

expediency of recognizing the independence of the republic of Dominica; but objection was made by Mr. Chase, the free soil Senator from Ohio, and the proposition laid over. A bill was reported authorizing the coinage of gold pieces of the value respectively of ten and five eagles. The amendments to the Indian Appropriation bill reported by the Committee on the Whole were concurred in; but the proposal to grant half a million dollars to the friendly Creeks, in payment for land taken during the war of 1812, was rejected by a decisive vote.

In the House nothing of interest transpired. There was a debate on an appropriation for continuing the works for supplying the canal with water. The House will adjourn on Wednesday next to the following Monday, in order to fit up the hall for the warm weather.

The politicians at Washington have hardly yet recovered from the exhaustion consequent upon the Nebraska excitement, when the administration opens its batteries upon Gov. Brown for his course upon the Indigent Insane Land bill. The secret of this hostility is explained by our correspondent. It is announced that Judge Douglas, too, is to be denounced by the minions of the Cabinet. The triumph of the Nebraska question does not please the free soil and secession advisers of the President; its defeat was ardently desired, and they are, therefore, disappointed at the result. So Judge Douglas must be denounced—he has made too much capital. But this is only the beginning of the perplexities of the politicians. An entire annihilation and reconstruction of parties will inevitably grow out of this state of things, and we await with patience the developments. The anti-Nebraska journals are rabid at their defeat, but the Union loving portion of the people will hail the settlement of this question as a second Declaration of Independence.

The steamship America is now due at Halifax with three days later news from Europe. The telegraph wires east of Sackville, N. B., were broken last night; but it is probable they will be repaired during to-day, and we will thus be enabled to lay before our readers the news in our next issue. Two firemen were killed, and another seriously injured, at Philadelphia, by the falling of the walls of a building destroyed by fire yesterday.

Passage of the Nebraska Bill—The Constitution Triumphant—The Great Revolution at Hand. The passage of the Nebraska bill is one of those great events which, in a nation's history, inaugurate a political revolution, and a new cycle in political affairs. It is the triumph of a great principle over temporizing expedients—of the constitution over sectional fanaticism, and of popular sovereignty over the usurpations of Congress. It settles the slavery question in the Territories upon the broad and comprehensive basis of the organic law of the republic—it removes this vexed and harassing sectional issue out of Congress, and delivers it over to the people of the Territories, where it properly belongs. It establishes a precedent of universal application to all future acquisitions of territory, North or South, without further agitation or controversy. It is an adjustment of the trouble upon the only satisfactory foundation; a simple, conclusive and final adjustment. Hereafter, the question of slavery or free soil will be left to the people of every Territory, and to their final judgment, upon their application for admission as sovereign States into the Union. They will be as free to decide upon the subject for themselves as the sovereign State of New York.

Thus is the protracted and fearful struggle upon the question of slavery in the territories of the last seventy years brought to a practical conclusion. It was commenced with the project of the federal ordinance in 1784, and the corner stone of all succeeding sectional controversies upon the subject was laid down in the establishment of the ordinance of 1787, interdicting slavery "forever" in the territories northwest of the Ohio river, ceded by Virginia to the United States. That ordinance was the work of the rump of the Old Confederation, anterior to the adoption of the constitution. The great blunder, to which all the succeeding blundering interference of Congress in the slavery question is fairly attributable, is the precedent of that ordinance of 1787, notwithstanding the fact that with the adoption of the constitution in 1789, the Old Confederation and its loose and incoherent policy, were superseded by a new order of things. Unfortunately, too, for the peace of the country, after the adoption of the constitution, in several instances, the ordinance of 1787 was re-affirmed and enforced in the territories to which it was applied. In this way the precedents were furnished upon which the treasonable remains of the old federal party, in the Hartford Convention, introduced the agitation of the slavery question as an active element into the party politics of the country.

That movement of the Hartford Convention scattered the seeds of abolitionism broadcast over the Northern States, as was abundantly developed in the fierce agitation of 1819 and 1820, which resulted in the adoption by Congress of the Missouri compromise. This compromise was a sectional bargain forced upon the South by the pressure of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and acquiesced in by Southern politicians and statesmen as a matter of policy in view of an approaching Presidential election. It was a temporary armistice, and liable to be broken at the discretion of either party, as any other compact made in violation of established law.

