coin cannot, in reason, take two of the constitutions at where from one and the same State—that is to say, Seward cannot go to the State Department and Greeley into the Post Office. *Here, ellipsis.*

Touching the eighth census, the Herald gave us a day or two since an eloquent and just editorial. The law passed at the last session of Congress gives one million of dollars, one superintendent, six clerks of the fourth class, nine of the third class, twelve of the second class, and as many of the first class as the Secretary of the Interior may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of the census act in the most full and complete manner. Mr Kennedy, the superintendent, is a gentleman of large experience in these matters; able, industrious and zealous. It will be recollected that President Pierce removed Mr. Kennedy to make place for an erratic Frenchman, who published some sort of a commercial and statistical review, and who was forever clamoring for cotton and direct trade to Europe. When the present Secretary Thompson came in, and in view of the then approaching seventh and the coming eighth census, and desirous to have the aid and co-operation of a statistician who would do credit to himself and the administration, he, with the ready assent of the President, at once restored Mr. Kennedy. The large mass of tabling the returns are now daily arriving at the Department of the Interior; the Census Bureau will be organized by the 1st of September, and the work will then go waveyed out in such manner and to such results as were alluded to by the Herald.

WASHINGTON, August 29, 1860.

The Presidential Contest—The Lincolnites Alarmed—An Affectionate Coalition between the Opponents of Black Republicanism Desired in New York and Pennsylvania—The Herald Stirring up the Polecats in that State—Anxiety about the Position of the Herald—The Power of the Independent Press, &c., &c.

The Lincolnites here are thoroughly alarmed. The indications of union among their opponents in New York and Pennsylvania fill the managers with dismay. They based their hopes of triumph less on their own strength than on the differences of the conservatives; and since that foundation is entirely removed, confidence among them has given way to despair.

If the opposition to republicanism shall be unite our feet and efficacious in New York and Pennsylvania, so as to rescue those great States from Lincoln, that would be a desirable and "devoutly to be wished" consummation with the due more to the Senate than to any other influence, or all their influence combined. Some superfluous igno ramuses here are beginning at the eleventh hour to wake up to a comprehension of the fact that the fanatic, which they have been cajoling and trimmer, or pretending as hypocrites and cowardly, understands the crisis better than any of them, and are now among the foremost to acknowledge that he correctly has shown by the logic of events to be right, wisest, discreetest and best. From the stand taken by the *National Intelligencer* takes its cue in favor of conservative communications from the head of the Herald, while the friends of Breckinridge and Lane, who were at first disposed to doubt, feel daily more and more assured that the Herald's way of defeating Lincoln first, and adjusting the question of presidential preference among his conquerors afterwards, is the only sure way for the South. Thus, you see, common sense, tact and genuine patriotism are sure to be recognized in the end, even by partisans.

In comparison of the great issue which the people insist (with the Herald) is the only thing worth talking about, the contest for any grade minor worth thinking about, the contest for any grade minor worth thinking about, how contemptible are the sophistries again which the reviews heard of small politicians, "worth your time and care. What is the value of Kansas squatter sovereignty," or any other abstract question, compared to the value of the Union?

Notice, too, the spirit and temper in which these side questions are discussed. Personal abuse, foul-mouth recrimination and recrimination, the interchange of epithets never allowed by polished society, street fights and the dirtiest duels, characterize the contestants on one occasion—as the flinging of verbal dirt marks the less "civilized" and more foul-mouthed partisans of your own State—Wood, Webb, Greeley and Raymond.

The heart of the people, however, is sound at the core; and nothing is more animating to the true lover of free government than the prospect now so clear that those great business, working and truly virtuous classes, who habitually eschew politics as a trade, and despise and loathe political adventurers, are everywhere uprising to take public affairs into their own hands.

In this great work they will have, I am assured, the hearty sympathy, countenance and support of the President, who was himself brought into power by the people, and is less indebted to professional politicians than any other man who ever exercised the power of chief magistrate since the days of Washington.

Is the Herald the organ of John Bell? I have been asked a number of times by politicians from different parts of the Union, who, accustomed to think that newspapers must necessarily be grinding tunes according to order, have become that because the Herald was recommending the only rational policy—that of union of all the conservative elements in resistance to the Lincoln—therefore it was an organ of the Bell men. "Not only not," was my answer. The independent press constitutes a power in this country which no single politician, North, South, East or West, can pretend to rival.

The independent press, representing the people, makes and unmakes Presidents, cabinets, senators and representatives in the properly called lower house of Congress; it can hardly be much lower than it has been of late years.

