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Howard University--Influence of Modern Law.

The Law School of Howard University closed its second year on Friday week, as we have previously noticed, and the papers read by the students are spoken of as of the highest order of culture. The lawyers present, amongst whom were Horace Maynard, of Tennessee, and A. G. Riddle, formerly of Ohio, "were surprised at the decorum of the Saxon and the severity of the logic." In order that our readers may judge of the character of these papers, each of the students being limited to fifteen minutes, we publish the following delivered by William E. Matthews, a regular contributer to to the NEW ERA, as an average specimen of the ability and scholarship displayed by the students upon this occasion :—

THE LIBERALIZING INFLUENCE OF MODERN LAW.

The age in which we live is to be designated by none of the titles the old poets and philosophers were wont to give. It is not the age of wood, nor of iron, nor of brass, silver or gold. It is not to be considered a material age at all, but recognizing the silent but none the less potent influences of the spiritual, let it be called rather the human age—the epoch in which the human is being exalted when the divine within man is being discovered and respected as never before.

There is no truer mirror of a people's civilization than its laws. Let the statue books of a nation be given, and its progress in Christianity, culture and morals are easily determined. Hope is inspired, our faith in the future is assured as we contemplate the progress that is being made in all matters pertaining to the development and weal of mankind. But no where can the merciful character of our Christian civilization be seen more clearly or felt more beneficently than in the reforms which are manifesting themselves in the various departments of law.

Mercy with her sweetest, tenderest influences is permeating all National Codes, and by the incorporation of its own lovely attributes is removing therefrom much that is harsh and severe.

Never was so much attention given to the intricate and perplexing problems covered under the general name Social Science as now, the influence of man upon man in social and corporate action, in national life. Never were popular rights so well defined, so thoroughly understood and so fully respected as now. The world over, wherever oppression exists, a struggle is now pending. Priestcraft and kingcraft on the one side, the rights of the people on the other, here smouldering and burning unseen, as in the case of Ireland against England, there breaking out in all the fury of noble and protracted endeavor; as in the cases of Crete against Turkey, and Cuba against Spain. The old fuedal idea of centralization is tottering and falling in the feebleness of its expiring breath, while everywhere the victims of the governments of the few are marshalling their forces to wrest these benefits for the good of the many. "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people," seems the grand principle which is moving the great pulse of the world, and everywhere—

"Where'er a stream is gushing,
Where'er a wind is rushing,
The welcome sound is heard
Of man to freedman calling,
Of broken fetters falling,
And like the carol of a cageless bird
The bursting shout of freedom's rallying word."

Nor are we simply becoming disenthralled from a mere physical bondage, but a more liberalizing influence is being felt in mind and heart, in literature, science, and religion. Old superstitious dogmas and oppressions—the outgrowth of barbarous times—are being uprooted through the influence and power of liberal science and culture.

As a traveler, dust-covered and weary, at the close of a day's journey, can best tell the distance he has passed over by looking from some steep eminence away in the dim distance to the starting point of the morning, so, in order to discern the progress that has been made in law reform, is for us not to look forward to what is yet to be accomplished, but mounting the heights of our vantage ground of to-day, look back upon the cruelties, the weaknesses, the blunders and blots of the past.

It is our business to consider the criminal code of the past, as contrasted with that of the present, and there is no feature in which the ages present a more marked difference. No figure of speech is used when it is said that the ancient codes were written in blood. The codes of the middle ages were but little better, and it was left to our own land and time to introduce into our statutes the benign influence of mercy. Our criminal code is illumined all through with the tender influences of mildness, compassion, and love; and so the author is right who says that, in their anxiety to protect the life, liberty, and happiness of the community, Legislatures have ceased to be altogether unmindful of the life, health, and comfort of the offenders themselves.

