THE NATIONAL ERA.

L. P. NOBLE, PUBLISHER. G. BAILEY, JUN., PROPRIETOR. J. G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR. BUELL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS.

VOL. II. WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1848. NO. 70.

The National Era is Published Weekly, on Seventh Street, opposite the Patent Office.

TERMS.

Two dollars per annum, *payable in advance.*

Advertisements not exceeding ten lines inserted three times for one dollar; every subsequent insertion, twenty-five cents.

BUSINESS NOTICES.

☞ All communications relating to the *business matters* of the paper, &c., and particularly the names of subscribers, remittances, &c., should be addressed to L. P. Noble, Publisher.

☞ As this paper is not sent to any new subscriber, unless paid for in advance, the reception of it will be a sufficient receipt to such.

☞ Agents and others, in sending names, are requested to be very particular, and have each letter distinct. Give the name of the *Post Office*, the *County*, and the *State*.

☞ Orders are coming in daily for papers without the pay. No paper will be sent except the pay accompany the order. *Funds may be sent at the risk, by mail, taking care to have the letter put in an envelope, and well sealed*, directed, post paid, to the Publisher.

☞ Any clergyman who will procure four subscribers, and send us eight dollars, may have a fifth copy gratis for one year.

☞ Associates are kept with *each subscriber*, and when we receive money from him on his subscription, it is immediately passed to his credit.

☞ Agents will notice that we keep an account with each subscriber. Hence no accounts will be kept with the agents; and in transmitting moneys on which they are entitled to a commission, they will remit in the name of the subscription, and, in *all cases*, forward the money with the names, so as to make the account even at each remittance.

☞ Agents and others who wish to send no fractional parts of a dollar, can do so by at once increasing the postage, by remitting *pre-paid post office stamps*, which can now be obtained at any post office.

☞ Agents or others having funds to forward are desired, if the amount be considerable, to purchase of some bank a draft on New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. Drafts on Boston may be transmitted by mail, observing, when convenient, to send large bills on New England, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore banks. Do not send certificates of deposite.

☞ Mr. V. B. Palmer, at his newspaper agency New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore, is duly authorized to procure advertisements for this paper.

☞ Within the last week we have received two or three requests to have the direction of papers changed, to the following, showing the rate of discount on current money in this city. We earnestly hope that those who send money will endeavor to send such bank bills as are at the lowest discount.

Washington, D. C. -	Par.
Baltimore - - -	Par.
Philadelphia - - -	Par.
New York city - -	Par.
New York State - -	¾ par ct. dis.
New England - -	½ do.
New Jersey - - -	¾ do.
Eastern Pennsylvania -	¾ do.
Western Pennsylvania -	1½ do.
Maryland - - -	¾ do.
Virginia - - -	¾ do.
Western Virginia - -	1½ do.
Ohio - - - -	2½ do.
Indiana - - -	2½ do.
Kentucky - - -	2½ do.
Tennessee - - -	3½ do.
Michigan - - -	5 do.
Canada - - -	5 do.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MAY 4, 1848.

THE PRESIDENCY—A WORD IN SEASON.

There are indications not to be misunderstood, at the present time, of another systematic and general effort, on the part of the friends of Henry Clay, to draw into his support the anti-slavery feeling of the country. The vague generalities of his Lexington speech are to be used by editors and orators for this purpose.

In that speech, there is much that meets the approbation of anti-slavery men. But we look over it in vain for any reliable pledge of hostility to the extension of slavery—for any evidence that the policy of the author's life, on the question of personal freedom, is to be changed. It is a slaveholder's bid for the North—a cheap concession, that slavery is an evil. This the abolitionists already know; and because it is an evil, they are unwilling to lend their political support to a man who is directly connected with it, and who has for thirty years devoted his talents and influence to its extension and defence. They can admire his brilliant intellect, his winning eloquence, his bold and manly bearing. They appreciate fully these qualities of the man and the politician, which have given him a strong hold upon the popular affection. They have no wish to deprive him of the solace of that affection in his old age. They have no desire to contend for their whole Whig fellow-citizens, who, unimpressed like themselves with the paramount importance of the question of Liberty, and looking only to the matters at issue between the two great parties, find in him "the embodiment" of their political principles. But, when he is urged upon them, when *they* are called upon to break up their organization for the purpose of giving him their votes at the ensuing election, they naturally look over his history, and ascertain what claims he can set up to the confidence and respect of men who, regarding slavery as a crime hateful to God and humanity, have solemnly pledged their moral and political power to its extermination. They have, under the circumstances of the case, not only a right to do this, but as honest men they cannot avoid it. With no wish, therefore, to do injury to the feelings of our Whig friends, or those of the distinguished and venerable statesman alluded to, we proceed to examine very briefly some of the prominent features in his political life.

When a young man, he is understood to have exerted himself in favor of the abolition of slavery in Kentucky. The lapse of twocore years has witnessed no renewal of that early abolitionism. He has since alluded to this honorable portion of his history, with the explanation, that had he lived in any of the planting States—the Southern and Southwestern States—he "should have opposed any scheme of emancipation, either immediate or gradual."

One or more of the speakers at a late public meeting in his behalf at Cincinnati, it is understood, endeavored to justify the "Missouri Compromise" as an anti-slavery measure! The plain common sense of the People, North and South, has long since settled the reputation of that measure. The citizens of the free States, at the time, certainly, had no doubt in respect to it. They rebuked, in the most signal manner, those of their representatives who, influenced by the persuasions of the author of the Compromise, voted for it, in defiance of their clearly expressed will. All felt it to be a fatal concession to slavery; and the worst fears then entertained by the friends of Freedom have been realized, in the disastrous consequences growing out of it. Four years ago, on being complimented at dinner at Milledgeville (Georgia) on his agency in this Compromise, Henry Clay exultingly avowed himself the author of it, and gave the history of its inception and consummation. He stated that he took occasion to penetrate the particular views of individual members of the House, and found some who had voted against the admission of Missouri as a slave State, who personally were not hostile to it, *but wanted courage to meet their constituents.* "These," said he, "I made the pivot of my future operations!" He procured the appointment of a committee willing to report in favor of the admission of the new State. He then visited the members of the committee, and labored with them through a Sabbath day, urging on each the question, "Will you vote yourself for the admission?" "I had," he said, "the happiness to *wring from them the positive promise* I desired. This gave the turn to the scale in the House, and I now knew the question was settled."

The North punished signally these "doughfaces," who wanted alike "firmness to meet their constituents" and to resist the insidious approaches of the Great Compromiser. Is it not strange that she should now be called upon to give her political support to the acknowledged corrupter of her representatives?

It is a significant fact in this connection, that in 1835, when the nomination of Chief Justice Taney (of Maryland) was before the Senate, for Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Clay opposed him, on the ground that he had voted, in the Maryland Legislature, to instruct the delegates from that State to vote against the admission of Missouri as a slave State!

In the winter of 1837–8, we find the author of the "Compromise" introducing the following resolution in the Senate of the United States:

"*Resolved*, That the interference, by the citizens of any of the States, with the view to the abolition of slavery in this District, is endangering the rights and security of the people of the District, and that any act or measure of Congress, designed to abolish slavery in this District, would be a violation of the faith implied in the cessions by the States of Virginia and Maryland, a just cause of alarm to the people of the slaveholding States, and have a direct and an inevitable tendency to disturb and endanger the Union."

In 1839, he made the great speech against Free Discussion and Emancipation in the Senate, which called forth the warm public commendation of John C. Calhoun. Just before the election of 1844, he reaffirmed the doctrines of this speech.

We have seen it intimated that, although opposed to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he is in favor of it in his own State.

It is well known that in 1837–8 an effort was made to obtain a provision for amending the Constitution of Kentucky, with the view, among other things, of opening the way for emancipation. The popular feeling was at first strong in favor of the convention. Influential politicians and clergymen were advocating it, as a means of ridding the State of the burden of slavery. It was at this crisis that Henry Clay interposed his potent influence. He addressed a letter to the Friends of Freedom. The testimony of one of the editors of the Louisville Journal, in a letter published at Selma, Alabama, bearing date the 6th of 7th month, 1838, is as follows:

"It is well known here that Mr. Clay *is warmly opposed to a convention.* While the convention law was under consideration in the Legislature, letters were received by him, *remonstrating against the passage of the law.*

But let him on this subject speak for himself. The man who boasts of the Missouri Compromise cannot at least than acknowledge with mortification his agency in defeating a measure which involved the "danger of abolition." In his speech in the Senate on the 7th of 2d month, 1839, he thus alluded to his action on this subject:

"At the session of the Legislature of 1837–8, the calling a convention was submitted to the consideration of the people, by a law passed in conformity with the Constitution of the State. Many motives existed for the passage of the law; and among them, *that of ENMANCIPATION had its influence.* When the question was passed upon by the people, at their last annual election, only about one-fourth of the whole number of voters of the State supported a call for a convention. The apprehension of the *danger of abolition was the leading consideration among the people for opposing the call.* I KEPT MYSELF CONSTRAINED TO TAKE IMMEDIATE BOLD, AND DECIDED GROUND AGAINST IT."