Organs are at an end. The public hold them in utter contempt. It is enough, for instance, to destroy the effects of the very best writing among the people for them to know that it has been got up by order. The reason why the independent press is sought for is, that it is looking to the demands, wishes and determinations of the people, instead of being a mere echo of the politicians. Hence the public like, respect, listen to and follow it; while politicians have no terms too severe wherewith to express their hatred and abhorrence. I presume the Herald will be not dissatisfied to have the people on its side. The politicians may go where they choose. The Herald has never cared for them, and does not court their favor nor dread their hate.

The President is not expected to return before Thursday.

Saratoga Correspondence by a Southern Man.

UNITED STATES HOTEL, SARATOGA, August 27, 1860.

The Defeat of Lincoln is the One Thing Needful—All the Rest is Leather and Prunella, &c.

I am a Georgian, unknown to you, no politician, and do not wish my name in a newspaper. For it would be an ostentation to parade it, and would surprise my quiet home neighbors. I have read the Herald for years with interest. Gratitude and respect have been mingled in my feelings towards your sheet, for the consistent and reasonable policy it has invariably pursued with respect to the constitutional rights of the States. And at this time, as heretofore, you are most thoroughly right, as well in principle as in policy. I have just read Mr. Senator Hunter's speech (I am a friend of Breckinridge and Lane). I concur with him that the issue is with the South. If Mr. Lincoln is elected there is an end of the matter. Why any more to dispute? All Union men, every where in the South is New York, no matter what school or parties they may have been educated in or acted with heretofore, should pursue your advice, and go to work to defeat Lincoln. Your leading article of this morning expresses the common sense of the matter, and Mr Buchanan should at once enforce its views in New York. Mr. Brady should decline, and present himself at the Union meeting to be held in your city, and give then and there for his reason, that the defeat of Lincoln is the first object, without which all talk is idle. For if he be elected, when shall we be rid of the breed? After this defeat, if the friends of Breckinridge and Lane have the electoral vote (as Mr. Hunter thinks), why, the South settles the position which belongs to her in her own way. And so the North is exonerated from all responsibility. This, it strikes me, is the common sense and justice of the affair.

The Southerners here have had a good deal of talk about this, free we cannot understand the wheels and machinery of New York politics; but we feel that unless selfish men, for merely local purposes, keep up a division of the opposition to Lincoln, his defeat is sure. We honestly prefer any other man. I had no idea that a Breckinridge ticket would be run in the North only for the purpose of electing Lincoln. If that is to be its object—and clearly it seems so—it should be put to it, and promptly. I do not believe that the Union will be dissolved if Lincoln is elected; but a union of hearts will be gone. Leading merchants, men of the North will suffer dreadfully. Besides, the slave struggle will be renewed in all vigor, for Lincoln would crumble to pieces by the mere formation of his cabinet. The radicals and conservatives, who are bended together as republicans, cannot harmonize, and so the rent will begin afresh. The only sense of the matter is to beat Lincoln, and, if we can do no better, build up a new party. We are looking with great interest to the Union meeting you have convoked. We expect to see all the interests friendly to the South represented. We shall look at the list of names to the call with a strong desire to see who are our friends at this time of danger and wickedness. Way pursuits as who contribute so much to your prosperity in every way; who, like you, endeavor to mind our own business, and who only ask to be treated like brethren and gentlemen by you in our relations to the government. We planters are not responsible for the folly of our politicians, any more than you gentlemen are for the demagogism of yours. For once let us take the thing in our own hands, and settle it like sensible men. Excuse this hasty note, which I feel it due to you to write.

Our Nashville Correspondence.

NASHVILLE, TENN., August 24, 1860.

The Union of Parties Against Lincoln the Overwhelmer Movement of the Day, &c.

I have read with great pleasure the very patriotic and conservative article, headed "The Conservatives of the North—The Bell and Everett Organizations," which I find in the issue of your paper dated the 14th instant.

You seem to be fully alive to the great danger which impends over the Union from the election of Lincoln, should such a dire calamity overtake our country; and I am glad—truly glad—that you do see it, and so fully understand the imminence of the danger.

You give the Union party the credit of being able to carry a portion of the Southern States. As parties now stand (I mean Breckinridge and Douglas being still in the field), I honestly believe that Bell will carry every Southern State, except South Carolina, if it deserves the name of state. The enthusiasm of the South (I use the word advisedly) for the Union ticket is, I assure you, far in advance of what it was in 1840 for Harrison. The letters of Scott and Orr have had the effect of opening wide the eyes of thousands of the rank and file who were before blindly following the lead of their party without pausing for a moment whether they were being led aright, the report I have to write, like Job, I will.

simply to suggest to you the propriety of inaugurating a movement calculated to bring together the wisest heads and most conservative men of the nation, without regard to party, to meet together, in New York, if you please, and agree on some practicable plan of thwarting the designs of the disunionists of the South and the fanatics of the North.