Let us give a few facts which will best illustrate the spirit of the ancient code. Torture was used as a judicial instrument for extracting evidence from unwilling witnesses or confessions from prisoners. Slaves were always examined by torture in ancient Athens, while even under the Roman Republic it flourished in the full tide of its power, until it was talked to shame by Cicero and a few other eminent Romans. It has received ecclesiastical sanction, and ministers of the cross have had their hands, which should have been engaged in upholding the snow-white banner of the Prince of Peace, dyed deep in the blood of the victims of their bigotry and spleen. Pope Innocent IV. ordered the civil magistrates to put to the most excruciating torture all persons accused of heresy, to elicit confessions from them, while we are all familiar with the long and bloody agony of the Inquisition, in which so many martyrs to God and their conscience were sent into eternity from faggot, stake, and rack.

Men were arrested under the old code and lodged in dungeons without knowing the nature or cause of the complaint against them, and there, in their loathsome tomb, with foul air and deprived of food, they would lie and rot before trial would come. But even should a trial be given them, what a farce and mockery it would prove. No witness could testify in their behalf, counsel was denied, and however innocent, the chance of acquittal was small indeed. Thanks to our civilization, men are now tried by a jury of their peers. No person can be put upon trial without having an indictment duly found containing the specific offences charged, a copy of which he may demand. He has the benefit of counsel, and not only may witnesses testify in his behalf, but he may use a compulsive process to bring them into court. In the olden time he was considered guilty until he proved himself innocent. Now the reverse is true. He is entitled to a speedy trial; he is not required to give evidence against himself, and no conviction shall work corruption of blood. It was a barbarous doctrine of the old English law that a conviction of any of the graver offences was followed by attaint of blood, so that the children of a convict could neither inherit property nor hold any office of profit or trust from the ancestor. Thus was the guilt of the parent inflicted on the third and fourth generation. No Star Chambers are allowed. Trials must be in public, and if a person be illegally confined he may secure a release upon the invaluable writ of *habeas corpus*. Thus the law is made the protection of liberties and rights.

The whole question of prison discipline has been reduced to a science. Prisons are no longer loathsome dungeons, reeking with filth, steeped in the blackness of darkness and abounding with creeping things, but are stately mansions, built upon the most modern and approved plans. Melancholy no longer holds the sceptre and drives mad those which disease fails to claim, but the busy hum of industry is heard, the school and the chapel do their appropriate work, and all the merciful appliance of our Christian age and civilization are used to reform and not degrade the inmates, so that when his term of confinement expires, and he again goes into the world, he goes not more hardened and brutalized than when he entered, but armed with a trade and a Christian education, and frequently with money in his pocket, the product of extra labor, he not unfrequently becomes an intelligent, upright and useful member of society.

Thus is the little leaven of Christianity given to the world eighteen hundred years ago manifesting itself; thus are the power and majesty of the Divine law permeating all human codes and thus are the potent influences of the Gospel removing all asperities and hates, and ushering in the newer and better era, distinguished for its mercy, love and compassion

Prospect of a War in Europe.

The selection of Prince LEOPOLD, a German, assumed to be too friendly to Prussia, as King of Spain, and his acceptance of the empty honor, has created the wildest excitement in France, and bids fair to lead to a war between France and Spain and Prussia. Nothing but the refusal of the Spanish Cortes to confirm Gen. PRIM's selection of LEOPOLD, or LEOPOLD's reconsideration of his acceptance of the Spanish crown, we think, can prevent war. NAPOLEON has declared that he will not permit a Prince so unfriendly to France to ascend the Spanish throne. But two or three days will decide the question. We give below the latest news from France in regard to the question :

ENGLAND.

LONDON, July 10.—The negotiations between Paris and Ems are reported to be unsatisfactory. Prussia, declaring her innocence of intrigue, refuses to interfere with the candidacy of Prince Hohenzollern, on the ground that she has neither right, power, nor inclination to dictate to Spain or Prince Leopold.

FRANCE.

PARIS, July 10—5 P. M.—The excitement on the Bourse is unabated. Rentes continue to decline, and are now quoted at 60 francs, 25 centimes—a falling off of 27 centimes from the last quotations of yesterday.