The former editor of the Tribune American, in his late severely personal letter to Henry Clay, reproaches him, among other things, with abandoning him to the mercy of a pro-slavery mob, headed by his own son, and with coolly visiting a fashionable watering-place, while the liberty of the press was crushed under the feet of his family and political friends. This, alone, would seem to show conclusively that he is no more in favor of Liberty in Kentucky than in the national domain.

And yet this man now comes forward and announces himself once more a candidate for the Presidency, on the ground, as he expressly says in behalf of his friends, that he is the only man in a slave State who can get the vote of Ohio and the free North!—at this crisis, too, when, in respect to territory broad as that of the original thirteen States, the question is, whether the personal freedom now existing there shall continue, or slavery be forcibly established in its place!

Is it possible that, under such circumstances, Henry Clay, or the "friends" for whom he speaks, can hope to obtain the votes of the men who in 1844 repudiated him on anti-slavery grounds? Nothing has occurred to change the relation of parties. Henry Clay now, as in 1844, is a slaveholder: the friends of Liberty have seen no reason for abandoning their resolution to vote for no man who is a slaveholder or an apologist for slavery. *They adhere to that.*

We had hoped, for his own sake, that Henry Clay would withhold his name from the coming Presidential contest; that, after his triumphant and flattering visit to the capital and the great cities of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York, he would have been content to retire from the turmoil and anxiety of political life, to the tranquil shades of Ashland. We still hope so. We can also. He has already outlived the contemporaries of his early renown. Hearts which would once have swelled with affectionate joy and pride at his elevation, are now cold in the grave. His own beats with a feebler impulse. Yet a little time, and the places that have known him will know him no more forever. Why should he seek to spend his last days in the torturing suspense and feverish restlessness of a candidate for an office which could only bring care and sorrow, and burdens intolerable, to an old man? There is something sadly ludicrous in his recent communication of his determination to enter once more that field where he has been so often defeated. We see in it the insatiable longings of the aged office-seeker, urged into intense activity by the melancholy consciousness that this is his last chance for their gratification. The friends whom he speaks of are not his true friends. All such must see that the poor prize of the Presidency, even were it not hopelessly beyond his grasp, would add nothing to his honorable fame or the happiness of his last days.

Could our words reach him, we would venture to suggest to him a far more fitting and glorious object for the direction of his remaining energies than that which now engrosses his attention. Let him emancipate his slaves. Let him put himself at the head of the noble band who are striving to relieve the Garden of the West from the blight and mildew of slavery. Let him raise his voice for free soil and free labor. So doing, the sunset of his life, like that of the Athenian patriarch, would be more honorable and glorious than its morning and noon. The blessing of the poor would rest upon him. The past, with its selfish ambitions, its sins and follies, would be forgiven and forgotten. The great and the good in Republican Europe—the heroes of a new and better age—the practical preachers of the Gospel of Humanity—would honor him as one of the great benefactors of the race. Above all, the answer of a good conscience, and the sense of not having lived in vain, would enable him, at that hour which is "the last of earth," to say, with one whose old age was consecrated to Liberty, "I am content."

J. G. W.

For the National Era.

SKETCHES OF MODERN REFORMS AND REFORMERS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

No. 5.—*The French Revolution—The Foreign Policy of Mr. Pitt—The Peerage—Mr. Pitt's last followers—The Continental Wars—Mr. Sheridan—Mr. Burke—Mr. Perceval.*

In determining whether the policy which Pitt and his successors pursued towards France, from 1792 to 1815, was wise for England and beneficial to Europe, an American republican will remember that it was sustained by the party which ever resisted liberal and all other political improvement among the people—that the enemies of change warred on the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire—that the party which was resisting abuses restored the Bourbons. Nor will he forget that this policy was steadily opposed by the friends of enlightened progress and useful reform—the champions of civil and religious liberty. Thus, the specious reasoning and showy declamations of a scorn of Alisons will never destroy these facts.

France, under the Bourbons, had exiled, had the right to enjoy the Government of its choice. But the latter, early in 1793, declined to negotiate or correspond with the former, because it was a republic; and the Convention, on the decapitation of its minister, ordered him to quit the Kingdom. France, sustained by the law of nations, declared war against the Government of England; and Pitt asserted that the French Revolution had no sufficient cause in the nature of the Government or the condition of the people, and was the offspring of a restless and ambitious faction. He avowed his determination to put down the republic, restore the monarchy, and maintain the cause of legitimacy for the future. The world was not by the declaration of the Liberal party, that the true cause of the Revolution was the undue restriction and limitation of the rights and privileges of the people. The world, if it might be perverted, its real object was to wrest from the Government what had been unjustly withheld from its subjects. The Government, therefore, that the diplomatic representative of France should be received by the ministry; and they resisted all interference with its internal affairs, till attempts to overthrow the Government in Europe, all efforts to uphold its crumbling thrones. They plead for peace and an armed neutrality. And, after Napoleon's overtures of peace were disclosed, they contended that England ought not to unite in a Coalition for his overthrow, so long as it was a battle among Kings, but should wait till the people, by their overthrow, should assist; and even then, that it ought not to be given till the rulers of the endangered States were pledged to the liberable privileges to their subjects. On this elevated ground did the Liberal party take its stand. But Pitt, representing only the monarchical and privileged orders, at the outset of the war, declared that the men and resources of England to the accomplishment of his ends; and his policy was steadily followed, with ruinous and mortifying results. A second European combination of 1799–1 finally crushed Napoleon at Waterloo, and restored the Bourbon to his throne.

Laying out of view the moral character of the object to be attained, was the Pitt policy pursued with a wise adaptation of means to ends? It was a flimsy piece of statesmanship. England subsidized young princes in Germany with immense loans, and saw its petty coalitions dissolved by the arts and the arms of the foe. It poured out money like water to prop the Bourbon throne in Holland, whilst the troops which it hired stood still. It spent more gold in discomfiting a few of Napoleon's generals in the Peninsula, than the market value of Spain and Portugal. It sent out fleets to conquer French colonies across the ocean, but was forced to leave them, when it left Europe. Fretting and rousing the enemy by puerile conflicts and feeble expeditions, and never concentrating its energies to strike one bold blow at his power, it saw its most triumphant victories immediately wrested from it with most usurious revenge, and its well-paid allies, once after another, swept into the train of the conqueror. Napoleon might have maintained himself against the system of tactics which England pursued, twenty years longer; for, it was not till the Emperor of the North lined against him in great force, that the cause of the Coalition preponderated.

And what did England gain by these armies and navies, these intrigues in foreign cabinets and subsidies of nations? Twenty years Napoleon was prostrated. But she had spent £600,000,000 in doing it. At the commencement of the war, her debt was but £240,000,000. At its close, it had swelled to more than £840,000,000! Centuries of taxation to restore the Bourbons to a throne which they cannot retain, and to postpone for thirty years the overthrow of the monarchy in Europe! The seventh descending gen of the youngest Englishman alive will curse the day that Pitt entered on his disastrous career of war. When the unnatural fever of the contest abated, the reaction, the retribution, came. Peace had returned, but she was not accompanied by her train-attend. Plenty, Health, Industry, Commerce, manufactures, agriculture, languished—laborers wandered through the provinces in search of employment—manufactories exhausted, fell in the arms of bankruptcy. The smoke of battle no longer blinding the eye, the people began to look about and inquire, "What have we gained by all this conquest?" Pitt had spent the money, the wealthy saw before them signs of remorseless taxation—the poor clamored in the streets for bread—all that the extreme privileged classes regarded the result of the war as a triumph over them, selves. At peace with all the world, (almost the first time for three-fourths of a century,) the nation was groaning under a more oppressive and more threatening than foreign levy. Nothing but general lassitude, and the pressure of misfortunes common to all, prevented a revolution.

This conduct was injurious to England in another way. It so *possessed* the public mind that there was little room left for domestic improvement. Mistaken in the cause, the nation was turned out of doors. The French Revolution was a God-send to Pitt and the Tories. Seizing upon its early excesses, they conjured with them thirty years together, to drive the people from their property, and terrifying even the giant soul of Burke. The "horrors of the French Revolution" were made to stand in the face of every man who demanded reform. The clamors of the tired and fleeced suitors in Lord Eldon's court were silenced by "the horrors of the French Revolution." The "horrors of the French Revolution" were made to stand in the way of the planned out their "rotten" existence by supping on "the horrors of the French Revolution." Point to the festering corruption of the Church of England, and it lifted up its holy hands at "the horrors of the French Revolution." The Catholics were persecuted, the Irish gibbeted, and printers transported, to alone for "the horrors of the French Revolution." The poor starved in damp cellars, whilst the landlord fattened his protected corn bills with "the horrors of the French Revolution." In a word, these "horrors" constituted the chief staple of Tory argument and declamation, and were a conclusive answer to all who asked for cheap bread, religious toleration, law reform, reduced taxes, and an enlarged suffrage.