P. S.—News has just reached me giving assurances that even Arkansas is for Breckinridge, or, at least, opposed to disunion.

Our Louisiana Correspondence.

ST. MARTINSVILLE, LA., August 25, 1860.

The Crisis and its Danger—What the Descendant of the First Faller Thinks—Necessity of the Election of a Conservative President to Save the Union from Disruption, &c.

In a late article published in the New York Herald you call upon Southern men to enlighten you as to the intentions of the Southern people in the event of republican success in the pending Presidential election, and appear surprised that more have not spoken and proclaimed the danger, if danger of revolution exists.

In answer to your call I am induced to write. My belief is that we are upon the eve of revolution, and that the election of Lincoln will inaugurate civil, or rather sectional, war.

For myself—a descendant of the first Fuller who ever set foot upon American soil—I have ever been in favor of the Union, and opposed to all sectional parties. In the last Presidential election I voted for Mr. Fillmore, and have in all preceding elections, since I cast my first vote in 1836, voted the whig or opposition ticket. This I mention that you may not believe that I am a free-soiler, in favor of disunion. But to come to the object of this letter.

The South has spoken by formal resolve, in conventions of all parties, by legislative resolve, and by the voice of her representatives in Congress, until she has despaired of reaching the Northern ear or ever convincing the masses of the North that in any event she would resist, by force, the war now waged upon Southern property. Her statesmen have become satisfied that it is useless to ask, but that it is for them to prepare the public mind for action.

For ten years the leaders of every political organization have declared that the South would secede and resist abolition or republican rule as destructive of their rights and liberties. In 1856 the Democratic platform in this State announced it to be the settled purpose of Louisiana to resist republicanism to the last resort, even to the disruption of the Union, and Governor Wickliffe was elected upon the pledge of resistance in the event of the election of a President pledged to the doctrines of the republican party.

Since then the feeling in favor of resistance has increased, and our citizens have measures in course to discuss the question, all agreeing that a dissolution of the Union would surely follow the election of a republican to the Presidency.

Among the leading politicians, those who now advocate the election of Mr. Douglas or Bell stand pre-eminently committed in favor of such action.

The leading Bell paper in the State, the *Crescent*, has done its full part to educate Louisianians into the belief that it is the duty of the South to extend herself out of the Union, and that we have nothing to hope for but in our ability to protect ourselves, and that we are only now paying the North to rob us.

I am sure that no change has taken place in the minds of the gentlemen who have so ably conducted that journal, and that although they support Mr. Bell, as soon as we have authentic news that Lincoln has carried every Northern state, the *Crescent* will sound the bugle calling upon the South to organize in her own defence. If you doubt the action of this State look to the action of our legislature last session, which, as soon as organized, without one opposing vote, appropriated twenty five thousand dollars to partly reimburse Virginia for the expense caused her by the republicans. If the sum had been required, a million of dollars would have been voted as readily.

Our Governor has represented the feelings of the citizens of the State when he ordered his plantation clothing and shoes from England, rather than to use those made in our Northern States.

Go from Louisiana into Alabama. That State has spoken officially, by passing "an act to provide for the election of delegates to a Southern Congress, giving them full and plenary powers, and making it the duty of the Governor to issue writs of election as soon as he ascertains that the republicans have succeeded." That action has been fully endorsed, and I do not believe that ten members of the Alabama Legislature would vote for its repeal.

There is the nucleus of organized resistance, which, when made, will compel the Southern people to take a stand; all of us will be compelled to decide for or against the movement; and it is my firm conviction that not one citizen in a thousand of Louisiana would draw the sword at the command of Lincoln against the men who would stand up in defence of their equal and constitutional rights.

Mr Burwell but candidly tells the truth without exaggeration; and although if you were to put the plain and simple question now in advance, not one man in fifty would declare for disunion without cause; but give that cause by the election of a President pledged to reorganize the Supreme Court, and only to appoint Judges who would decide that "all men are born free and equal," and the cause would be given that all our prominent men have upon the stump proclaimed that they would require secession as the only means of protection that would be left.

I fully understand that a great majority of the Northern people do not declare in favor of interfering with the institution of slavery in the States; yet they might as well, for all practical purposes; they elect men who declare their hostility, and, although they would not march an armed force to liberate slaves, they would perseveringly attack it under the forms of law, until in the end abolition will follow, unless revolution prevents it.

With the declaration that all men are free and equal, and an abolition judge that holds that doctrine to be the paramount law of the Union, with writs of habeas corpus to bring the slaves into court, what could we do but submit to be despoiled of our property or resist the "courts' decrees," which would be backed by the military power of the government?