PARIS, July 10—6 P. M.—While negotiations are going on with great activity, the French Government makes no attempt to conceal its warlike preparations. The Emperor remains at St. Cloud, and it is announced that he will not go to the Mineral Springs. Couriers arrive at the palace all day long and far into the night. The Emperor opens all the dispatches himself, and directs or dictates answers.

The journals say that Marshal McMahon has been ordered to be ready to move at the first signal; and orders have been sent to the commandant at Cherbourg to prepare a fleet of transports for 30,000 troops. A large number of army and navy officers who were in Paris on leave, have disappeared, having doubtless been quietly ordered to their posts.

The editor of the literary journal *Gaurouche* has been sentenced to four months' imprisonment and 6,000 francs fine for a violation of the press laws, and an offense against the Emperor.

PARIS, July 10.—A large party in France counsel a suspension of action until the meeting of the Spanish Cortes. The general belief is that the Emperor is determined to fight, and will move instantly, without giving Prussia time for preparation. It is said that Napoleon would prefer to meet the issue now rather than after Prince Leopold is elected by the Spanish people, especially as he bases the claims of his own dynasty on the popular vote.

There was a rumor to-day that the Prince of Hohenzollern has settled the whole question by withdrawing his acceptance of Prim's offer, but the *Constitutionnel* in an extra contradicts the rumor, and adds the following comments; "The Prussian journals say their Government has been a stranger to the candidacy of the Prince. If this were so, the Prussian Government should now prove its sincerity by forcing the Prince to renounce the offer. The Prince being under the authority of the King of Prussia, the latter thus has the peace of Europe in his hands. The answer of Prussia is expected to night or to-morrow. If it be unsatisfactory, the necessary measures to enforce, *vi et armis*. the rights of France will immediately be taken. Already the Government is preparing for such an emergency."

A telegram from Ems says Count Benedetti, the French Ambassador, before his interview with King William, saw Baron Von Wirther, the Prussian Ambassador at Paris, who told him that the Government of Prussia was profoundly surprised at the attitude of France. It could not comprehend this haste to assume a hostile attitude, except as a verification of the belief that France had for a long time desired war on the Rhine.

A Vienna dispatch states that the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs received with coldness the communication from Spain relative to the candidature of Prince Leopold, and, in his reply to the Spanish Minister, dwelt upon the ill effect such a surprise could not but produce.

Belgian journals pronounce a calumny the statement that the King of the Belgians had any part in procuring the offer of Prim, or inducing its acceptance.

The *Gaulois* has a report that Prince Napoleon has gone to Copenhagen to make propositions for an alliance with Denmark and Sweden.

PARIS, July 10—10 P. M.—The excitement on the Bourse at this hour is intense. Rentes have fallen to 67 francs 90 centimes. It is reported that the Government will wait for a reply from Prussia till Monday evening.

SPAIN.

MADRID, July 10.—Regent Serrano has deferred his intended departure from Madrid.

It is reported that the Unionists in the Cortes will vote against the Prince of Hohenzollern, unless the question becomes an international one.

The *Imparcial* publishes an account of an interview between Minister Sagosta and Baron Mercier, the French Ambassador. Senor Sagosta complained that France opposed all the nominations for the throne except that of the Prince of Asturias. He denied that Spain was under the influence of Prussia, and regretted the susceptibility of the French Government.

The report published in the Paris *Gaulois*, that Espartero had pronounced against Hohenzollern and called on his partisans to support the Prince of Asturias, is utterly false. This contradiction is given on the best authority.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Rev. Charles A. Smythe, who was expelled from the pulpit of a Presbyterian church because of unclerical fondness for gin and milk, is lecturing in New York on temperance as opposed to teetotalism.

A Franciscan monk named Hotyl, who has written in defense of Dr. Dollinger, has been summoned to Rome by order of his superior *"ad recreandum animum,"* and is now recreating himself in a narrow cell, deprived of books, thus enjoying a Roman summer.