The first step in the abandonment of such temporizing bargains as the Missouri compromise was taken by Congress in the acts of 1850, organizing the Territories of Utah and New Mexico. And this recurrence to first principles was mainly due to the example thrown in upon Congress by the people of California in assuming the right, and in exercising the power, to decide upon the question of slavery for themselves. The Nebraska bill, in following up the policy adopted in reference to Utah and New Mexico, establishes this policy of the sovereignty of the people over their domestic institutions. It is a substantial declaration by Congress that they have no power over slavery, neither in the States, nor in the Territories; but that in the Territories as in the States, it is a subject which belongs entirely to the people. This is the true constitutional doctrine, and the constitution is a rock upon which the country, the North and the South, may securely stand. Doubtless we shall have agitation and excitement enough for a season, and a frightful slaughter among the small fry politicians of the hour; but the Union and the constitution will come out of the "noise and confusion" all the stronger, and the more cohesive in the end.

In its immediate effects we regard the passage of the Nebraska bill as an emphatic condemnation of, and a solemn warning to, the administration. In this act Congress have rebuked the free soil spoils policy of Gen. Pierce, and have repudiated the anti-slavery elements of his Cabinet, and the whole fraternity of his Van Buren free soil office-holders. The judgment of Congress is deliberate and clear; and in obedience to this mandate of the immediate representa-

tives of the American people. It is proper that the executive at Washington should understand the duties of his position and act accordingly. His free soil policy is reproved, his free soil appointments are condemned. If he intends to abide by the platform of the Nebraska bill, his course is plainly defined. He must give up his programme of a free soil coalition of spoils-men as the basis of the democratic party. The party in Congress have elected them. He must repeal and reject all that he has done to strengthen the free soilers and to weaken the national democrats, and begin his work over again with a reconstruction of his Cabinet of national men, identified with the national and constitutional principles of the Nebraska bill, in their antecedents, associations, and inclinations. He must reject Marcy, as "weighed in the balance and found wanting," his anti-slavery confederates in the Cabinet, and all the herd of free soil anti-slavery spoilsmen that have crept into office and into power, under cover of the Buffalo and secession coalition of March 4, 1853. The action of Congress upon Nebraska calls for this, and for a thorough revolution, from stem to stern, in the policy and in the appointments of the administration. The Van Buren anti-slavery faction in the Cabinet, in Congress, and elsewhere, have been excommunicated by act of Congress from the democratic party; and with the signing of the Nebraska bill the President should confirm the honesty of the act, by signing also the political death warrant of Marcy, and all the treacherous factionists who cling to his skirts. "To the victors belong the spoils;" but the national democracy in Congress are the victors, and the anti-slavery imposters should all be turned adrift, from a sense of public duty resulting from the passage of Nebraska.

We entertain no very remarkable degree of admiration for either Jefferson Davis or Caleb Cushing, as public men. The one is a secessionist, and the other a trimmer. But they have been true and consistent upon Nebraska, and in this view their previous mortal political offences may be charitably overlooked. It would be perfectly justifiable, therefore, and consistent with the Nebraska bill, should a reconstruction of the Cabinet be resolved upon, beginning with the expulsion of Marcy—it would be, perhaps, a good move to put Cushing or Davis into the State Department. Either of them, no doubt, at this important crisis, would be more efficient in the management of our foreign relations than Marcy. At all events, the passage of Nebraska is equivalent to the rejection of Marcy by both houses—to an order for a new Cabinet, a new policy, and a new schedule of appointments, comprehending the absolute rejection for the future of all free soil partisans, affiliates, or principles, from first to last.

Let this line of action be adopted—let the administration co-operate with Congress in the introduction of a domestic policy in all things, resting upon the constitutional and national principles of the Nebraska bill, and General Pierce may yet escape the otherwise inevitable fate of being Tylerized and Taylorized and utterly abandoned by his party. But let the administration heartily repent of its errors, confess to the judgment of Congress, and take a new departure in the right direction in home affairs; and let this be followed up with the right spirit, in regard to Cuba, Honduras, and Mexico; and we shall take a fresh start in the expansion, progress, and prosperity of our country, which will defy all European balances of power upon this continent, and excite the wonder and admiration even of our enemies.

We hail the passage of this Nebraska bill as the harbinger of a great and glorious political revolution, comprehending the purification of the democratic party, the destruction of the abolition agitators of all parties, and possibly (for we are not sure of it) the redemption of the administration, and the washing it clean of all the stains of its anti-slavery and free soil affiliations, beginning with the expulsion of Marcy. How plain is the path before us guided by the lights of the constitution!

