country—of fair fame—of Justice—of Christian purity—of all that is enobling—of all that is holy—lend us now your aid, and the blessing of the perishing will be upon you.

Contributions may be forwarded to our treasurer, Rachel Bassett, Wilmington, Delaware.

Benjamin Webb, *President.*
James B. Brooke, *Secretary.*

HENRY CLAY AND THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The real author of the Anti-Slavery policy of the Ordinance of 1787 was Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, the modern apostle of Democracy. The author of the Missouri compromise is Henry Clay, the father of modern Democracy. The Washington *Union* repudiates the Ordinance and glorifies the Compromise. We suggest to "the Democracy" of the North, that, if they follow such guidance, it would be entirely in keeping to select Henry Clay as their Presidential candidate. What a spectacle it will be, to see the whole Democratic party of the Union, in obedience to the dictate of Slavery, preferring the short-sighted policy of Henry Clay to the far-seeing statesmanship of Thomas Jefferson!

GENERAL NEWS.

Rio De La Plata.—The *Journal of Commerce* has Buenos Ayres dates to the 7th August. The French continue to keep up a kind of blockade, but the British will have nothing to do with it. The course of Lord Howden had excited so much popular indignation against him at Montevideo, that it was deemed imprudent for him to land there to take leave of the Government. General Orbe was pressing the siege of that place vigorously, and the opinion was gaining ground that it could not hold out long.

"Two piratical boats fitted out at Montevideo have been hitherto successful, and, if Lord Howden's depredations on coasting craft, putting, in one instance at least, the crew to death

"Lord Howden's conduct of late towards the Aven, have been massacred on the coast of Patagonia. The remnant of those on board had arrived at Montevideo—the captain was among the killed. The vessel was robbed of everything."

Ohio.—Ohio has begun to pay off her public debt. The auditor of State, in his last given notice, through the Columbus papers, to the holders of Ohio canal stock receivable in payment for canal tolls and rents, that he will pay, on demand, they will cease to draw interest after the 1st of November next, and that the stocks, on presentation at the treasury, will be paid in full.

Assessment in Washington.—By a report in the National Intelligencer, we learn that the annual assessment of the District of Columbia property (new houses, furniture, &c.) has just been completed, and the amount, together with the total value of real and personal property within the city, is given as follows: Real estate, $16,000,000, that they will cease to draw interest after the 1st of November next, and that the stocks, on presentation at the treasury, will be paid in full.

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President's house and public offices	$800,000
Stables and workshops -	6,000
Capitol and enclosures -	2,285,000
Engine houses -	3,000
Observatory -	20,000
Arsenal, &c., penitentiary and enclosure -	263,000
General Post Office and city post office -	415,000
Patent Office -	300,000
Land enclosures -	30,000
East half city hall -	60,000
Navy magazine, &c. -	5,000
City park buildings, enclosures, &c.	516,000
Barracks -	50,000
Hassler's workshops -	800
Engine houses, 14th and Exeter -	3,000
Treasury building -	645,000
	5,408,300
Add value of ground -	2,214,079
	7,622,379

The ground belonging to the Government, estimated in the above statement as valued at $2,214,079, is comprised in 23,247,071 square feet, and is located in various sections of the city. This property, by the improvements constantly being made by the city government, at the cost of private property holders, is daily becoming more valuable; but still it pays not one cent of the cost of these improvements.—*Baltimore Sun.*

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RECOLLECTIONS OF COUNTRY LIFE.

BY PATTY LEE.

THE TWIN SISTERS.

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Oh! there is need of patient faith and vigorous effort in view of the painful disparities of life! There is need of John, with lofty grief about with strong hope for humanity, to cry in the social wilderness, and equalize the burdens that are crushing down the upward tendencies of many of the sons and daughters of earth. How many "mute inglorious Miltons" there are in the world; for the odium of the criminal anchoches to the rights of ages of poverty and the hard hands of toil. True, something of the spirit which dictated the "I also am a painter," has made beautiful on the canvas of sunbeams and shadows, lured the feet of the few! but oh! how many, whose names are "spelled by the unlettered Muse," have perished in the dust and crushed by the wheel!