The Cumberland Presbyterians report 25 synods, 100 presbyteries, 2,000 churches, 1,400 ministers, and 150,000 communicants, of whom 10,000 were added the past year. It will be seen that these round numbers are only rough estimates.

The Bishop of New York, in accordance with the wish of the other four Episcopal bishops of the state, will soon issue a call for a meeting next October to organize the Federate Council authorized by the late General Convention and so bitterly opposed by the Evangelicals.

A cable dispatch informs the *Methodist* that by a vote of 39 the Germany and Switzerland Conference has accepted lay delegation. This makes the total affirmative of the ministerial vote 4,946, and the nagative 1,589, giving the measure 45 more votes than the necessary three-fourths. Had 12 of the negative votes been cast as affirmative the measure would have been lost. Of the 8,830 preachers, 6,535 voted.

The statement having been generally published that there are but forty ministers of all denominations in Texas engaged actively in their profession, a Texas paper says there are eighty or ninety such Baptist ministers, probably as many Methodist, and nearly forty of other denominations, exclusively engaged in ministerial work.

The education question is now the all-absorbing topic of interest in England. The Dissenters have united against Mr. Foster's bill, as allowing denominational instruction in schools supported by the public rates. There is no special opposition to the reading of the Bible in the schools, and that question has not yet arisen.

The Synod of the Vaudois Church has just held its sittings at Turin. The report of the Committee of Evangelization states that the Vaudois Church has to-day in Italy 30 missionary stations without country off-shoots. The number of those who frequent these little churches averages 3,330, and the communicants are 1,910. The commission employs 20 pastors, 15 evangelists, and 54 schoolmasters.

The Maine Congregational Conference, meeting in Yarmouth, discussed Pastorates and Stated Supplies and the Bible in Schools. A committee on the question of the Washburn Will and the Bible Society reported the Bible Society in the right. About a dozen revivals were reported, 843 accessions to the 242 churches, 19,426 members, being an increase of 236, 59 pastors, 112 stated supplies, and 72 vacant churches.

Mr. Spurgeon is quite disposed to forgive the Evangelical Alliance for the rough handling he received on the occasion of his sermon against some Episcopal pretensions. At the meeting of the Baptist Union he said "he was quite satisfied with the Evangelical Alliance ignoring the action of their secretary; perhaps it saved them another step which they might have had to take." He proposed they should appoint two delegates to America, and one Open Communion and one Close Communion Baptist were chosen.

The Orthodox rabbis of Germany, under the lead of Dr. Hirsch, of Frankfort, have published a document depriving of their ecclesiastical functions "all rabbis, preachers, or other Israelites who consecrate a marriage forbidden by biblical or talmudical precept; those who pretend that one or the other of these precepts is no longer obligatory; those, finally, who take part in an assemblage wherein the validity of these laws is brought into question."

The Presbyterian synods throughout the country have been at work the last few weeks dividing themselves anew into presbyteries. New York city is all consolidated into a single presbytery, while Philadelphia is split into two and a fraction. The Utica Synod had before it a proposition welcoming to membership the Congregational churches still in relation with its presbyteries; but the resolution was defeated on the ground that the utterance of the General Assembly on this matter was sufficient.

The discussion on infalibility in the Council begun June 16th, the last day of the 24th year of Pius Ninth's pontificate. It was impossible to complete the discussion in time for the announcement of the dogma by the Pope on St. Peter's Day, June 29th, as 80 bishops gave notice of their intentions to speak. On last Saturday the preface and the two first chapters of the schema on infalibility were adopted. It is thought that the debate will close this week, though it may be prolonged.

The committee of the Presbyterian Church engaged in the task of making the Five million Fund a success are actively at work, under the direction of Dr. Ellingwood. They propose 1,000,000 free will offerings of ten cents each per week, which will give the entire amount in a year. Organizations are to be established in each church, and each presbytery is to put the subject on its docket and see that the plan is thoroughly carried out by its churches. The objects to be aided are institutions of learning in our own and foreign countries, churchbuildings and manses, institutions for the Freedmen, and a sustentation fund.