The lessons of wisdom, so dearly purchased by this scheme of Continental interference, have not been thrown away on a nation which spent so much to gain so little. The second French Revolution was followed by England granting Parliamentary Reform, preventing a revolution at home. The third revolution, which prostrates a monarchy, and rears a republic in a day, is promptly recognized and respected by England, whose Premier declares that she heartily accords to the people of France the right to ordain for themselves such a system of Government as they shall choose! Contrast this conduct with that of the rulers of Louis XVIII, the grasping ambition of Napoleon, the far-seeing sagacity of Burke, and the wisdom and firmness of Pitt, and it will still remain true, that England has learned little from the fire and blood of the great French eruption are at this hour working the regeneration of Europe. Mr. Sheridan was as steady a supporter of freedom, and as inflexible an opponent of Pitt, as a man of so volatile a temperament could well be. This gentleman is best known on our side of the Atlantic as the author of the comedy the "School for Scandal," and of a speech on the trial of Warren Hastings. The comedy still holds a deservedly high place on the stage, the speech, which once obtained a position at the head of English forensic oratory, is no doubt much overrated. The intense interest pervading the public mind in respect to the impeachment of the conqueror and ruler of a hundred millions of the people of India—the august character of the tribunal, the talents and judges of the realm—the eloquent talents of the committee by whom the Commons sent up the articles of impeachment, consisting of Burke, Fox, Fitzwilliam, Grey, Wyndham, Sheridan, with other lights worthy to shine in such a constellation—the romantic branch of Hastings's administration, the opening of which was assigned to Sheridan—the gorgeous colors which he spread upon the oriental canvass—the theatrical style in which he pronounced his oration before a learned, fashionable, and sympathizing audience, all conspired to give to his effort a temporary fame alike extraordinary and undeserved. Nor was the immediate effect of his two days' curious regaling of the assembled Parliament and world he contrived, at its close, to sink backwards into the arms of Burke, who, transported beyond measure, hugged him as unaffectedly as if his generous and unsuspecting nature had not been duped by a mere stage trick.

But though he occasionally used the clap-trage of the theatre, Sheridan was a man not to be shunned rather than encountered. Pitt dreaded him. Lying in wait till the Minister had addressed the House, the Drury Lane manager used to let fly at his opponent a volley of stinging arrows, pointed with sarcasm and poisoned with invective, that the stately Premier could not endure to have fastened upon him. Pitt, with his seat till the storm had passed away. No Parliamentarian ever inspired so much dread in his opponents, and won so much applause from his friends, with so small a stock of parliamentary acquirements. His political knowledge was gathered from the columns of the current newspapers and the conversation of his friends. His speech compositions were made up from the modern poetry and drama of England. True, he was educated at Harrow, but his brawn scale Demosthenes and Cicero in a twenty-mile race. He was a dunce at school, when he should have studied mathematics. He never claimed to be a statesman, and only aspired to be an orator. To shine as a darling debater, he ben.t all the powers of his intense and elastic mind. He attended debating clubs, and caught up the best sayings—practiced attitudes and tones in the grounds—stole up in the Lobby, and thought which occurred to him in a note-book—conned his lesson—then entered the House, and rushing into the arena of debate with his bound and air of a gladiator, won the reputation of being the readiest wit, the most skilful off-hand disputant, and the most gorgeous orator of the day. And it was the aim, in the Prince of Wales, Prince Fortunatus, and Wyndham! Lord Chesterfield was not so much the man who had told his son that, even in Parliament, more depended upon the manner of saying a thing, than upon the matter which it was composed. Though his taste was formed on the flashy model of the modern drama, and in the

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, MAY 4, 1848.

☞ See 4th page, the closing portion of the debate in the Senate on Texas Bill.

☞ *Reforms and Reformers of England.*—We again call attention to the series of able and interesting articles, thus entitled, the 4th number of which appears on our 1st page.

☞ Many literary notices are crowded out this week.

MR. HALE AND HIS BILL.

Mr. Calhoun and his disciples attempted to throw odium upon Mr. Hale, on account of his effort to bring forward a bill to protect property in the District of Columbia. The public at large will stamp their conduct with the reprobation it richly deserves; and even the people of this District, now that excitement has passed away, will see the baseness of that has been done the New Hampshire Senator.

The bill he asked leave to introduce was designed to make any incorporated town or city, in the District, liable for damages done within its limits by mob violence. Such a provision exists in many of the States. Its reasonableness is manifest. It is right that a community should protect every law-abiding member of it. It is proper, too, and is bound to protect it. If it fail in this duty, it ought to make up to him the consequent loss. The expediency of the measure is no less obvious. The corporation, when bound for losses that any one of its members may suffer from violence, will make reasonable and sufficient provision against such a contingency. The whole weight of self-interest is arrayed on the side of law and order.

In itself, then, such a measure is justifiable. The form given to it by Mr. Hale was that of the statute of Maryland on the subject. We publish that act and his bill, side by side, that the reader may at once be convinced of the gross misrepresentation of Mr. Foote and his associates:

HALE'S BILL.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, from and after the passage of this act, if any county or incorporated town or city of the District of Columbia, any church, chapel, convent, other house, used, occupied, or intended for religious worship, any dwelling-house, any house or building used or occupied, by any person or body politic or corporation, as a place for the transaction of business or deposite of property, any ship or vessel, ship yard or timber yard, any barn, stable or other outhouse, any fence, any property therein or thereon shall be taken away, injured, or destroyed, by any riotous or tumultuous assemblage or assemblages, such county, town, or city, within whose jurisdiction such outrage shall be committed, shall be liable to the action of the party aggrieved, to be recovered by the sufferer or sufferers, by suit at law against the county, town, or city, in which such outrage shall be committed, to the amount of the damage so done shall be recovered by the sufferer or sufferers, by suit at law against the county, town, or city, in which such outrage shall be committed, to the amount of the damage so done shall be recovered by the sufferer or sufferers, by suit at law against the county, town, or city, within whose jurisdiction such riot or tumultuous assemblage was about to take place, or, having taken place, should have had sufficient time before the commencement of the outrage to prevent said injury or destruction, by their proper police or with the aid of the citizens of such county, town, or city; being the intention of this act, that no such liability shall be devolved on such county, town, or city, unless the authorities thereof, having notice, have shown the inability of themselves or with their own citizens, to prevent the injury: *Provided, further, That* in no case shall indemnity be received, which it shall be satisfactorily proved that the civil authorities and citizens of said county, town, or city, shall have called on by the civil authorities thereof, have used all reasonable diligence to call the powers intrusted to them for the prevention or suppression of such riotous or unlawful assemblage.

SEC. 2. *And be it further enacted*, That in any suit instituted under this act, the plaintiff or plaintiffs may declare generally, and give the special matter in evidence.

AN ACT RELATING TO LIVERS.

SEC. 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland*, That, from and after the passage of this act, if any county or incorporated town or city of this state, any church, chapel, or convent, any dwelling-house, any house and outhouse, occupied, or used, or intended for a place for the deposite of property, any ship, ship yard, or timber yard, any barn, stable, or other outhouse, or any fence, or any of personal property, shall be injured or destroyed, or if any property therein or thereon shall be taken away, injured, or destroyed, by any riotous or tumultuous assemblage or assemblages, such county, town, or city, within whose jurisdiction such outrage shall be committed, shall be liable to the action of the party aggrieved, to be recovered by suit at law against the county, town, or city, within whose jurisdiction such riot or tumult occurred: *Provided however*, That no such liability shall be incurred, by such city, unless the authorities thereof shall have had good reason to believe that such riot or tumultuous assemblage was about to take place, or, having taken place, should have had sufficient time before the commencement of the outrage to prevent said injury or destruction, by their police or with the aid of the citizens of such county, town, or city; being the intention of this act, that no such liability shall be devolved on such county, town, or city, unless the authorities thereof shall have had good reason to believe that such riot or tumultuous assemblage was about to take place, or, having taken place, should have had sufficient time before the commencement of the outrage to prevent said injury or destruction, by their police or with their own citizens, to prevent said injury: *Provided, further, That* in no case shall indemnity be received, which it shall be satisfactorily proved that the civil authorities and citizens of said county, town, or city, shall have called on by the civil authorities thereof, have used all reasonable diligence to call all the powers intrusted to them for the prevention or suppression of such riotous or unlawful assemblage.

SEC. 2. *And be it enacted*, That in any suit instituted under this act, the plaintiff or plaintiffs may declare generally, and give the special matter in evidence.

The *bill* and its *form* are unobjectionable. Was there anything objectionable in the *time* or *manner* of bringing it forward? For two days, large assemblages of excited people had been attempting to destroy a printing press. The house containing it had been stoned, and the printers put in jeopardy. The police had manfully resisted, but it was uncertain whether they could much longer stand their ground; while the city authorities, up to Thursday morning, had not shown that vigor in suppressing all attempts at violence, which could give assurance of ultimate success. On that morning, therefore, Mr. Hale asked leave to introduce his bill. Why was it not a *timely* movement? What reason could Mr. Mangum give for terming it "inopportune?" Mr. Hale could not foresee that the civil power would, ere the discussion on the bill was fairly opened, rally so effectually in support of the law.