NEBRASKA AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN NEW YORK.—At the present time we have any quantity of political parties trimming their wares for the fall election. There are the democratic hard shells, the democratic free soil soft shells, the whig Fillmore silver grays, and the whig Seward woolley heads, the Maine Liquor law party, and the lager beer party, the free soil party proper, and the know-nothings. The Nebraska bill will be very apt to break up all these parties and factions, and to muster their materials into two great parties, upon Nebraska and the slavery questions. Let all hands read over the Nebraska bill, consult the signs of the times, and between the anti-slavery platform and the constitution, prepare to take their positions. The Nebraska bill is passed—a political revolution must follow: old parties will be done away with, new parties will take their places; and this revolution will begin in New York. The Maine law is at a discount—the know-nothings are nowhere. Nebraska swallows them all up, like the rod of Aaron. We are in the midst of a revolution.

THE NEW YORK CITY DELEGATION ON THE NEBRASKA BILL.—Of the six representatives from this city in Congress, five voted for the Nebraska bill and one against it. The five were, Messrs. Cutting, Tweed, Walker, Walbridge, and the solitary man in the negative was John Wheeler. Cutting has redeemed himself, and his colleagues in the affirmative have vindicated the conservative constitutional attitude of New York city upon the slavery question. Mr. Wheeler stands alone in his glory. Perhaps he does not expect, desire, or intend to run again for Congress. If he does, he is a gone John Wheeler—he has sacrificed himself, and the "unterrified democracy" will probably call a coroner's inquest upon him when his present term shall expire. Hiy that a man should be so very firm when he is wrong.

THE NEW YORK FEDERAL OFFICE HOLDERS.—A LOUD CALL FOR JUSTICE.—The success of the Nebraska bill calls loudly for the turning out of all the soft shell free soil federal office-holders in this city, beginning with Messrs. Redfield, Fowler, Swackhamer, and John Cochrane—especially Cochrane. In anticipation of this policy we call upon Mr. Cochrane to make a present to us of the "scarlet letter." We shall preserve it with great care, and it may be rubbed to pieces in his breeches pocket.

A CLEAR TRACK.—Not a whig—not a solitary man of the whigs in the House from the Northern States, voted for the Nebraska bill. This makes a clear track for the organization of a great Northern anti-slavery party upon the remains of the late whig party. Union men of all parties, to the rescue. Prepare for the battle of '56.

The American Press Charged with Venality by the European Journals—Russian Gold in America.

The only journals in Europe that can be said to be on anything like freedom of thought and discussion are the English newspapers, but yet they are very far from realizing our idea of independence. Even the best and most widely circulated of them are the slaves of political parties and clique, and we have seen how, on questions of vital interest to the country at large, they are trammelled by the various views and prejudices of the particular sections of the community on which their circulation depends. Any attempt to free themselves from the narrow circle of the influences by which they are shackled, and to give effect to their own unbiased sentiments, is certain to be followed by imputations of corruption and dishonesty. In many instances but too well founded, for but few have the moral courage to sacrifice their material interests to the advocacy of any particular views at variance with those of the parties and coteries of which they are the organs, without being assured of some equivalent advantage.

Even the London Times, which monopolizes the largest share of the public favor, owing to the enterprise and ability with which it is conducted, has been unable to escape suspicions, which its position ought to have ensured it against; and the extraordinary revolutions of opinion that we from time to time witness in the columns of that journal, are to be attributed to no more convincing cause than the serious diminutions in its circulation, effected by its occasional efforts to vindicate its independence. It is not long, since its views with regard to the policy to be adopted towards Russia, brought upon it the charge of having accepted a large bribe from the Emperor to advocate his interests—an accusation which, from its absurdity, we would have supposed that a journal of its great pecuniary resources might have afforded to treat with the contempt that it merited. There is no doubt that the opinions expressed by the Times were dictated solely by an honest conviction of the perils to which the country was likely to be exposed by the course to which it was urged by the opposition press, and we will probably yet see the political sagacity of its recommendations fully borne out by the results of the hazardous contest in which England has embarked. Be that as it may, "the leading journal" was soon forced to change its tone, by considerations entirely irrespective of the justice and expediency of the questions at issue. It found, as we are credibly informed, that its alleged Russian tendencies were seriously affecting its circulation, and having no Russian reserve to fall back upon, as was generally supposed, like a prudent tactician it immediately beat a retreat, and has since, with all the zeal of a new convert, distinguished itself by the fiery energy of its partisanship on the opposite side.