If woman could be made aware of and faithful to her high responsibilities, I, for one, should look for mighty achievements. But her character is so frivolous, (I speak of the mass,) that I almost forgive Lady Montague for saying that her only consolation for being a woman, was, that she would not have to marry one. Many, very many, who belong to the *better class* of society, waste sympathy, that might find worthier vent, in whining over the slokly pages of sentiment; or, if real misfortune comes, their sympathies must be that which involves the necessity of parting with a harp or a piano. Oh! there are tears for such reverses; but alas! for hearts that have had a harp, Heaven bless them, for they have no human sympathy!

"Yes," said Mr. Fairbank, who having drank a whiskey during the day, was in better humor than usual, "yes, I can take Lily, if she wants to go; but I shall take the cell; though, as for the matter of that, two calves can go as well as one. So saying, he whirled the wheel of his market cart briskly round, to test the sufficiency of tar on the axle, and laughed outright at his own wit-icism. I believe, reader, I have not described the individual on the tapis, and I shrink from the task, for I have no faculty of giving identity to my personages. "I'll be a man to take him for all in all, upon whose like?" you may have looked a thousand times; and when I tell you that he was about forty years of age, of small stature, growing, something by the aid of a high hat, which face deeply sunburnt, and little twinkling gray eyes, shaded with yellow, set far under shaggy brows, you must fill up the picture. Rude, brusque and vivacious, he never won confidence; there was something about him that awoke emotions of fear and hatred. If his wife loved him, it must have been with the fascination of the bird for the serpent. But, whatever prompted, no wife was ever more punctual in the performance of duty, as was accomplished on the present occasion, in the many little preparations she made for the departure of husband and child. The great drab coat and blue cassimere trousers were carefully brushed and hung by the fire, and such articles selected from Lily's scanty wardrobe as were deemed most fitting for her visit to the city. The white dress, carefully washed and ironed, was tucked up in a bright-colored cotton handkerchief, with her Sunday slippers and pink necklace, and laid on an unpainted hickory chair, the post of which was garnished with her little straw hat, trimmed tastefully with blue satin ribbon. Preparations were made for a cup of hot coffee at daybreak, and the family retired to rest. Lily, in going to town to spend a week, was an event in the life of Lily, and, consequently, she was all awake when her father, touching her arm lightly, said the moon was south, and they had best be starting.

The being parted from her child a week was to the fond mother a new trial; but the paleness of Lily's cheek and the apathy of her manner alarmed her, and the visit to an aunt in the city was determined on, as a sort of restorative. Did you ever live in the country, and go to market, reader? Probably not. Well, sister Millie was telling me a little incident relative to her going, the other day, over which I laughed till the tears came. Seeing a good sort of man giving away beer, as she supposed, in her childish simplicity, she resolved to have a draught, and, screwing up her courage to the sticking place, approached, took up a glass, and, draining it of its contents, was turning away, when the good man, ordering her by the name of Millie, exclaimed, "My little girl, you had best pay for that beer?" "Heaven only knows," she added, "with what consternation I gave him all the money I had, thereby depriving myself of many little treasures fancy had pictured. But oh! the remorse and shame! There is many a convict in the State's prison who never suffered so! Poor Millie! It must have been a mortifying circumstance, for she kept it even from me, with whom she is in the habit of thinking aloud, for ten years!

Never did lover adjust the mantle of his mistress with more tenderness than did Mrs. Fairbank the shawl of her daughter, as she seated herself on the straw opposite, in the bottom of the cart, and took carefully into her lap a basket, containing a dozen of eggs, and a round of the sweetest and goldenest butter. Beside her, a present for the aunt whom she was to visit. A week second to her a long time, and she almost wished she was not going, as her mother vanished with the flickering candle, and the little pony, giving a frowzell neigh to the companion left behind, trotted briskly off.

In listening to stories of early times, and watching the lamps of the fireflies, and the cold splendor of the far-off stars, the time wore by, till the faint streaks of light in the distant east, gradually deepening into crimson, announced the coming of day. And the blue mists of the river, curling upward over the green and wooded hillslope in a beautiful fantasia of morning, and the gray light of the morning, distinctly visible. Then came the confusion of tongues, the jolting and pushing and shrewd calculation that help to make up "the hum and stir of this dim spot that men call earth."