Then, as to the *manner* of bringing it forward: the official report shows that there was nothing in it irritating or improper. The immediate *reason* of its introduction was freshly stated. The mover stated without concealment or indirection. While the bill was sustained upon general reasons of policy, its introduction at that particular moment was openly attributed to the existence of an excitement in the city of Washington, threatening the destruction of private property, which had not been concerned in any way, directly or indirectly, with the cause of the excitement. Not the mover, but the opposers, made it a slavery. Not a word escaped its mover, of more than commonplace import. The report shows this. The whole movement, whether the *nature* and *form* of the bill, or the *time* and *mode* of its presentation, be considered, was unobjectionable, inoffensive.

Now, look over the debate, and see the ferocious invective and abuse which Mr. Calhoun and his friends chose to indulge in towards the New Hampshire Senator, on account of this harmless, well-intended movement. Not a records of legislature, no deliberative body in the world, can furnish a parallel. There was an insane fury among the speakers which must have shocked every calm observer. On a simple proposition to transfer the policy of Maryland in relation to riots, to the District of Columbia, Messrs. Calhoun, Davis of Mississippi, and Foote, themselves open the discussion of the slave question, and then coolly denounce Mr. Hale for commencing it, when he had not said a word about it! Mr Davis threatens bloodshed, and is prepared to meet in deadly conflict any "incendiary" who introduces such topics. Mr. Calhoun fiercely denounces a brother Senator, representing, like himself, a sovereign State, as "a maniac," and will not argue with him. Mr. Foote invites the same Senator, sneeringly, to Mississippi, telling him that he would be strung up on the highest tree, and he himself, if necessary, would assist in the execution! Could madness go further? Is there another legislative body in the world, in which such a spectacle would be tolerated? And bear in mind the provocation:—anathematized, vilified, called a fanatic, an incendiary, a highway robber, and, moreover, threatened with assassination if he would but go South, simply because, as an independent Senator, regardful of the peace and fair fame of the Metropolis of the Republic, he felt it his duty to introduce a bill, copied from the statute of the State of Maryland, to aid and stimulate the civil power of the city to suppress riots! We thank God, that the authorities and the good citizens of this place succeeded in putting down the mob, without the aid of this measure; but no thanks to Mr. Calhoun or his particular friends. Had the spirit of their speechee been responded to, violence would have triumphed, and the Liberty of the Press in Washington would have been prostrated. We do not charge them with intending or desiring such a catastrophe, but it requires a great deal of charity to suppose that they could have been blind to the tendency of their course.

Whatever their intention or desire, they have been guilty of a great blunder. Their conduct cannot unite the Senate, and it must alienate many of their friends at the North. Reflecting, moderate men in all sections will be shocked by the spirit they betrayed, the gratuitous violence they exhibited. As to intimidation, the day for that has gone by. "It is too late"—too late for such displays of passion. The representatives of the non-slaveholding interest of the country will only find in such conduct additional reason for setting limits to the aggression of a Power stamped with the attributes of the darkest Despotism.

THE CURSE OF THE CHARTER-BREAKERS.

The rights and liberties affirmed by Magna Charta were deemed of such importance in the 13th century, that the Bishops, twice a year, with tapers burning and in their pontifical robes, pronounced, in the presence of the King and the representatives of the estates of England, the greater Excommunication against the infringer of that instrument. The imposing ceremony took place in the great Hall of Westminster. A copy of the curse of 1253, now before us, declares that, "By the authority of Almighty God, and the blessed Apostles and Martyrs, and all the Saints in Heaven, all those who violate the English liberties, and secretly or openly, by deed, word, or counsel, do make statutes, *or observe them being made*, against said liberties, are accursed and excommunicated from the company of Heaven and the sacraments of the Holy Church."

William Penn, in his admirable political pamphlet, "*England's Present Interest Considered*," alluding to the Curse of the Charter-breakers, says: "I am no Roman Catholic, and little value their other curses; yet I declare I would not for the world incur this curse, as every man deservedly doth who offers violence to the fundamental freedoms thereby repeated and confirmed."

For the National Era.

In Westminster's royal halls,
Ruled in their pontifical,
England's ancient prelates stood
For the people's right and good.

All around, in armor dressed,
Steel for glove and mail for vest,
King and commons, lord and knight,
Squire and yeoman, stood in sight—

Stood to hear the priests rehearse,
In God's name and the people's curse,
By the tapers round them lit,
Slowly, sternly uttering it.

"Rights of ancient Christian laws,
Right of peers to try each cause;
Peasant homestead, burgher's mart,
Sacred as the monarch's hall—

"Whoso lays his hand on these,
England's enemy and traitor,
Whoso breaks, by word or deed,
England's vow at Runnymede—

"He be cursed! Let God and knight,
Whatever be his rank or might,
If the highest, then the worst,
Let him be hunted accursed!

"Thou, who to thy Church hast given
Keys alike of earth and heaven,
Shake over him, as we do our
Let the curse we speak endure!"

Silent while that Curse was said,
Every brow and head had bowed
Bowed in reverent awe, and then
All the people, interpreted

Seven times the bells have tolled
For the centuries grey and old,
Since that Curse was first and loud
Cursed the tyrants of their land;

Since the priesthood, like a tower,
Stood between the wrong and the power,
And the wronged and trodden down
Blessed the priests who shielded them!

Gone, thank God, their wizard spell,
Lost their keys of Heaven and Hell;
Yet I sigh that no less a
As those bearded priests of old.

Now too oft the priesthood wait
At the tribunal of the great,
Waiting for the book and nod
Of the power that shields and rules.

Fraud exults while solemn words
Sanctify his stolen hoards;
Slavery's lash is wielded ghostly lips
Bless his manacles and whips.

Not on them the poor rely,
Not on them the outcast sigh
Who with trembling falsehood cower
To the wrongs they shield and scourge.

Oh! to see them meanly cling
Round the master, round the king,
Spaniel-like, for what they can get bought—
Pfuffinder sight is not!

Tell me not that this must be:
God's law is written in my heart;
Free the needed truth to speak,
Right the wrongs of those who have the weaker—

Not to fawn on wealth and state,
Leaving Lazarus at the gate—
Not to public creed bow down
Not to mutter hireling prayers—

Nor to paint the new life's billow
On the side of the pillow
Golden straws for idle knave,
Sabbath rest for weary slave!

Not for words and works like these,
Priest of God, thy mission is;
But to be an Israelite indeed
In its Eden greenness olst!

And to level manhood bring
Lord and lordling, king and king;
And the Christ of God to find
In the humblest of his kind.

Thine to work as well as pray,
Clearing thorny wrongs away,
Plucking up the weeds of sin,
Letting Heaven's warm sunshine in—

Watching on the hills of Faith,
Listening for the Spirit saith
Of the dim-seen light afar,
Growing like a morning star.

God's harvest-year set then,
To the waiting ones below;
Twice three times has gone the sickle
Heralding the better day—

Catching gleams of temple spires,
Hearing notes of angel choirs,
Where, as yet unseen of them,
Comes the New Jerusalem!

Like the morn of Paradise gaining
On the glory downward blazing,
Till upon Earth's grateful sod
Smiles the City of our God!

J. G. W.

YUCATAN.

The following important message in relation to Yucatan was read in Congress last Saturday, and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

I submit, for the consideration of Congress, several communications received at the Department of State, from Mr. *Justo Sierra*, Commissioner of Yucatan, and a communication addressed to the governor of that State, representing the condition of extreme suffering to which their country has been reduced by a continuance of the war between the its limits, and asking the aid of the United States.

The communications present a case of human suffering and misery which cannot fail to excite the sympathy of all civilized nations. From these and other sources of information, it appears that the Indians of Yucatan are waging a war of extermination against the white race. In this cruel war, they spare neither age nor sex, but put to death, indiscriminately, all who fall within their power. The inhabitants, panic-stricken and destitute of means, are flying from the savage pursuers towards the coast; and their expulsion from their country, or their extermination, would seem to be inevitable, unless they can obtain assistance from abroad.

In this condition they have, through their constituted authorities, implored the aid of this Government to save them from destruction, offering, in case this should be granted, to transfer the "dominion and sovereignty of the Peninsula" to the United States. Similar appeals for aid and protection have been made to "the Spanish and the English Governments."

Whilst it is not my purpose to recommend the adoption of any measure with a view to the acquisition of the "dominion and sovereignty" over Yucatan, yet, according to our established policy, we could not consent to a transfer of this "dominion and sovereignty" to Spain, France, Great Britain, or any other European Power. In the language of President Monroe, in his message of December, 1823, we could not consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety." In my annual message of December, 1845, I declared that, "Since the date of my last message, the principle was distinctly announced to the world, in the annual message of one of my predecessors, that the American Continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintained, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power." "This principle will apply with greatly increased force, should any European Power attempt to establish any new colony in North America. In the existing circumstances of the world, the present is deemed a proper occasion to reiterate and reaffirm the principle avowed by Mr. Monroe, and to state my cordial concurrence in its wisdom and sound policy. The reassertion of this principle, especially in reference to North America, is at this day but the proclamation of a fact which the Governments of Europe should cherish the disposition to resist. Existing rights of every European nation should be respected; but it is due alike to our safety and our interests, that the efficient protection of our laws should be extended over our whole territorial limits, and that it should be distinctly announced to the world, as our settled policy, that no future European colony or dominion shall, with our consent, be planted or established on any part of the American Continent."