We here are powerless for good; in the present crisis, if we declare it our purpose to protect our own rights out of the Union if necessary, we are denounced as fire-eaters, and the Northern people do not believe our reasoning if we counsel moderation; our words are repeated by republicans as proof that there is no danger, and that the cry of secession is not a bugbear to intimidate the conservative and timid in the North, and we really increase the danger; all that we can do is to await the event, and if there is conservatism enough in the North to defeat Lincoln, with any ticket pledged to protect persons and property in their rights when necessary, then we can put down every movement of a revolutionary character that imprudent men might attempt, but nothing less will enable us to turn the tide.

At the commencement of the revolution which separated the colonies from England and gave birth to our government, it was only the assertion of equal rights that brought on the conflict; and if the naked question of a dissolution of the Union existing between the two countries has been put, probably not one in fifty would have voted for dissolution; yet after the battle of Lexington an excitement was raised that never admitted of a compromise—and so it will be again. The smallest State can not be coerced without drawing Southern blood, shed in defence of Southern equality and rights, and the attempt would bring half a million of men in arms to their aid; and well do Yancey and Kett know the fact. To conclude, sir, these gentlemen are in earnest, and represent a party powerful enough to accomplish their object, if you play into their hands by electing Lincoln, which I fully believe they wish you to do.

If the Union men of the North are in the majority and earnestly desire to preserve the Union, they have a plain duty to perform—they must not elect abolitionists to represent them in Congress, or a President whose election is believed to be dangerous to the peace and permanence of the institutions of fifteen States.

It matters not whether it be Bell, Breckinridge or some other man who represents the conservative masses, he must be pledged to defend the constitutional rights of all the States. With such a man as President, a disunion party cannot disturb the peace of the country. Such a pledge will be irresistable.

Our Maryland Correspondence.

ANNAPOLIS, August 29, 1860.

The Union Sentiment in the Ascendant—Old Parties Crumbling Away, &c.

There has been an unusual quiet in this State thus far on the Presidential question. We are satisfied that the battle is to be fought in the North. It is conceded on all hands that the eight electoral votes of Maryland will be cast for Bell and Everett. A large number of "old whigs," who have, from the rise of the Know Nothings until the present, taken little or no part in politics, sometimes voting one way and sometimes the other, are now decidedly and warmly for the Union ticket. Among others may be named the Hon. Richard J. Bowie, ex member of Congress and whig candidate for Governor in 1859; Col. A. B. Davis, a very intelligent and influential gentleman, and former State Senator of Montgomery county; Hon. Alexander Randall, of this city, ex member of Congress, a gentleman universally respected; Hon. Wm. T. Goldsborough, whig candidate for Governor in 1847; Hon. Alexander Evans, elector on the Union ticket, who served two terms in Congress, and was quite prominent and useful there; Thos. Donaldson, Esq., a distinguished lawyer; A. R. Hagner, Esq., a Bell elector, a rising man, of great energy and talent; Henry W. Archer, Esq., a popular and able member of the bar; Hon. Ezekiel F. Chambers, formerly United States Senator and Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals of this state, and George A. Fearce, Esq., the bold and fearless editor of the mountain region. Many others might be mentioned, but these will suffice to show the direction of the current.

The members of the old Know Nothing or American party in the counties are in a mass for Bell and Everett. Among that class in Baltimore there is some dissatisfaction, which appears to be of a threadbare character. A few are not partial to the leaders of the Union movement in this State, and it must be admitted they have been in many respects very indiscreet. Others are out of joint because their favorite, the Hon. Winter Davis, has failed to get to take a decided stand. Others, again, feel strongly attracted to "Old Abe," because they regard his chances as the brightest, and they "care what they may devour." This last class is led by the Baltimore *Patriot*. But they are all growing small by degrees and beautifully less, and it may be safely predicted that nine tenths of the whole tribe will finally gravitate to Bell and Everett.

The fight between the Douglas and Breckinridge men goes briskly and bravely on. Breckinridge, of course, is in the ascendant; but the Douglas men are organizing with zeal and order. Their State Convention, which was held on Thursday last, though not numerously attended, composed quite an array of much old Jackson democrats. Breckinridge is generally popular in Maryland, but the odor of abolition which hangs about his party will be an unwinding sheet to any party upon which it is unfortunately thrown. He is a

dying cause. The union electoral ticket in New York is generally approved here.

From present indications the vote of Maryland will probably stand as follows:—Bell, 45,000; Breckinridge, 25,000; Douglas, 12,000; Lincoln, 1,000.

The course of the Herald is looked to here with much interest, and its suggestions at this crisis have no little weight. Even those who affect to denounce it are constrained to acknowledge that it is true to the constitutional rights of the South and the integrity of the Union.

Our Albany Correspondence.

ALBANY, August 31, 1860.

The Republicans Disheartened by the Union Against Them—The Corruptions and Schemes of the Lobby, &c.