Alas! for the unsophisticated Lily! Her heart nigsen her and, as she leaned, wearied, heavily and debilitated, with a little bundle in one hand, and the basket containing the eggs and butter in the other, two three dollars, more than she ever had before, and all the cell had brought, carefully tied in the corner of her handkerchief, standing alone on the pavement fronting a three-story brick house in one of the most thickly-peopled and densely populated streets of the city. Her heart, I say, nisgave her, and she looked after her father, as he rattled away in his little cart, with feelings of sadness and longing, as Longfellow says—"Come thing akin to pain, I presume, and resembling sorrow much more nearly than the mist resembles rain. After the momentary fruitless attempt to open the gate, for she chose the alley entrance in consequence of not knowing how to ring the bell; and, after knocking timidly some time, the door was opened by the girl, who, finding waited a sufficient time for her to make known her errand, demanded, rather rudely, what she wanted.

"To know if my aunt is home," said Lily.

"Your aunt?" said the menial; "Mrs. Miller, if you mean her, is in her own room."

"Tell her, if you please, that Lily Fairbank is here."

"Mortimer," continued the servant, without offering the poor girl a chair, "go up stairs, and tell your ma."

"Sha'n't!" replied that promising specimen of humanity—a boy of some five years, with a very fair face, very yellow hair, and very black and bright eyes. So saying, he commenced thumping lustily on a little miniature drum, fastened about his neck after the most approved manner. Over the mantel was suspended, perhaps to show the use of military glory in the little hope, a picture of Napoleon, mounted on his war charger, and in just about the attitude we suppose him to be in when he said, "Is the route practicable?"

"I don't like you," said our little hero, approaching the shrinking Lily, and hitting with his drumstick her unglove hand, red and chilled with recent exposure. "I don't like you; you go *Ingus* hands; you got ugly faded old frock! My mother gets prettier frocks than you do."

Painfully aware of her position, Lily writhed under the unfeeling criticisms of her city-bred cousin. The room in which she was, though plainly furnished, contrasted so forcibly with her own rude home, that the little composure she had left well nigh deserted her. At length, after a long, "half hour," was eternity to those who, at every step was heard on the stairs, and Lily found herself in the presence of her stately relation, whose full salutations by no means accorded with the reception she had hoped for. Mrs. Miller was a portly, red-faced woman of about thirty-seven, wear—ng on the present occasion artificial roses on a deep purple bonnet, a low cap, slippers down at the heels, with stockings that *had* been white, lying in folds and wrinkles over a very stout ankle, and a black silk dress, with fringe at the bottom, that, if she had ever swept a floor, at front, besides two front teeth of clearer and more beautiful appearance than their neighbors.

"Mary, why don't you remove the breakfast things?" she said, petulantly, as she seated herself.

"Hoomes (was the reply) I thought, my per, your visiter would like a cup of coffee, she's rid so far, and the morning air so cold, like, too?"

"You thought?" iterated the lady—an expression, by the way, for which I have no particular fancy—"some folke think a great deal." And turning to Lily, she continued,

"You have had breakfast, of course?" The answer was, of course, in the affirmative, and the outlet and the fragrant beverage, that would have been grateful, were carried aside.

Mrs. Miller, the sister of Mrs. Fairbank, had married, early in life, a journeyman carpenter who, by diligently twisting and screwing, found himself, at the age of forty, in possession of what is termed a handsome property, and its almost never-failing attendant, a realizing sense of its importance, the only one which had been cultivated liberally by her who was bound to love, serve, and obey him.

But Gabriella, the eldest daughter, what shall I say of her? About ten o'clock, she crept languidly down stairs, in shocking dishabille, her light frizzly hair twisted and tortured in bits of newspaper, and the wrapper she had worn yesterday as a pan of milk, leaving her bed unmade, and a modern novel under her pillow. Her hands were beautiful models for a sculptor, and they were certainly good for nothing else, unless to thrum the piano, of which she was very fond. She could most effectively sing, "Remember me when I'er you shall be," and, dancing with one of her sets of perfumes and myers of soft things, demonstrated a genteel beau, arranging the leaves of her sandal-wood.