On April 23d Rev. W. M. Pushon, chairman of the Wesleyan Church of Canada, addressed an official letter to Sir Geo. E. Cartier, minister of militia, asking that a Wesleyan minister might be appointed as chaplain for the Methodists among the troops of the Red River Expedition. A very curt answer was received, and no indication given that the request would be even considered. This matter has brought out considerable discussion in Canada on the question of chaplaincies. Sir Geo. E. Cartier, who is a Roman Catholic, and has been pardoned his sin of once accompanying the Queen to church, has so arranged the chaplaincies in Canada that, while but 4,000 of the 43,000 volunteers are Romanists, they have 12 chaplains, while the Protestants have but one temporary chaplain.

The lay-delegation question in the Methodist Church is certainly decided. The unanimous vote of the Germany and Switzerland Conference puts its three-fourths majority beyond all possibility of cavil And when three-fourths of the ministers of the church have voted for it, those who count on defeating by any move in the next General Conference will surely be disappointed. The lay-delegation men, having been once deceived, ought to take the matter into their own hands now; and, when plausible compromises and modifications for the sake of peace are offered, we trust they will have the good sense to remind their opponents of the saying about the spreading of the net in vain in sight of any bird.

The summary in Evangelical Christendom of the receipts of the religious societies of Great Britain for 1869–'70 embraces 50 societies, with an aggregate income of $5,882,445, not including $400,000 of sales of the Bible Society. The Foreign Missionary societies received $2,861,735; Colonial and Jewish Missions, $585,015; Home Missions, $1,596,145; religious educational societies, $281,995; the tract societies, $147,005; and the Bible Society (including sales), $911,325. The Observer contains a summary of the contributions received the past year by our American benevolent societies. We learn from it that the total receipts, counting in $1,550,000 sales by the Bible and Tract Societies, of forty societies, were $6,412,988. Leaving out sales, we find the largest report from the combined Home and Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which received $618,227; then the American Board's Foreign Mission received $525,215, the American Missionary Association $367,896, the Bible Society $314,270, the American Home Missionary Society $283,103, the O. S. Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions $271,941. Besides these sums, the Union Theological Seminary has received $500,000, and other colleges and hospitals a very large amount. The aggregate receipts of fifty English benevolent societies last year were $5,982,445.

A Letter by Frederick Douglass.

In a speech delivered at the celebration of the fifteenth amendment, in Philadelphia, Frederick Douglass gate no little offense to some of his colored brethren by remarks which they construed as "dangerous," in that they were not sufficiently respectful to the church. A meeting of those aggrieved was held in Bethel church (colored,) at which condemnatory resolutions were adopted and sent to the newspapers for publication. Mr. Douglass replied to his accusers through the Philadelphia *Press*, and from that reply we copy as follows :

Trials for heresy in our day and country, where liberty of thought and speech are conceded to the humblest member of society, are usually deemed farcical; if not harmless. It was once, indeed, a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the church. History proves that there is no malice and cruelty so bitter and unrelenting as that malice and cruelty which clothes itself in saintly robes, and professes to be "contending for the faith once delivered to the saints." A few centuries ago the weapons of religion against heresy were carnal enough. "Cord and steel," "fire and sword," "halter and rack," were the chosen instruments. Thanks, not to faith, but to the enlightenment of the age and the growth of rational ideas among men, to differ with the church to-day does not bring torture and physical death. The worst that bigotry can now do is to assail reputation and fill the mouths of the vulgar crowd with meaningless epithets. There is no doubt that religious malice is the same to-day as three hundred years ago. It would bite, sting, and devour now, as then, if it only had the power. It would crush living flesh to-day with the same sanctimonious ferocity as it does reputation. The will to do is manifest; the power only is wanting. The church and the street are about the same in point of authority and in point of excellence. Both are ever on the side of popular wrong, and both are against unpopular right. The condemnations, maledictions, and denunciations of the church, whether Bethel or St. Peter's, to the outside world, have no more significance than the vulgar curses of the crowd. It may be said of Bethel as of other religious bodies, they are "naught but men and women," and no wiser or better than other men and women.