Of the other leading London journals it is hardly necessary to speak. The Chronicle, after having passed from the proprietorship of Sir John Easthope, is now in the hands of Baron Rothschild, and is consequently the faithful reflex of the narrow and selfish views of the Stock Exchange; whilst the Post is the organ of the aristocracy, and dare not give expression to an opinion that might jar with the sensitive nerves of the fashionable coteries in May Fair. The Herald is a relic of a bygone age, when bigotry and intolerance were rampant in the land, and is dependent for support on a class now luckily rapidly passing away; and the Daily News, after sinking an enormous capital in its efforts to supplant the Times, only drags on a precarious existence by constituting itself the organ of the European revolutionists.

It would be a mockery to talk of the freedom or independence of any portion of the continental press. The French journals, which perhaps formerly carried those conditions to the verge of abuse, are now paying the penalty of their excesses in a mutism as complete as the stillness of the tomb; whilst the same despotic influences chain down and paralyze the liberty of thought and discussion over almost the whole of the continent. In Belgium, which some how or other has come to be regarded by the other continental Powers as a sort of neutral ground on which their quarrels may be fought, may be occasionally seen enunciated through the columns of some journal of small circulation, opinions of a faintly liberal tinge, timidly expressed, and in most instances dictated by a desire to flatter and conciliate the English government. King Leopold is too adroit a politician and has too difficult a card to play between the opposing interests that threaten to swallow him up, not to permit, for his own sake, a reasonable laxity in this respect to the journals under his control.

Such is virtually the amount of freedom and independence enjoyed by the newspaper press of Europe. Where nominally free, the European journals are in reality as great slaves as under the despotic restrictions that impose penalties for the violation of tyrannical ordinances. Can we wonder, then, that all the information that we derive through their medium respecting the incidents of the great struggle in which their respective governments are now engaged, should come to us in such a distorted and perverted shape as to render it difficult, nay, sometimes impossible, to draw correct conclusions as to the facts which they profess to convey to us? Still less ought we to feel surprised that in their ignorance of the real state of public feeling in this country, and of the wide latitude of opinion which it is the constitutional privilege of American journalists to enjoy, they should endeavor to reduce us to their own level, by suggesting unworthy and interested motives as the guiding influences of the course taken by the American press on the Eastern question.

We have been led to make these remarks by a paragraph in the Emancipation Belge of the 14th of April last, and which has since been extensively copied into the German, French and English journals. "We observe," says our Belgian contemporary, "in the American press a recent movement in favor of Russia. Nothing astonishes us from that part of the world; the venality of the American press is well known. The gold of Mount Ural can find its way to New York as well as the gold of California."

It is hardly necessary for us to make any serious reply to such a charge. The American press, with a circulation greater than that of the whole of the journals of Europe put together—our own exceeding that of "the Thunderer" itself—and increasing rapidly with the unparalleled growth of population, and the great concurrent prosperity of the country, might well be excused from condescending to defend itself against an imputation that could only have originated in the malice of disappointment. It may, however, be well to recall a few facts that will at once explain the motives of this venal sally on the part of

our Belgian contemporary. In the commencement of the difficulty, England, with a keen appreciation of the advantages to be derived from enlisting the sympathies of the American people on her side, left no means untried to accomplish that object. The English press, to which heaven knows we are under no great obligations of amicable feeling or courtesy, stopped at no flattery, the English nobility at no concessions, and English statesmen at no concessions, to induce us to commit ourselves by some formal or informal declarations in favor of their intervention in Turkey, to the moral weight of which they candidly admitted, they attached the highest importance. Although by well directed attentions they won over to their views, a few soft-headed American tourists, they did not succeed in blinding the American people generally to the real issues involved in the question, and to the dangers to their own interests that lay lurking behind them. We take credit to ourselves for being the first to expose and point out the objects of the coalition; and we have since had the satisfaction of finding our sentiments endorsed by the great majority of our American cotemporaries. The events that are daily transpiring tend to confirm and strengthen the opinion that we have so frequently expressed, that any declaration of sympathy on the part of this country in favor of the Western alliance, would render no real service to the cause of liberty. What is now the position of Turkey, since she has placed herself in the hands of the chivalrous defenders who were to extricate her from the state of vassalage in which she was placed? Instead of one master she has at present several, and she cannot adopt a simple measure of police for the security of her own internal tranquillity, without drawing down the imperial veto of one or other of her new lords. We have seen how, in the affair of the contemplated expulsion of the sect called the United Greek Christians, she was compelled to yield to the arrogant dictation of the French ambassador; and before the lapse of another twelvemonth we are much mistaken if this unjustifiable interference with her rights will not be followed by others that will deprive her of the last semblance of sovereignty.