Our own security requires that the established policy, thus announced, should guide our conduct; and this applies with great force to the Peninsula of Yucatan. It is situate in the Gulf of Mexico, on the North American Continent; and, from its vicinity to Cuba, to the Capes of Florida, to New Orleans, and to the Mexican and South American coast, it would be dangerous to our peace and security if it should become a colony of any European nation.

We have now authentic information that, if the aid asked from the United States be not granted, such aid will probably be obtained from some European Power, which will, of course, make its claim to "dominion and sovereignty" over Yucatan.

Our existing relations with Yucatan are of a peculiar character, as will be perceived from the note of the Secretary of State to her Commissioner, dated on the 24th of December last, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. Yucatan has never declared her independence, and we treat her as a State of the Mexican Republic. For this reason, we have never officially received her Commissioner, but, until this letter shall be have, in a considerable extent, recognised her as a neutral in our war with Mexico. Whilst still considering Yucatan as a portion of Mexico, if we had troops to spare for that purpose, I would deem it proper, during the continuance of the war with Mexico, to occupy and hold military possession of her territory, and to defend her against the incursions of the Indians, in the same way that we have employed our troops in other States of the Mexican Republic, in our possession, in repelling the attacks of savages upon the inhabitants who have maintained their neutrality in the war. But, unfortunately, we cannot, at the present, without serious injury to our service, withdraw from other portions of the Mexican territory now in our occupation, and send them to Yucatan. All that can be done, under existing circumstances, is to employ our naval forces in the Gulf not required at other points, to afford them relief. But it is not to be expected that any adequate protection can thus be afforded, as the operations of such naval forces must, of necessity, be confined to the coast.

I have considered it proper to communicate the information contained in the accompanying correspondence, and I submit to the wisdom of Congress to adopt such measures as, in their judgment, may be required to prevent Yucatan from becoming a colony of any European Power, which in no event could be permitted by the United States; and at the same time to secure the State from extermination or expulsion from their country.

JAMES K. POLK.

Washington, April 29, 1848.

This message was severely denounced in the Senate by Mr. Calhoun, and in the House by Mr. Root. The former blamed the white people of Yucatan for having brought ruin upon themselves, by the policy of elevating to their own level, in point of rights, an inferior race.

The one-idealism of this great man is certainly leading him into strange blunders. It is not the civilized Indians, constituting a part of the social system of Yucatan, who have turned upon the State, but the savages, who have, for upwards of centuries strove to expel or exterminate the whites in this country. The struggle is not between *races*, but between Civilization and Barbarism. The notion of Mr. Calhoun concerning *races*, is a kind of hallucination.

Mr. Root is no less visionary. He fancies that the struggle is between Aristocracy and Democracy—between a few slaveholders and the white colored democratic masses. This is a pure fiction. As well might the contest between the band of Pilgrims who landed on Plymouth Rock and the savages who prowled in the wilderness, be thus represented. As we had occasion some time ago to state, the population of the State of Yucatan consists of six hundred and fifty thousand—one-third being the descendants of the Spaniards, another third composed of the descendants of the Spaniards and Indians, the rest being Indians, of whom fifty thousand are civilized. These are identified with the white community of Yucatan, and have suffered in common with it from the bloody attacks of the wild Indians. What may have been the provocation of the latter, we know not, but certainly they have not maintained such wrongs at the hands of the whites, as we have inflicted upon our aborigines. If Mr. Root speak truth, Civilization has no right to plant its colonies on any continent or island where Barbarism reigns, though illimitable tracts of land may lie at the mercy of a few thousand savages, without any social organization.

So far as the message of the President suggests that Congress should take measures to aid the civilized community of Yucatan in protecting itself against the butcheries of the savages, and to restore peace to that distressed country, it deserves the most serious consideration of that body. As to its doctrine concerning European intervention, the country will hesitate long before sanctioning it. It is a broad and dangerous doctrine, and may involve us in most ruinous controversies. Suppose Russia should transfer her possessions in America to England, and the latter country should commence the work of colonising them, would that come within the terms of Mr. Polk's denunciation? England and France both interposed in the affair of La Plata—did our Government protest against their action? Suppose that Venezuela should transfer its sovereignty to England, on condition of being protected by that Power, would Mr. Polk feel himself called upon to interfere? Is it the intention of our Government to constitute itself the sole, supreme guardian of the whole Hemisphere, watching over the interests and regulating the concerns of every State in it? A greater absurdity could not be uttered. European intervention in Mexico or Yucatan is a political question of much interest. Whether it should be allowed, and, if so, to what extent, are questions to be determined in view of their probable hearings upon the essential interests of this Republic. The whole subject of intervention should be left without embarrassing ourselves by unqualified declarations in advance, to be determined by considerations of public policy, in view of the circumstances existing at the time when action may be demanded. A vigilant, energetic Government can guard against evil, without rashly committing itself in advance to principles offensive to the self-respect of other Governments, and the maintenance of which in all cases may involve incalculable mischiefs.

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

"With reference to the comparative prosperity of States, he (Mr. Bayly) said, in all that was permanent and useful in property, in wealth, and population, Virginia was not behind any of the older States. If we go to the new States, he asked for one of them that had better advanced than the old State of Virginia.

Mr. Bayly boasts of his accuracy—let us test it again.

Virginia is one of the older States; New York, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts, are among the older States. A few figures will show Mr. Bayly the necessity of being more careful in his statements.

	Sq. miles.	Pop. in 1790.	Pop. in 1840.
Virginia	66,624	748,308	1,239,797
N. York	46,085	340,120	2,428,929
Penn.	47,000	434,373	1,724,033
Mass.	8,500	348,787	737,699
		Increase in 50 years.	Per cent.
Virginia		491,489	65
New York		2,088,809	614
Pennsylvania		1,389,660	320
Massachusetts		388,912	111

In respect to soil, climate, navigation, mineral resources, and commercial facilities, Virginia is at least equal to Pennsylvania, New York, and far superior to Massachusetts. In extent of territory, she is one-fourth larger then either of the former States, and nearly eight times larger than the latter. And yet, in fifty years, she has increased in population only 65 per cent, while the increase of Massachusetts in the same time has been 111 per cent., of Pennsylvania, 320 per cent., of New York, 614 per cent.

So much in regard to population—only let it be borne in mind, that of the population of Virginia, 450,000 are *slaves*: and how much they contribute to all that is "permanent and settled in property," the world has long since decided—at least the world out of Accomac.

Now, as to wealth. The "aggregate value of all the property" in Virginia, in 1842, was $211,888,508; the valuation of the real and personal estate in Massachusetts, in 1841, was $300,000,000; in N. York, in 1845, $616,824,965; in Pennsylvania, in 1847, $465,799,952. But, even this presentation does not exhibit the real disproportion between the wealth of these last three States severally, and that of Virginia—for it must be remembered that "*all* the property" in this State includes the value of the slaves or laboring population, which are not worth to the State half so much as the laboring or prodncing classes in the free States.

We might extend the comparison, but we prefer to let the press of Virginia refute her Representative.

A citizen of Clarksburg, (Va.,) in a communication to the *New York Farmer and Mechanic*, after having given a glowing description of the natural features of Western Virginia, says:

"Our improved lands are estimated in value from $10 to $15, though very good land in a partial state of improvement can be bought from $3 to $8. Our wild and unimproved land can be purchased in any quantity from 10 cents an acre up to $5.

"The mechanic arts flourish among us in their lowest possible and most primitive stage, and the opening for mechanics, if we had any inland country in the United States. Agriculture is conducted upon the worst and most obsolete principles. We have a few good farmers among us, but they have been long enough to learn that agriculture, and are rare, though I am happy to say that their example is producing the best results. It is pretty well for us, that we have timber for all descriptions, and almost boundless water power. All we want to render this one of the most favored spots in this great Union, is the accession to our population of a few enterprising mechanics and farmers, with *capital*, and the construction of those improvements which would furnish us with an inland outlet to market."

The *Richmond* (Va.) *Whig*, a few months since, commenting upon the address of Mr. Bruce, said:

"It is apparent to *all*, who take even a cursory glance at Virginia, that she is literally eaten up by her slave population—that she resembles a bow of great natural strength, bent by enormous weight to an unnatural position—and that she can never recover her elasticity till a portion, at least, of her burden shall have been removed."