The Lincolnites begin to be seized with fear and trembling at the growing evidences that defeat awaits them. They are beginning to comprehend that an entire change has come over the Presidential prospect. They begin to perceive that the union of the masses against the "irrepressible" sectionalists is general and hearty, and has put an entirely new face on affairs, particularly in this State where they have been dallying themselves with the prospect of an easy victory.

Having recently travelled through a large portion of this State, embracing many of the strongholds of republicanism, and having paid some attention to political talk, movements and doings, and being prepared by experience to estimate things by such "signs of the times," I will state what my conclusions are.

First, then, in spite of all that is said in the republican press to the contrary, the fact is that not only is there no excitement among the supporters of Lincoln, but there is a positive apathy among the republicans generally throughout the State, especially in their strong holds. Very few of the agencies which contributed to give Fremont his large vote in 1856 now exist. You will find nowhere the indexes to popular excitement there is nothing like enthusiasm. Very few of the representative leaders of the party are at work; what work there is being done is by the second rate local politicians who are expecting local nominations, and are consequently at work quite as much for themselves as for Lincoln. Literally nowhere do you find the pulpit proclaiming the merits of the rail splitter. There is not the slightest evidence of the working of the powerful religious sentiment which became aroused to such a high pitch in 1856 and which would of itself have given the State to Fremont, divided as parties then were. There is, indeed, a positive lack of interest among the republicans. I are compelled to believe, also, that there is more than ordinary significance to the fact of there being so many of the republican leaders—generally friends of Mr. Seward—absent from the canvass. Some of them have gone to Europe; others are travelling in the Canadas; others still are exploring the wilds and wildernesses of the West, while others, again, have no time to spare from the superintendence of the enlargement or construction of a dwelling, or some other home concern. I could give quite a list under each of these classes of reasons. I repeat that I cannot rid myself of the impression that there is particular significance in all this—an impression which is fast becoming to be extensively shared by close observers. Nor is this impression at all abated by the fact that Mr. Seward—who, it may be supposed, would be in the plot, if one there be, to defeat Lincoln, by a system of absenteeism—has taken the stump. On the contrary, the temper of Mr. Seward's speeches is well calculated to create the impression that many things are put in to them to do Mr Lincoln mischief. Certain it is, no enemy could do the republican candidate and cause harm so effectively as by insisting, as does Mr Seward, that Mr Lincoln stands on "irrepressible conflict," the "higher law" and ultra abolition ground. If Mr Seward means well to Mr Lincoln, then he has made shipwreck of all pretence to shrewdness; for not do the friends of Mr. Lincoln—I mean as contradistinguished from Seward men—hesitate to say that they believe Mr Seward means mischief, and that his speeches are a part of the play. The fact that the Senator is yet to fulfil engagements, and probably pronounce similar speeches, in Michigan, and in many other parts of the West, fills the real friends of Lincoln with the deepest apprehension. Of this I am entirely certain. Indeed, measures are in contemplation to head off Mr. Seward and keep him out of the canvass. The attempt, if undertaken, will scarcely succeed, as his engagements are numerous and positive. One thing is entirely certain: old Seward whigs and other peculiar supports of the Senator in this State are not at work. It was not so in 1856. At this period in that canvass the State had been nearly stumped over once. Thus far there have been few meetings, and those of an indifferent sort. I am persuaded that, as a general thing, the meetings have derived their interest mainly from local considerations, so far as the republicans are concerned.

As for the democrats, recent events—particularly the late union at Syracuse, combined with the result of the Southern elections, and, perhaps, as much as anything else, the high toned, decided and inspiring course of the Herald—have given an entirely new face to affairs. Life, activity and hope prevail now where there was naught but apathy before. The belief that the State can and will be taken from Lincoln has been magnetic in producing activity. The people only waited to have discovered to them a chance for defeating Lincoln by taking from him this State. The chance they now see plainly. It furnishes the motive. Discouragement has given place to hope and confidence. It is this that has filled the republican leaders with awe, that has caused the most candid of them, and the professed independents or neutral press, to confess, as many of them have done within the past few days, that a doubt has crept over the prospect in New York, and, consequently, over the whole Presidential prospect. Let men take courage. I speak what I know from personal observation. My words of encouragement are chosen with moderation.