Without consulting the confused, incoherent, illogical, and strangely-worded resolutions, so characteristic of Bethel, by which the attempt is made to degrade me among the colored people, I will here give the substance of what I did say on the evening of the 29th of April, in Horticultural Hall, and which I take to be the very head and front of my offending.

I regarded, received, and treated the deliverance of the colored people of this country from bondage, their elevation to citizenship, and enfranchisement under the Fifteenth Amendment, not as a miracle, nor due to any special interposition of Divine Providence but as resulting from the certain operation of natural causes inherent in the very constitution of human nature. As slavery was created by human selfishness, so slavery was abolished by human justice, wisdom, benevolence. Such was my view, and such is the "dangerous sentiment" to which I gave utterance. Had I come out with some "ram'shorn" story, some dream or vision, or presumptuous assertion as to the ways of Divine Providence, about which men speculate forever and settle nothing, I might have escaped the censures of my Bethel brothers, and perhaps passed along for a very pious man. If I had said that God had abolished slavery in answer to the prayers of the American Church and pulpit, a body which has done more to protect slavery and give it respectability than all other influences combined; if I had said that foremost among the instrumentalities which gave liberty to the American bondman were the sermons and prayers of "Big Bethel," a church which closed it doors against abolition in the hour of its extremest need, I should have spoken against fact, but should have received a cheering amen from Bishop Campbell. I, however, professed no knowledge of the agency of prayer in the great revolution which has taken place; but spoken simply of the natural moral forces of human society, and their tendency to the noble, the true, and the good. I spoke only as a reformer, understanding the wisdom of adapting means to ends, and believing, if this sincursed earth is ever to be made better, it is to be made so by faithful exertion and wise application of human energies. Moral, not less than physical, evils are under the control of man. When anything is to be done in this world, some denizen of this world has got to do it, or it will go undone. We are under inexorable law, unchangeable and eternal, and "whatever a man soweth that shall he reap." The American people violated the law of justice, love, and liberty; and in due time that law, written in the human soul, vindicated itself, through war, blood, and pestilence.

But why could I not join in the loud hallelujahs and thanksgiving on the 26th of April, and thus have escaped the dreadful censures which has since been heaped upon me? I will tell you. Because I would not stultify myself. During the forty years of moral effort to overthrow slavery in this country, that system, with all its hell-black horrors and crimes, found no more secure shelter anywhere than amid the popolar religious cant of the day. One honest Abolitionist was a greater terror to slaveholders than whole acres of camp-meeting preachers shouting glory to God.

Years ago, when denouncing the pro-slavery attitude of the church (the Bethel among the rest, for it too was in the South, preaching, "Servants, obey your masters!") it was predicted that the day would come when the churches of this country would claim the honor of abolishing slavery. They already do so. Knowing their time-serving and cowardly subserviency to slavery, and knowing Bethel to be like unto the rest, I could give no countenance to its pretensions. Hence I declare, what I believe the literal truth, that the abolition of slavery is due to natural causes.

Again, if we may venture upon such a question, admit, if we must, that God abolished slavery (and we must concede that He did that important work only as he does all things else) one act of His must be esteemed to be as wise and as beneficial as another. A finite creature has no right to discriminate between the acts of an infinite God. Do not all His acts accord with an infinite purpose? And is not this purpose eternally right? Who shall therefore sit in judgment upon the works of God? Unless we are prepared for this, have we not the same duty to thank God for slavery as for the abolition of slavery? Our divines, North and South, a few years ago, told us that slavery was of Divine appointment. Did "Big Bethel" then thank God for slavery? Did she call upon the slave in his chains to praise the Lord for the bloody lash that tore his quivering flesh? Why not, if God established slavery? If we assume to thank God for one of His acts, we must thank Him for all.