Again:

"What if the lands themselves, being taxed to the utmost to support a population as thriftless and as voracious as a swarm of locusts, become at last, under any management, unable to support it? Such a state of things is rapidly approaching in Virginia; and, if all that we hear is correct, it has already overtaken our Southern neighbors. It is not time, then, to treat the petition of Mr. Bruce, with a serious view to immediate action? And we would say to the farmer in either of these States, if you are not *able* to support your slaves without going in debt, liberate them if you are able and disposed to do so; if you are not, sell a portion of them; but by all means, manage so that you and they too, in this land of plenty, *may always have enough to eat!*"

A correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, who, the *Richmond Whig* believes, "is a Southern man," says, referring to the same address—

"If in Mecklenburg county slaves are not profitable, they cannot be so elsewhere in that region—the staple product is tobacco. The value of the product renders the receipts of the planter there *greater then in any county of the State, according to the number of hands employed*. In no county, *either of public or private improvement, or individual wealth, to show for the produce of more than a century and a half*. I have been there very often formerly, and well remember that many planters told me that the profits of their tobacco culture had been for the most part *absorbed by the expense of maintaining their numerous slaves!*"

The *Richmond Republican*, one of the leading papers of Virginia, said, a few months ago, in an editorial on the subject of agriculture—

"We cannot imagine a more striking contrast in natural advantages than Virginia presents to the New England States. We have established every variety of her exhaustless store of wealth. Virginia has greater facilities for agriculture, commerce, and manufactures than any other State of the Union. Nature, as she hath not fulfil the destiny which the God of Nature has written out for her in characters so plain that a wayfaring man may read, Virginia has been abundant native energy, and are remarkable for their perseverance. Is it that those qualities are too generally misdirected, that so little of our labor is brought to bear upon the resources of their soil, are wasted and frittered away upon federal and political affairs? Is it because the iron hand of necessity is not felt, compelling them to go to work out their own salvation, that she lags in the rear of poorer States? Whatever be the cause, her decline is so certain as to be fearful. Is it because, in the cause, the stream of emigration still rolls from her borders, and her sons daily 'leave an angel's bed, to feed on the garbage' of some imaginary Eden of the West?"

Mr. Bayly is sufficiently answered on the subject of the prosperity of Virginia. She cannot be prosperous till she substitute free for slave labor. Would to God her politicians would devote themselves to this noble work, instead of embarking in a crusade to propagate human slavery!

But this gentleman is just as much in error in regard to *Missouri*. "If we go to the new States, he asked for one of them that had better advanced than Missouri?" We can tell him of more than one. Let us compare Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan.

	Sq. miles.	Pop. in 1810.	Pop. in 1847.
Missouri,	60,000	20,845	600,000
Illinois,	59,500	12,282	735,000
Indiana,	36,000	24,520	960,000
Michigan,	30,000	4,762	390,000
		Increase in 37 years.	Per cent.
Missouri,		579,155	2,778
Illinois,		712,718	5,803
Indiana,		935,480	3,900
Michigan,		385,238	6,620

The table speaks for itself. Missouri, so advantageously situated, so extensive in territory, is yet behind her sister States of the West in the march of population. Of railroads and canals she has not, we believe, a single mile, while the other States named are covered with a network of them.

Let us see how she compares as to productions, taking the estimate of the crops of 1845, by the Commissioner of Patents, as our authority:

	Wheat.	Corn.	Potatoes
Missouri,	1,825,000	15,925,000	875,000
Illinois,	4,663,000	25,381,000	2,631,000
Indiana,	7,084,000	36,625,000	2,680,000
Michigan,	7,061,000	4,945,000	4,555,000

Similar proportions in relation to all the other crops, except, of course, tobacco! Need we say one word more? Mr. Bayly would do well to examine into this subject with more care.

SYMPATHY MEETING AT PHILADELPHIA.

An immense meeting assembled on Monday afternoon in Independence Square, Philadelphia, for the purpose of expressing sympathy with France in her purpose of establishing a Republican Government.

In the absence of Mayor Swift, (caused by sickness,) Mayor Belsterling, of the Northern Liberties, was called to the Chair.

Henry D. Gilpin, Esq., offered a series of resolutions, which were adopted with tremendous cheering, and a committee of seventy-six appointed to transmit them to the Provisional Government of France.

Three rostrums were erected, and addresses in English, French, and German, were delivered by several distinguished gentlemen. The Marseilles Hymn and Hail Columbia were sung by a powerful choir, and three cheers were given for "France and Freedom throughout the world."

National Intelligencer.

The Square was filled to overflowing. Besides these three rostrums, there was one at the south gate appropriated to the colored people who participated in the proceedings. The Marseilles Hymn was sung in French.

One of the resolutions, adopted by this immense meeting, was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the proclamation of LIBERTY—EQUALITY—FRATERNITY—realized by the abolition of slavery, by the universality of suffrage, and the earnestly endeavored organization of industry, reveals the sentiments of our own Revolution, in all its deep significance, and promises the fulfilment to the hopes and hearts of the whole family of man."

DEATH OF SENATOR ASHLEY.

Senator Ashley, one of the most amiable and respectable members of the Senate departed this life last Saturday morning. The *Union* says:

"It is with peculiar sorrow we have to state the death of Chester Ashley, Esq., one of the United States Senators from the State of Arkansas. He was walking about in apparently perfect health on Monday, was attacked on Tuesday, and is now no more. This rapid and melancholy event has filled both Houses of Congress and the whole community with the deepest consternation. On Saturday, the Senate remained but a short time in session, and adjourned out of respect to their dying colleague. In an hour afterwards, he breathed his last. We dwell on the melancholy tidings reached the House, they too adjourned."

LATER FROM EUROPE.

The new steamship America, Captain Judkins, which sailed the 15th ultimo from Liverpool, arrived on the 29th, bringing news seven days later.

The intelligence is encouraging to every friend of liberty. The contemplated demonstration on the 10th, so far as it was intended to effect a violent revolution, completely failed. The Government adopted the most prudent and energetic measures for the safety of the Queen, and to protect Parliament against all attempts to overawe it. Thousands of special constables were sworn in. The public editors were guarded. Strong military forces were posted at the principal points, concealed from the public so as not to provoke collision, but ready at a moment's notice for action. The most judicious instructions were given to the police to evade any conflict if possible, to submit patiently to taunts and insults, to let the People alone, so long as no violence was attempted.

The Chartists assembled at different points, marched in procession, and concentrated on Kennington Common, where they were addressed by Feargus O'Connor and others. The Superintendent of the Police here distinctly intimated to Mr. O'Connor, that the meeting would not be allowed to proceed in proccession to deliver the petition in a body to the Parliament; that the attempt would be resisted at all hazards. Mr. O'Connor thereupon made an appeal to the meeborers to let not time, that he would carry the petition by a committee. Several orzs were employed for the purpose, and, amid the breathless silence of the House of Commons, the mammoth petition was dragged into the Hall to the table of the Speaker, by O'Connor and two assistants, where it was read, and treated with the utmost respect. There were two petitions—one signed by 5,760,000 persons, the other by 1,900,000. The meeting afterwards dispersed peaceably, and security was once more felt in London.

Two results followed this demonstration: The bringing in a bill, by the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the security of the Crown and Government of England, which was passed to a second reading by a majority of 417—and the organization of a League by members of Parliament and others, for the purpose of obtaining a Commercial Reform, headed by Hume, Cobden, and Walmsley. The success of the latter would obviate the necessity of the former. Let the Government pursue the policy of gradual concession, and it will sustain no violent shock.

We rejoice that the Physical Force Movement failed. That is not the machinery to reform a free Government. The Government of England is constituted on the principle of middle classes, and this is why it cannot easily be overthrown. Besides, experience has shown that it can and will yield—so that it is difficult to arouse any general movement of violence against it. A Government that can and will yield to the demands of reform, need not fear revolution. The late demonstration, no doubt, has led to the production of good. It will arouse the Middle Classes, and tend to dispose the aristocracy to prevent the repetition of such a movement by timely concessions.

The news from the Continent is important only as showing that the march of Revolution is onwards. France is quiet. Italy is organizing. Austria is on the retreat. Palmerston has offered his mediation to Denmark and Prussia. Russia is still silent, but is disposed to be quiet, if her territory remain undisturbed. Ireland continues in statu quo, the Repealers maintaining the same bold language.

POLITICS.

WISCONSIN.—The Whigs of Wisconsin assembled in Convention at Madison the 13th instant, and nominated John H. Tweedy for Governor. It also appointed four delegates to the National Whig Convention, and nominated as electors of President and Vice President, Harrison Reed, Rufus King, Jacob I. Evans, and James Maxwell.

The Democrats held their State Convention on the 10th, at Milwaukie, and nominated Nelson Dewey for Governor. Delegates were chosen to the Baltimore Convention, and Francis Huchoshmann, Wm. Dinwiddie, S. F. Nichols, and D. P. Mapes, were nominated electors of President and Vice President.

MARYLAND.—A Taylor State Convention was held in Baltimore last week. Prominent Whigs of Baltimore, Frederick, and Washington Counties The Convention resolved to support Gen. Taylor for the Presidency, passed a resolution inviting the friends of the General in other States to cooperate with them, and nominated an electoral ticket, composed of Whigs and Democrats, in equal numbers.

An address was adopted, in which the old issues—Tariff, National Bank, Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands, Annexation—are declared to be obsolete, and the following allusion is made to the question of slavery extension:

"The war with Mexico, and the acquisition of new territory, which have now become fixts, and cannot be disturbed without dishonor, have been entertained as to the necessity of either—have entailed upon the whole country such a series of responsibilities, that the chief attention of the public mind has been being subordinate, must now be directed to them.