The republicans will no doubt make a great effort to retain power in the Legislature the ensuing winter. They have sundry schemes to pass which have been matured and are in process of maturing by the leaders of the lobby. Probably the most gigantic scheme of the sort will be a law to take from the State treasury the sum of about $800,000, paid under the emigrant per capita tax several years ago, which law was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. This is no new scheme. Its heads have on several occasions been seen in the lobby. Six or eight years ago, something like $50,000 of this fund—that paid under protest—was legislated out of the State treasury. The larger sum of $800,000, which was not paid under protest, has for a long time been the object of an interest similar to that which a hungry bulldog is supposed to have for a steak hanging in the larder. The claims of the shippers, by whom the money was nominally paid, but actually by the emigrants at the rate of a dollar a head as a part of the passage money, have long since been assigned to representatives of the lobby. The whole thing is in a very few hands. It was about five years ago that a distinguished politician appeared at Albany as the representative of the owners of claims—most of them the shipowners and original payees—for the purpose of prosecuting the claim before the Legislature. After surveying the ground, and finding no place to begin the business, on account of the avenues to the Legislature being held and occupied by Weed's lobby, he finally applied to Weed himself, who, after looking over the matter, offered to put the claim through for fifty per cent of the whole amount, or four hundred thousand dollars. This was too stupendous, and the gentleman left in the deepest disgust, since which time he has ceased to have anything to do with the claim, and it has fallen into the hands of Weed and his lobby associates, who are laying in wait, after mature preparation, in the choice of the right sort of a Legislature, to make one grand assault on the State treasury.

The poverty of the State only has hitherto stayed the imperial burglars from the assault. The general prosperity of the country, which is swelling the revenues of the State, and the general letting up in financial affairs, have emboldened them to make the long meditated attempt, and as sure as a Legislature like that of last winter is again chosen, the attempt will be made, with what success, I leave every reader to form his own conclusions, from the past success of the lobby in schemes of plunder and spoliation.

Public sentiment has been awakened throughout the State to the highest pitch with reference to the lobby brokerage of Weed & Co. Every honest man feels himself disgraced by the shamelessness with which the business is carried on. Nevertheless, the chances are more than even that our next Legislature will be worse than the last.

Our Rochester Correspondence.

ROCHESTER, August 29, 1860.

Party Conventions of No Authority—Electors Bound by the Constitution and Their Oath to Select the Best Man for President, &c.

The thanks of all citizens not familiar with the details of our constitution are due to you for the admirable suggestions in this morning's paper, as to the proper course of action of the electors of President and Vice President.

Congressional caucuses and party conventions have heretofore so successfully usurped the functions conferred upon Presidential electors, that the people have been cajoled into believing the latter to be subservient to the former.

The public sense would be shocked at the idea of permanent party conventions sitting during the session of Congress and our Legislatures and dictating the course of action of the members; and yet obedience to such control would be no less treachery to the constitution and a violation of the official oath than for a Presidential elector to pledge himself to vote as might be prescribed by an irresponsible convention.

His special duty is to endeavor to elect a President and Vice President; he is extra oracle, save by his responsibility to his constituents and the obligation of his oath, and his judgment is wholly free as to the object of his choice.

The constitution provides that the only voice of the people shall be in the choice of electors, and it has not provided for the gathering of a convention, through drilled and packed primary meetings, to tell the electors who to vote for.

It is, of course, the first duty of the electors, as you suggest, to consult and seek to harmonize, and avoid if possible the election being transferred to the House.

As the Tribune and other party papers would have it, the electors are mere dummies to clap the behests of their representative conventions, and this is sound doctrine for the party which so admirably carried through its plans of corruption in last winter's Legislature, under the dragooning auspices of Weed, Little & Co. If they could divide the opposition, the negro agitation—which has tightened the chains of the slaves of the South and vagabonitized the free negro of the North—might be carried on until it culminated in the ruin of the whites, and they might confer upon the free negro of this State the right of voting by the amendment of the constitution to which that party stands pledged; but we, who do not believe in the irresponsible zealots, who believe the interests of the negro are secondary to those of the white man, and who think they are now pretty well cared for, who desire the peace and harmony of our distracted country, we prefer that the Presidential electors should exercise uncontrolled all the powers conferred on them by the constitution. Let the ever prostituted electors look to their oaths, and, having due consideration to the wishes of the party, vote for the man they think most fitted to be entrusted in irresponsible conventions, chosen, according to their own judgment, the best men upon whom they can agree for President and Vice President.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, August 28, 1860.

The Prospects of Parties in Massachusetts—Facts and Figures—Republicanism on the Wane—What Union may Effect, &c.

The total vote in round numbers—I have not the exact figures at hand—cast at the last Presidential election in Massachusetts was some 186,000; Fremont received 108,000, Buchanan 39,000, Fillmore 19,000. Unless a union electoral ticket should now be supported by the friends of Douglas and Bell, which is somewhat problematical, it is very probable that the aggregate vote in November will not exceed that of 1856, although there is unquestionably a force of new voters amounting to from 75,000 to 100,000. Should a union be perfected, a very large proportion of these would come out who now refuse to vote so long as the opposition to the republicans is divided.