Very evidently, Mr. Editor, my Bethel brethren have opened up a large subject—far too large, I fear, for the limits of your paper, if not for the limits of Bethel intellect and theological learning. Being no theologian myself, I confine my public utterances to things more comprehensible. When a wrong thing has been done, I know that men have done it, and that somebody is to blame for it. I know, too, that when a right thing has been done somebody has done it—somebody to whom praise and blame are of some consequence, and that awarding or withholding it may in some degree affect the conduct of other responsible beings for good. The way is clear to do this, since it is natural, and involves no doubt, darkness, nor contradiction. If I am wrong in this, I shall be very glad to be set right, and will even return thanks to my Bethel brethren for enlightenment. But I warn them that hard names, threats, and denunciations, even though they should drive me outside their ranks and take from me the title of "leader of the colored people"—a title I never assumed and do not claim—will only leave me just where I am.

From the Detroit Post.

Protective Tariff.

The Amounts of our Imports—Getting our Manufacturing Done Abroad—Tendency of the Free Press Policy.

The value of the commodities imported during the year ending June 30, 1869, was $437,026,541. The value of tea, coffee, and spices imported during the same period was $36,593,618, and as these articles are not produced in the United States, and as they are indispensable, being used daily by the great mass of our people, for the purpose of this article we will deduct the amount imported from the total imports, leaving the total value of all other commodities imported $400,432,923 (gold value.) The commodities imported consist chiefly of manufactures of wool, cotton, silk, iron, steel, lead, leather, chemicals, flax and wool (furniture), all of which we can with equal labor produce in the United States, and it has been estimated that at least 1,000,000 of men, women and children are now employed in England and other foreign countries in the work of manufacturing the articles above mentioned for the people of the United States. The hands require food, and it will be perceived that at a fair estimate the value of food consumed by that number of laborers will greatly exceed the total value of all the breadstuffs and provisions which we exported to foreign countries during the same year. We exported as follows :

Breadstuffs	$43,415,203
Provisions	31,094,279
Total	$74,509,482

It has been estimated by statisticans that American laboringmen, taking the average, expend yearly for food of various kinds $120 per capita. On that estimate the laborers now employed doing our work in other countries would consumes food to the value of $120,000,000 annually, provided they were employed within the United States making the same articles they are now producing for our use in Europe. But for greater certainty let another estimate be considered. German statisticians estimate that, taking the entire range of manufacturing industries, 25 per cent. of the whole value of the product represents the food consumed by the laborers in the execution of the work. This estimate is endorsed by Dr. Elder and other American authorities; but it must be considered too low when applied to this country, where laborers generally are better conditioned, get better compensation and consume more freely. I think 30 per cent. will be considered a fair estimate, for it is well known that you can hire workmen "with board" for at least one-third less wages than you can where the laborer boards himself.

At this estimate, if we are to-day employing 1,000,000 of laborers to do our work in other countries, and if the value of the commodities produced by that labor be $400,432,923, the value of the food consumed by the same number of laborers in the United States would be $120,129,876, being $45,620,394 more than the total value of food exported by the United States during the year 1869.

It appears then that, notwithstanding the boast of the free traders as to our being "the exporters of breadstuffs," we are in fact importing more food than any nation in the world. This becomes, therefore, an important question for our farmers to consider. Would it not be desirable, and for our interests, to secure the market at home for the vast amounts which our European laborers require? And should we not favor such legislation as will encourage the immigration of the skilled artizans and laborers, as well as the transfer to our country of the capital and machinery now in operation, and kept in operation in Europe to supply the American market with goods, wares, and merchandise? It is a settled principle of political economy that the producer and consumer are most properous when placed side by side, and every farmer realizes the substantial benefit of the shop and factory located near the farm. On the other hand, how exhaustive and suicidal the work of raising grain for shipment 4,000 miles, losing six bushels in every seven in the expense of transportation, to feed about one-half of the laborers in Europe, which we are foolish enough to employ there to do our work. Can we prosper, grow rapidly, develop our resources, diversify our industries, and employ our labor profitably and advantageously by adopting the friendly advice of our rivals in Europe, which would secure to them "the workshop of the world," and to us that other work fit only for the barbarians and slaves—the raising of raw products for distant and unfavorable markets; or, in other words, selling whole skins for sixpence and buying back the tails for a shilling?"