"The Wilmot Proviso, the offspring of the new territory, has given a new direction and shape to a portentous question, for the adjustment of which we may call in vain upon Whig and Democrat, as the orthodox priests of our political salvation. Neither can remain, as heretofore, they are organized in view of such a question; and the question itself rises into prominence in spite of them. It will not be put down. It has the two parties undertake to test severally the strength of their respective organizations by attempting to evade this Proviso issue, or to suppress it. They can neither evade nor suppress it. The Democratic party of the State of New York is already dismembered by it—dismembered beyond the prospect of a re-union. Nor can the process stop there. New York, great in her numerical strength, is not the only one less prominent in her political aspect. She has given the initiative more than once to party development, starting new issues and controlling them, as the political history of the country for the last twenty years will bear witness.

"We are impressed with these considerations so strongly as to believe that *neither the Democratic party nor the Whig party can elect an exclusive party nominee to the next Presidency.*

"The issue involved in the Wilmot Proviso, more ominous than that of the Missouri question, warns all patriotic citizens to deprecate domestic discord, and who would avert the violence of ultra zeal, to discourage the agitation of a question in political harmony, of the Union, to fly to the Constitution! There is the ground of safety, which cannot be found in any other. It is the only basis its North and its South; so has the Democratic party likewise. The Constitution knows no North nor South, as distinctive parts of the one great Unity—our country; nor any differences among citizens, whether native or naturalized, or designated by one name or another. In whatever locality resident, we can all invoke the protection of the Constitution, and feel secure in its guarantee of our rights and liberties. It only needs that the man shall be found who can be trusted, to stand firm and unshaken by the guarantees of the Constitution in the hour of trial—one upright, wise, and brave, who cannot be blinded or intimidated into a surrender or betrayal of his trust."

We infer from this that General Taylor is to be supported as a candidate, on the ground that he is the only man opposed to the Wilmot Proviso who can be elected by the joint votes of North and South.

MISSOURI.—The Democratic State Convention was held on the 17th March. On the twentieth balloting, A. A. King was nominated as the candidate for Governor. Delegates to the National Convention were chosen, and electors appointed. A resolution was adopted, sustaining the views of Mr. Polk in relation to internal improvements, and Texas was renounced, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That Missouri views with great sympathy and intense interest the efforts of the People of France to throw off the yoke of tyranny and despotism, and rear upon the crumbling ruins of monarchy a free and republican Government and we bid them, as we do all the world, good speed in the *cause of liberty and equal rights.*"

ILLINOIS.—The Democrats in various sections of Illinois are rallying to the support of the Free Labor and the Free Soil Policy. Mr. Wentworth is vigorously in the field. The Free Soil Democratic County Convention for Bureau have instructed their delegates to the Democratic Congressional Convention to cast their votes for their independent representative. At a meeting of the Democrats at Lyon's Precinct, for the purpose of choosing delegates to the Chicago Convention, the following resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That the Wilmot Proviso is decidedly opposed to the introduction of slavery into territory now free.

"*Resolved*, That we are in favor of river and harbor appropriations, as laid down in the recommended Silas Wright's letter to the Chicago Convention.

"*Resolved*, That we are opposed to a revenue tax and coffee."

The Boone County Convention of Democrats met April 8th, and passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the President of the United States and his Cabinet, for their zealous and vigorous prosecution of the war with Mexico, as well as for the sound and able views enterteined and promulgated by them on the subject of a tariff, (excepting the duty proposed to be levied on tea and coffee,) deserve and receive the confidence of the Democratic party throughout the country.

"*Resolved*, That the veto of the Chief Magistrate of the Union, in the inherent self-constitutional rights of the People, is a principle of liberty we have unabated confidence and reliance, not we for a moment doubt that whatever of defects of disaster may be brought upon our party by the opposition of those who have left the ranks, (leaving its pretended friends, it will at an early day regenerated and invigorated from its temporary opposition, to fulfil the high destiny of advancing the progress of human liberty."

ILLINOIS.—The Illinois State Democratic Convention has recommended Lewis Cass as its choice for the Presidency, and Levi Woodbury its second. The present State officers were nominated for re-election.

MASSACHUSETTS.—The Boston Atlas of 29th ultimo, contains an address by the Whig members of the Legislature of Massachusetts, recommending Gen. Taylor as their choice for the Presidency. They say that Massachusetts is Whig, New England is Whig, the free States are Whig—no Whig candidate can be elected without their vote—and therefore it is but just that they should have a proportionate influence in the selection of a candidate; and, on behalf of Massachusetts, they declare their purpose to support a candidate.

"Who belongs not to the North only, but the whole country; whose name and fame guarantees of his fidelity to the great principles of our Union, and whose name and fame guarantees will be securely and equally protected; who maintain the Constitution as it is, the Union as it is; but who will not suffer us to be overbalanced in an extreme case, by the power of the free States, in the fair extension of the institution of slavery, which equally repugnant to the feelings and interests of the free States and the sense of the Slave States man under whose guidance we may feel course safe, and the institutions of the country secure, and who

and weighing well the many acts of bravery which attracted the notice of Washington, and secured for the young soldier rapid and honorable promotion, can admit for a moment the supposition that he was a coward. Mr. Clarke has presented a record of events in the campaign of 1812 which are sufficient to explain the conduct of General Hull, without resorting to this base imputation. His analysis of the proceedings of the Court Martial demonstrates to us that there was no evidence to sustain this charge.

We are glad to hear our humble testimony on this point. The difficulties in the way of the conquest of Canada were, it is certain, underrated. The Administration of 1812 did not comprehend the magnitude of the enterprise it had undertaken, or provide the means necessary to insure success. There was little wisdom or energy in its counsels. And the counsels which controlled the rest of the forces concentrated on our Northern frontier were equally unwise and infirm. There was much in all this to excite indecision, on the part of General Hull, and embarrass his operations. Mr. Clarke's narrative is conclusive on this point, and, on the whole, he has triumphantly vindicates the General against the charge of cowardice. But, it is not so certain that he did not err in his decision to surrender without a blow. We are not insensible to the force of all that is said concerning the humane motive that actuated him; but, such motives would put an end to all war, all fighting. Supposing that war can ever be justified, we cannot but think, in view of the expectations cherished by his countrymen, and of the fact that so much depended upon the first demonstration, that he ought to have fought to the last ditch.

But peace to his ashes. We rejoice at this successful effort of his children to relieve his name from a most cruel and unjust imputation. It was fortunate for his country, that he should err in his judgment; but, it was an evidence of his moral courage, and certainly no indication of a want of physical courage, that he dared to act out his own convictions of duty.

BLACKWOOD'S EDINBURGH MAGAZINE. April, 1848. New York: Leonard Scott & Co.

One advantage resulting from the new arrangement between the American publishers and the proprietors of Blackwood's Magazine, is, that we now receive it in advance. The present number has been lying on our table for two weeks, but circumstances have prevented its earlier notice. It is an excellent number. The leader is severe, unjust, but ably written article on the French Revolution, by ALISON. Alison forgets that the world is older than when Burke lived, and that steam oars, steam presses, and magnetism, have produced great changes in nations, both in their external and internal relations. But, even he admits that there is no probability of a re-conclusion of the Holy Alliance. "Our forefathers' reasons," he says, "which induce us to believe that such an event is not very probable, at least *in the first instance*, and that it is from a different quarter the real danger that now threatens France is, in the outset at least, to be apprehended." He alludes to the claims of *Labor*, and its apprehended conflict with Capital. The whole article is worthy of attention, presenting, as it does, the view taken by the Conservatives of the Liberal Reform Movement, the end of which is not yet.

"*How we got Possession of the Trenlleries*," is another Tory article on the same subject, but in a different vein. We recognize in the writer one whose perception of the ridiculous is always keen and who has the faculty of finding fun in everything.

The other articles are, *My Route into Canada*, *Conquest of Naples*, *Travelling in Tuffylend*, *Life and Times of Lord Hardwicke*, *The Cottons*, *A German Ditty*, and *two Sonnets*.

GRAHAM'S AMERICAN MONTHLY MAGAZINE. May, 1848. Philadelphia: G. B. Graham and R. T. Conrad, Editors.

There is fine portrait of General Worth in this number, with a sketch of his life. The fashion plates are very rich. Some of the contributions are more than usually interesting.

COLUMBIAN MAGAZINE. May, 1848. New York: Edited by S. T. Chester. J. S. Taylor, Publisher.

"Myra Clark," one of the engravings of this number, is exquisite. It is a picture of a face and form which one cannot help falling in love with. "Jerusalem" is another engraving of great merit.

The publisher announces that, in securing the benefit of copy-right for the pages of his monthly, he intends no interdict against an occasional republication of its articles.

HERALD OF TRUTH. April, 1848. Cincinnati, O.: L. A. Hine, Editor.

Contents.—History of Virginia, the True Poet, Electricity and the Nervous System, Love's Laborer, Education and Freedom, Life, Phenomena of Mind, Spiritual Philosophy, the Wife of Besieres, Thoughts by the Wayside, the Nineteenth Century, John Quincy Adams, Love of Man the True Love of God, Editorial Notices, &c.

LOVE'S DISCOURSE on the Interment of John Quincy Adams. Boston.

We are greatly indebted to the respected widow of the venerable John Quincy Adams, for a copy of this most interesting discourse, of which we may make some use at another time.