There is evidently at the present time a great popular revolution going on against the dominant republican party, although it may not be made effective to defeat the choice of Lincoln electors. There can be little question that they will not receive a majority of the popular vote, however. The Bell party claim that they will be able to run up their 19,000 in 56 to 60,000. This they would perhaps be able to do with a union electoral ticket like that in New York. In the expectation that several of the Southern States will go for Bell, and that the election is finally to go to Congress, they will probably make a handsome show and run up to say 40,000. The Douglas men are sanguine that they will increase Buchanan's vote from 39,000 to at least 50,000, and some claim as high as 60,000. In those acquainted with the feeling in favor of the "Little Giant" in the rural districts 50,000 will seem not unreasonable. Here, then, are 90,000 of the 168,000 votes cast in 1856, which are pretty sure to be cast between the two opposing anti-republican parties against Lincoln, leaving him 78,000—a less of 30,000 on the Fremont vote.

That the election will show a result fully as unfavorable as this for Lincoln I think there can be little question. The signs of the times indicate that the republican party is about to resume its old "free soil" dimensions. The Kansas excitement and Sumner whipping, previous to the election of '56, gave Fremont thousands of votes which Bell and Douglas will not get. Besides this, the gross extravagance and mismanagement of our republican State government, the exposure of the corruptions of the State Legislature, the waste of $100,000 and more which is now being used by demagogues in investigating the pleuro pneumonia disease—a greater humbug even than bleeding Kansas and Burnham's whistles—are likely to come home like chickens to roost and plague the inventors. I should not be surprised to see Lincoln running as low as from 65,000 to 70,000. I know of country towns where Douglas will gain two for one on Buchanan's vote. The middle and western counties will show a great revolution in his favor, while Bell will find his chief strength in the cities and large towns of the eastern tier.

In the estimate of the Presidential vote which I have given above, no vote is given for Breckinridge. Since the result of the Missouri and Kentucky elections the party here has nearly faded away altogether. Put down the Breckinridge stock in trade for Massachusetts at three flags and five hundred men to attend caucuses and conventions, but who never vote at elections where there is any prospect of increasing the democratic vote to an unmanageable size.

As an indication of popular feeling towards Douglas, I may mention that no less than nine new papers have been started in the State since his nomination, all well patronized. Of these, one, the Worcester *Times*, is a daily; the Lowell Douglas *Democrat* is weekly, the Worcester *Democrat* regular weekly, and the remainder campaign papers. No newspapers have been commenced by either of the other parties.

Letter from Sam Houston Withdrawing From the Canvass.

AUSTIN, August 18, 1860.

TO MY FRIENDS IN THE UNITED STATES:

I withdraw my name from the list of candidates for the Presidency. I consented to its use because the call came from the spontaneous voices of respectable numbers of the people themselves, not because I desired the office. But the time has now arrived when it behooves every patriot to act for himself, and to do all in his power to save his country from a dangerous war of sectionalism and a reckless spirit of disunion, North and South. The responsibility now devolves upon the candidates themselves, whether called into the field by the untrammelled will of the people, or by the several conventions, which have unfortunately destroyed all harmony and threatened the stability of the Union itself. I cannot hesitate in my belief that it is the duty of the candidates to sacrifice their hopes upon the altar of our common country. It may be said that I yield least, as my chances of success are not so apparent. But with four opponents of the nominee of the Republican Convention in the field, the defeat of all is equally certain. In such a scramble the pleasure or mortification of getting more popular or fewer electoral votes would only be comparative, and neither candidate would stand relieved before the country from the charge of having recklessly tampered with the liberties of the best government in the world.

Let not those who rely upon carrying the election into the House of Representatives deceive themselves. The people have been taught to dread such a consummation. Neither four, three, nor two opponents to the republican candidate can carry it there; and if they could, the strife which is being engendered among the different factions, would render the result very uncertain. There must be an abandonment of specious dogmas, clap-trap platforms and electioneering cant; and a concentration upon a common principle, for a common purpose, or else the factions which, united, would constitute a majority, must make up their minds to the elevation of a sectional President, whose claim to success is based upon opposition to the institution, whose existence should never have been brought into national politics. A timely union of all national Union men to defeat this sectionalism would cut an end to discord and a clamorous tendency toward disunion.

I call upon my countrymen to forget me and to forget the claims and endorsements of all mere men, as well as the hopes of the mere office seekers who expect to profit by the elevation of one man or another. They should remember the farewell address of the Father of his Country, and the immortal sentiment of the hero of New Orleans and sage of the Hermitage, "the federal Union, it must be preserved." Could the spirits of Jackson, Clay and Webster be recalled to take part in the active transactions of the political arena, the Union would be preserved. Laboring through life to perpetuate its glory, they know its value and appreciated its blessings.