"Oh! ma, what shall I do?" exclaimed Gabriella, escaping as soon as possible from Lily, "that girl has come to stay a week. I am sure if I looked as countrified as she does, I'd say where I belonged!" Then, spreading a slice of bread at the closet, she ejaculated, "What good butter! I wish Lily's eggs would come!"

"Yes, it is very nice," said the mother, who sat with her feet on the stove-hearth, and a cross, flabby in her arms, that was nursing with all the force of a nature, that, in her distressing, to think of the mortifications we shall be subjected to. However, we need not tell folks she's a relation, you know."

"She must have overheard us," whispered Gabriella, bending over her mother, as she returned from the dining-room, where she had been adding honey to her toast, "for she looked so red when I said Lily, my love,"

"Lily, my love," said Mrs. Miller, that afternoon, "if you want to shop any, Gabriella will go out with you."

The poor girl had entirely forgotten the three dollars, but, thus reminded, she felt obliged to accept the proffered kindness, inasmuch as she would not that her mother should think her a girl! her dress never seemed so short and narrow as it did in contrast with the full long skirt of her cousin; and, as she passed the mirror, with the soot from the ten-kettle, did not look like Gabriella's. But the fresh, innocent countenance beneath the ample straw hat was far lovelier than powder and artificials and ribbons could render that of the city belle.

"You may wear my old gloves, and take ma's parasol," said Gabriella, contemplating them as they were about to start; but the manner was so patronizing, that Lily's lip quivered as she silently accepted the offer, lest a refusal might further mortify the pride of her cousin.

After turning over various pieces of goods, from which Gabriella uniformly selected such as came nearest within the price of her purse, she exclaimed, tossing her head, "I believe you don't know what you want?" and glided to the farther end of the counter, where she commenced a *tete-a-tete* with the clerk.

"You live in the country?" said the shopman who was waiting upon Lily. "By Jove, I always liked the country girls. Truth, miss, 'pon my honor; and," added he, lowering his voice, "if I had a kiss of those rosy lips, I should feel none the worse for it."

Lily took up her parcel in silence, and, turning indignantly from her friend, and her friend's friends, found herself alone in the streets of the great city.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

AN APPEAL.

BY TIMOTHY STOW.

BRISTOL CENTER, ONTARIO CO., N. Y.
September 30, 1847.

To the members of the Liberty party in the U. States:

DEAR FRIENDS: As the Buffalo Convention for the nomination of a President and Vice President, to be composed of the friends of the Liberty party of 1848, is near at hand, I wish to open my heart to you in relation to the course which should, in that Convention, be pursued by the friends of the slave. I do not claim your attention on the ground that I am one of the leaders or prominent men in this great political reform. I am aware that I am not known to fame. I have been one of Anti-Slavery activity has been a very humble one; that my name has scarcely passed beyond the limits of my own State; and that most of the time I have heard that such an individual as myself exists, or has been laboring in the cause of the oppressed, is unknown as I am, I ask you to hear me. The good and the noble have ever felt that they have their opinion in relation to the nominations to be made at Buffalo, and in relation to what should be the course of the Liberty party. They are generally in favor of adhering strictly to the one idea, of abolishing chattel slavery; and to that they would be willing to devote all purpose as fully demonstrates that, under their influence and control, the Liberty party will never be trained to exercise, even should it get into power, all the high and noble attributes of a Christian Government. I dissent from the policy which they require the Liberty party undeviatingly to pursue. I shall vote for the nomination of the Free Soil party, we should confine our efforts to the overthrow of chattel oppression with unfeigned respect, while, at the same time, I shall claim the right of freely and faithfully controverting their views. It is now an *established fact, that the Liberty party is divided.* Men who have battled fearlessly and efficiently in the cause of the slave, for the Liberty party; of the purest morals, of the sublimest views; of courage to face danger, and fortitude to endure; men of strong hearts, unfiring zeal, unwearied industry, of the highest devotion to principle, and constituting the advanced guard of every moral enterprise, are the persons who have all our sympathies, and who, in consequence, have the sole right to the Liberty party. Men who have scattered to the winds, is destined to have the blight of disappointment come over his expectations. That Longfellow's beautiful lines, "Let us all well feel. He says that he desire is to make everything comfortable around him, by feeding them well, and keeping them in good humor with themselves. The same disposition is manifested toward his slaves. In the summer season, he always allows them a few days, three dollars, more than she ever had before, and all the cell had brought, carefully tied in the corner of her handkerchief, standing alone on the pavement fronting a three-story brick house in one of the most thickly-peopled and densely populated streets of the city. Her heart, I say, nisgave her, and she looked after her father, as he rattled away in his little cart, with feelings of sadness and longing, as Longfellow says—"Come thing akin to pain, I presume, and resembling sorrow much more nearly than the mist resembles rain. After the momentary fruitless attempt to open the gate, for she chose the alley entrance in consequence of not knowing how to ring the bell; and, after knocking timidly some time, the door was opened by the girl, who, finding waited a sufficient time for her to make known her errand, demanded, rather rudely, what she wanted.