ENCARNACION: or the Prisoners in Mexico. By John Sodo. Louisville Ky.

This is a plain narrative of the events attending the capture and captivity of Cassius M. Clay, Mr. Sodo himself, and other Americans, at Encarnacion. Its interest chiefly depends upon the nature of the events, and not the mode of narrating them.

ORATION on the Death of John Quincy Adams. By W. H. Seward.

We are indebted to Mr. Seward for a copy of his oration. It presents an original and a very imposing view of the services and character of Mr. Adams. Nothing than this discourse has spoken on the death of this illustrious man have we read with more interest. We had marked some passages for quotation, but we have no room in this number.

VOICE OF THE PRESS.

We have been urged to present in our columns some, at least, of the numerous comments of the Press of the Union upon the late outrage on the Liberty of the Press in this city. There is scarcely a paper in the nation which does not condemn it. We observe no distinction of party. The Democratic press is just as severe as the Whig, and the Conservative Democracy as indignant as the Radical. The Religious and Neutral Journals are prompt in their reprobation, and we have yet to see a Southern exchange that excuses the outrage.

To our brethren of the Press of all parties and sections we are under great obligations for their kind sympathy towards the *Era*; but where we could, without detriment to the cause, we should omit them, we have done so. In making our selections, we have sought simply to show the good people of this city, and our readers generally, how overwhelming is the Public Sentiment of the country in favor of the entire Freedom of the Press, and how extremely sensitive are the American People to any attempted restraint upon it at the seat of their General Government.

The crowded state of our columns obliges us to make very brief extracts from comments which are extended.

Last week, our quotations were made, with one exception, from the Southern press. We now select from the press of all sections:

The National Era office, it appears, has been threatened with violence. We do not know that any proof of connection with this affair has been produced against the Era. We are glad to see that, as yet, no injury has been done to that establishment. The best maxim for the citizens of Washington and for the whole North, in relation to the storm which seems to be brewing, is—KEEP COOL; BUT BE VIGILANT; BE SILENT in the support of your rights and in the exercise of them.

Richmond (Va.) Republican—Taylor paper.

In justice to the National Era and its conductors, I should state that they disclaim all knowledge or connivance with the abduction of the slaves, and the paper, by any knowledge, is free from being incendiary in its character. It discusses the question of slavery, to be sure, but coolly, argumentatively, and constitutionally, and in a manner to which no slaveholder can reasonably object; and, so far as I can learn, the riotous attempts for its destruction receive the marked condemnation of two-thirds of the citizens of the. *Washington Correspondent of the Baltimore Enterprise—a Literary paper.*

At night, the mob assembled in large numbers before the office of the National Era, but, after very paper, and broke the windows. Next day, a committee waited on the editor, (Dr. Bailey,) to urge him to remove his office from the District. He declined acceding to the proposition, and at night the mob again assembled in front of his office, but yielded to the remonstrances of the public authorities, and dispersed. For an anti-slavery paper, the National Era has been conducted with great moderation and prudence.—*Religious Herald, Richmond, (Va.)—a Baptist paper.*

But it is just that person and his paper that, from the commencement of the "*National Era*," we have received it amongst our exchange papers; and that, while we have found in its columns much that we dissent from, and much that, in our decided judgment, we have never known its editor to approve the violation of any law for the promotion of his designs, on the contrary, we have regretted him as occupying more rational and honorable grounds than any of the rest of the professed friends of the negro whose writings we have read. He is an able and accomplished writer, and, so far as we answer, a gentleman in private life. If, therefore, he violates no law, whatever his views—whether he be Christian, Deist, or Atheist—he, as a citizen, suppose, he must be left undisturbed and protected by the law. We have no sympathy with the spirit of mobism, and would regard with as little favor the incendiaries of Philadelphia, as with those of Philadelphia as those of the Roman Catholic churches in the same city. Sanction or tolerate the act in the first instance, and it will be followed by the act the second. The popular favor may often be won by counsels opposed to what we would give, but God forbid we should for its sake flatter "the rascal rabble" or suppress our convictions of truth and justice.—*Loudoun (Va) Whig.*

The District of Columbia is under the exclusive control and jurisdiction of Congress. Does it not, then, clearly appear that it is the duty of Congress to order, and protect the property of citizens? Dr. Bailey, the editor of the "Era," is not accused, or even suspected, of being the principle in contribution, in the elopement; but his offence is the publication of an anti-slavery paper, to the influence of which is attributed the late occurrence. This seems to us little better than to take the slave in Washington, as well as elsewhere, are not a reading community. But admitting that the Era is a business, and has been productive of this evil; yet we think there is, or ought to be, some legal and civilized mode of removing it! We do detest mob law; we can scarcely conceive of a case wherein it can be justifiable. Let the law be perverted to serve, and in Washington, the august seat and fountain of law, the progress of the country towards civilization must be slow and lingering.—*Macon (Ala.) Republican.*

The committee appointed by the meeting at Washington city did not carry out the resolution of that meeting by the removal of the printing office of the National Era out of the District. We calm and manly article, published by the editor of the Era in the National Intelligencer, giving an exposition of the transaction, and of the spirit of the paper, had a great effect upon the popular mind, and wise and moderate counsels prevailed.—*Louisville (Ky.) Journal.*

Those who conduct the Era, we had nothing to do with enticing the slaves to run away. They claim the right to discuss temperately and in a spirit of conciliation the subject of Slavery in the abstract. The firmness with which they withstand the menaces of the mob shows that they have a proper regard for the liberty of the press, and gives evidence of a determination to maintain their minds, both of slavery and anti-slavery men. In a card they declared that they disclaim all participation in the knowledge of the flight of the slaves and their high character induces everybody to believe what they say. Mob law can no longer render any service to slavery, and the more it is discountenanced by the friends of the institution it will give the opponents of slavery. Once let loose the spirit of violence among the slaveholders of the District of Columbia, and it will roll back on the institution of slavery with tenfold greater force. While the people generally of the people regard slavery as a great evil, they are aiming to make the institution, if it is to be tolerated and protected wherever it legally exists.

New York Globe—Democratic.

The National Era is neither incendiary nor a seducer of slaves. It is conducted by its conduct, avoided such imputations, and has addressed itself in reasonable and constitutional argument to statesmen of the South, and to the people who treated the subject of human servitude as it affected the nature, and the slave.

We are glad to hear that the mob has taken time to deliberate, for we believe that it will take a good long time. An outrage of this kind would make an echo that would not soon cease to reverberate throughout the land. The people will not be tolerated and protected wherever it legally exists.

Albany Atlas—Democratic.

In the old world, where monarchs have held sway and oppressed their subjects because the press was not allowed to discuss the subject, the People demand its entire freedom as the only guarantee of their liberty. Thrones yield to their mandate as the spirit of freedom moves them to action, and revolutions follow that it will take a good long time. An outrage of this kind would make an echo that would not soon cease to reverberate throughout the land. The people will not be tolerated and protected wherever it legally exists.

New York Globe—Democratic.

The National Era is neither incendiary nor a seducer of slaves. It is conducted by its conduct, avoided such imputations, and has addressed itself in reasonable and constitutional argument to statesmen of the South, and to the people who treated the subject of human servitude as it affected the nature, and the slave.

We are glad to hear that the mob has taken time to deliberate, for we believe

THE NATIONAL ERA.

From Houston's Reports.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE.

THURSDAY, APRIL 20.

PROTECTION OF PROPERTY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

[IN CONTINUATION.]

Mr. DOUGLAS. I have listened to this debate with a good deal of interest. But while I have seen considerable excitement exhibited on the part of a few gentlemen around me, I confess that I have not been able to work myself into anything like a passion. I think that probably the Senator from New Hampshire has done much to accomplish his object. His hill is a very harmless thing in itself. Not being a lawyer myself, this time, and under the present circumstances, it has created a good deal of excitement among gentlemen on this side of the chamber.

Mr. CALHOUN, (in his seat.) Not the hill—the occasion.

Mr. DOUGLAS. On the occasion I desire to say a word. The first place, I must congratulate the Senator from New Hampshire on the great triumph which he has achieved. He stands very prominently before the American people, and I believe, the only man who has a national nomination for the Presidency. I firmly believe that on this floor to-day, by the aid of the Senator from South Carolina and the Senator from Mississippi, he has more than doubled his vote at the Presidential election, and every man in this chamber from a Slave State knows it! I look on with amazement for a time, to see whether there could be an understanding between the Senator from New Hampshire and his Southern friends, calculated to produce encouragement, strength, and power, in the contest. But I know that those distinguished Senators from the South, to whom I have referred, are too sagacious for such a bargain; yet I tell them that, if they had gone into a caucus with the Senator from New Hampshire, and, after a night's study and deliberation, had devised the best measure to secure the Abolitionism and Abolition votes in the North, they would have fallen upon precisely the same kind of procedure which the Senator have adopted to-day. I know such exciting scenes sufficed to send that Senator here. I mean no disrespect to him personally, but I say, with his sentiments, with his principles, he could scarcely have represented the Free Soil party in any other way than he has done, but I say, with his sentiments, with his principles, he could scarcely have represented the Free Soil party