But in addition to this novel and striking mode of vindicating the oppressed liberties of the world, we may as well mention another fact which has just come to our knowledge, and which will place this Anglo-French crusade in a still more curious light. We learn from the Independence Belge of the 23d of April, that since the demolition of the forts on the Circassian coast, the slave market at Constantinople, which had long been in a languishing state, has become quite animated, and slaves who previous to that event could only be purchased for thirty and twenty thousand piastres, can now be had for twenty and ten. What a commentary upon the rabid abolitionism of the English people, and upon their Pharisaical denunciations of the debasing influence of Russian institutions!

We think that even in the limits of this article, we have stated sufficient to justify the position we have taken on this question, and to vindicate both ourselves and our cotemporaries from all suspicion of being swayed by motives inconsistent with that true love of liberty and sympathy for the wrongs of oppressed humanity that must ever actuate the American heart.

THE CENTRAL PARK.—New York, the third city in the civilized world, in point of population, and the second in commercial importance, is sadly deficient in means and appliances to refine, educate and humanize its people. We have no galleries of paintings or sculptures; no public library, and no park. We may have feeble imitations of these things; but New York is rich enough to do better. New York intends to improve in this respect.

The germ of this improvement has appeared in the efforts which are now being made for the permanent establishment of the Central Park, to include seven hundred and fifty acres of land in the best portion of the island. Notwithstanding the factious opposition of a petty clique, it is a fact that the work is going forward with spirit. The commissioners, Messrs. Utschhoefer, Kent, Bradish, Brady and Towle, have addressed a memorial to the Common Council, in which they state that they "have progressed with their labors to an extent which warrants the expectation that the proceedings to acquire the law for this park may be completed within the present year." The commissioners request that the Common Council will arrest the fulfillment of certain contracts now pending, for work to be performed within the Central Park, such as grading, paving and macadamizing streets and avenues, until the proceedings in which they are now engaged shall be terminated. It appears that these contracts contemplate the grading and paving of streets within the park, as if no park were intended to be established there. The commissioners very justly say—

To establish a uniform grade within the limits of the Park by filling in and leveling the land for the purpose of streets and avenues, it will be necessary either to grade the entire surface to a level, or, at great expense, cause the earth and other materials now being deposited there, to be removed at a material expense than that now being incurred in placing them there. Your memorialists respectfully submit, that it is most expedient to have the land contemplated to be acquired for the Park in its present condition of nature, until the plans for its improvement as a park shall be fully determined.

The arrangement of this ground as a park will involve upon your honorable body, or those whom you may appoint for that purpose, and will no doubt receive the most careful and deliberate consideration. This will be an elaborate and responsible duty, involving the most matured examination of its many plans which will no doubt be proposed for the purpose.

If the contracts referred to are allowed to be completed, a large amount of money will be unnecessarily expended; the surface of the ground will be broken up and destroyed; the natural advantages now possessed for the Park will be lost, and it will be almost impossible to improve and beautify the ground, so as to accomplish the great end sought, of having a park which will be, in all respects, commensurate with the wants and worthy the position of our city.

THE LIQUOR LICENSES.—EXCISE DEBATES AT THE MAYOR'S OFFICE.—On the first of May, the licenses authorizing six thousand nine hundred and five "proper persons" to sell intoxicating liquors by the glass, expired. The question as to their renewal depends upon the Board of Excise—the members of which are the Aldermen and Councilmen of each ward. They sit as a board with supreme power, and hear the applications; afterward rejecting them, holding them over, or granting the licenses, as they may see fit. The law gives them the power to appoint such persons as they see fit, to sell liquors as tavern-keepers and victuallers. It is also a condition in the license, that in no such tavern or victualling shop licensed, shall any liquors be sold unless to persons actually lodging in the house, or travellers. Our city readers are very well aware of the fact that during the past year this condition has been almost a nullity, and that the almost unrestricted extension of the license system has been the cause of a great deal of the rowdiness and crime by which the Sabbath has been desecrated and the city disgraced.