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"You thought?" iterated the lady—an expression, by the way, for which I have no particular

No opposition can be started,
Again and again repulsed,
The hero of the Rio Grande
Will run like lightning through the land;
Every man, both young and old,
Will rally for old ZACKRY bold!

Some years ago (in 1839) I met with a gem, written by a negro trader. It should certainly be published in connection with the above. Milton, Byron, Burns, and Moore, may die, and their writings be as though they had not been; but the author of these two stanzas must be more than mortal, and will live forever.

From the Natchez Courier.

JACKSON'S VISIT TO NEW ORLEANS.

BY J. RUDISILL,

Auctioneer, of Vicksburg, on his way to New Orleans with General Jackson.

General Jackson to Orleans is bound
His last victory to celebrate and crown
He head is white his near four score
His name immortal as renown

Vicksburg and Natchez companies turned out
And on fine hosts moved all about
The dirty shirts in the Mississippi rear
He was hailed and cheered from every there

Steamers Vicksburg and Clarksville hailed together
And although we had the Jackson flag
The boats the ragged their flags up high
Huzza General Jackson passing by

To all what I met on the road
Will take a smarter man than me
To describe the joy and pleasure rose
While thousands crowded on the shore

The city companies the all turned out
And with Fire hooks and speaking trumpets shout
To the state house the mirrored the General there
Then marched him to the public square

Galleries had sprung up like fairy
All finely dressed and with a smile
The belles the rang the palpitate fair
And handkerchiefs waved in the air

Sixty seven steamboats lay at shore
Ships and steamers dressed their cannons roar
The like we never seen before
Nor be seen again on Orleans shore

These two poems will serve to illustrate that department of Political Literature in which the Muses are interested.

I am not able, just now, to lay my hand upon a specimen of the Political Ballad, which, perhaps, is a peculiarly rich specimen of the remaining department of Political Literature, which consists of obituary notices. To a person unacquainted with refined Political feelings, it may have use of language in its most exalted sense, some portions may not be easily understood. But whenever the reader shall find a Whig obituary, with its lofty meaning, he will find a peculiar treat. It was written a few days previous to the military funeral in honor of General Jackson.

U. S. NAVY YARD, GOSPORT STATION.

PHILADELPHIA, *June* 18, 1845.

The Commanding Officer of the Station promulgates the present General Orders received from the Hero of Orleans, ANDREW JACKSON, and requires that it be strictly recognized by all attached to the command. The death of the sage of the Hermitage is a national bereavement, but we acknowledge the visitation of Divine Providence in the bounden duty of cheerfully bowing to the chastisement, with resignation. The virtues of the deceased are closely identified with the liberties of his country, and his memory will be as perpetual as its existence endures. In all the eloquent records of fame, there is no name more illustrious in every distinction, such as must ever follow the footsteps of the just and brave; and whether in the field or cabinet, he possessed alike the confidence of his country, and commanded alike an intrepid soldier. It has become the painful duty of the Commander of the Station to announce to the General, Officers, participate in the most solemn performances. To have lost a general friend, with whom the most intimate association more than a quarter of a century, witnessed the growth and expansion of the blessings of freedom, and the prosperity that bears heavily upon the occasion. The tribute of friendship requires the remark, that, connected in friendship, as he was with the military, affords the knowledge that the world has not witnessed a more sincere patriot—one whose feelings were ever prompted by childhood's simplicity, manhood's energy, and