I am aware that it would be pleasing to my friends if different preferences as to the remaining candidates to have me express a choice for one or the other of them. But I trust that it will be seen from this and my previous letters that my sentiments rise above mere personal preference.

I desire to see a union of all national minded men to defeat dangerous sectionalism; and I leave my friends free to pursue whatever course may appear to them best at such a crisis.

I cannot conclude without returning my sincere thanks to those who have in various ways expressed a desire to see me occupy the distinguished position of President. But to remain longer in the field could be productive of no good, and it might be a stumbling block in the way of those who desire harmony. Very respectfully,

SAM HOUSTON.

COMMERCE OF NEW YORK.

Exports from the Port of New York to Foreign Ports for the Week Ending August 27, 1860.

DANISH WEST INDIES.

	Pkgs	Value		Pkgs.	Value.
Tea, pkgs	35	$590	Lard, lbs	2,004	$297
Hardware, cs	30	492	Rye flour, bbls	50	270
Boots & shoes	2	327	Candles, box	100	201
Domestics, bls	84	6,638	Pork, bbls	5	98
Furniture, box	3	150	Sugar, boxes	15	240
Flour, bbls	886	5,122	Trunks	119	417
Beef	20	100	Wool'n'e, pkgs	12	115
Fish, pkgs	25	227	Paint	14	177
Rope, coils	14	257	Saddlery	1	204
Rice, tcs	16	527	Leather, rolls	4	135
Butter, lbs	3,742	640	Shoes, cases	3	185
Guano, bbls	41	100	Miscellaneous	—	2,156
M tob'co, lbs	3,100	400			
Drugs, pkgs	112	222	Total		$20,429

BREMEN.

Rosin, bbls				250	$379

ROTTERDAM.

Staves	11,600	$700	Copper, cks	30	$10,000
Tobacco, hhds	20	1,050	Tobacco, cs	10	180
Staves, pkgs	28	600	Hoops, bdls	588	56
Pot ashes, bbls	14	1,428	Effects	2	100
Resin	550	988	Sp. turp, bbls	55	560
Oilcloth, cases	2	238	Hides	366	2,247
Manog'y, logs	472	1,770	Cr'wood, logs	863	5,000
Pot ashes, bbls	21	400	Miscellaneous	—	58
Mf. tob'o, lbs	4,800	576			
Total					$26,021

DUTCH WEST INDIES.

Corn, bush	2,640	$2,015	Rice, bbls	201	$2,282
Flour, bbls	1,745	10,885	Tobacco, kegs	71	3,812
Butter, lbs	11,080	1,900	Cordwood, bols	156	513
Powder, kgs	584	1,986	Pork	32	429
Beef, bbls	74	514	Ale, boxes	50	125
Leather, sides	192	295	Beans, bush	110	135
Candles, boxes	262	795	Potatoes, bbls	82	143
Domestics, bls	94	4,889	Onions	110	376
Hoop, coils	41	569	Tobacco, hhds	32	451
Leather, hds	4	240	Peas, bbls	50	208
Pimento	1	130	Codfish, qtls	53	265
Bread, pkgs	201	693	Soap, boxes	200	577
Rye flour, bbls	105	657	Oil, gallons	171	144
Military cloaks	32	2,080	Hats, cases	6	144
Muskets	1,000	2,500	Beans, bbls	67	93
Shot, kegs	20	160	Alcohol	11	217
Hay, bales	49	190	Tobacco, kegs	2	100
Sugar, boxes	16	408	Cartridges	15	300
Lamps, pkgs	2	102	Snuff, lbs	2,200	255
Carriages	3	1,100	Cordage, coils	109	1,718
Hose, cases	5	108	Miscellaneous	—	3,755
Lard, lbs	5,198	763			
Total					$47,016

NEW GRANADA.

Coal, tons	325	$1,875	Cheese, lbs	3,024	$444
Cutlery, cs	3	191	Beans, bbls	125	745
Lard, lbs	2,850	432	Molasses	44	715
Sugar, hhds	8	161	Vinegar	35	200
Domestics, cs	63	7,257	Whiskey	93	1,526
Hatchets	10	80	Clothing, pkgs	247	16,037
Rope, bales	4	115	Shoes, bxs	64	1,538
Anchors	25	81	M tobacco, cs	1,980	1,145
Oil, gals	77	72	Soap, box	67	201
Soap, box	50	65	Mustard	75	276
Pumps	2	200	Pepper	75	167
Cypress, cs	1	84	Candles	209	1,539
Beef, bbls	701	10,192	Hoops, pkgs	84	840
Tar	449	9,716	Gas fixtures	51	972
Rosin	37	435	Wax	1	250
Turpentine, bbls	61	993	Snow	1	500
Pickles, cs	115	403	Dry fish, bbls	21	157
Sugar, hhds	71	1,124	Miscellaneous	—	1,800