England has displayed immoderate zeal in her efforts to seduce the people of this country from the policy of "protection to American labor," under which we have prospered beyond all precedent since the passage of the tariff of 1861, but our farmers fail to see any advantage in the change in our revenue system proposed and urged with so much feeling by the capitalists and manufacturers of Europe.

Free trade is the "forlorn hope" to them no doubt; but carried into operation it would deal death and destruction to American labor and the general prosperity which the full employment of our people, at decent compensation, always secures for every class of workers in our broad land.

Let us resist with a determination becoming a free, self-governed people, every foreign aggression upon our industrial system, as well as upon our political institutions. It is always safe, if not expedient, to "let well enough alone;" and I think it will be considered eminently wise to adhere to the "protective policy" which received the sanction of the immortal Lincoln, and under which great manufacturing industries have grown up in every part of the country, enabling the farmer to plow more for a "home market," with free consumers and liberal buyers at his door, consuming not only the productions of the field and forest, but the garden, the orchard, and the dairy as well. MOSES W. FIELD.

DETROIT, July 5, 1870.

The Chinese Labor Question.

Views of John Stuart Mill, the Economist.

AVIGNON, France, Oct. 23, 1869.

DEAR SIR: The subject on which you have asked my opinion involves two of the most difficult and embarrassing questions of political morality—the extent and limits of the right of those who have first taken possession of an unoccupied portion of the earth's surface to exclude the remainder of mankind from inhabiting it, and the means which can be legitimately used by the more improved branches of human species to protect themselves from being hurtfully encroached upon by those of a lower grade in civilization. The Chinese immigration into America raises both these questions. To furnish a general answer to either of them would be a most arduous undertaking.

Concerning the purely economical view of the subject, I entirely agree with you, and it could hardly be better stated and argued than it is in the article in the New York *Tribune*. That the Chinese immigration, if it attain great dimensions, must be economically injurious to the mass of the present population; that it must diminish their wages, and reduce them to a lower state of physical comfort and well-being, I have no manner of doubt. Nothing can be more fallacious than the attempts to make out that thus to lower wages is the way to raise them, or that there is any compensation, in any economical point of view, to those whose labor is displaced, or who are obliged to work for a greatly reduced remuneration. On general principles this state of things, were it sure to continue, would justify the exclusion of the immigrants, on the ground that with their habits in respect to population, only a temporary good is done to the Chinese people by admitting part of their surplus numbers, while a permanet harm is done in a more civilized and improved portion of mankind.

But there is much also to be said on the other side. Is it justifiable to assume that the character and habits of the Chinese are unsusceptible of improvement? The institutions of the United States are the most potent means that have yet existed of spreading the most important elements of civilization down to the poorest and most ignorant of the laboring masses. If every Chinese child were compulsorily brought under your school system, or under a still more effective one, if possible, and kept under it for a sufficient number of years, would not the Chinese population be in time raised to the level of the American? I believe, indeed, that hitherto the number of Chinese born in America has not been very great; but so long as this is the case, so long (that is) as the Chinese do not come in families and settle, but those who come are mostly men, and return to their native country, the evil can hardly reach so great a magnitude as to require that it should be put a stop to by force.

One kind of restrictive measure seems to me not only desirable, but absolutely called for—the most stringent laws against introducing Chinese immigrants as Coolies—i. e., under contracts binding them to the service of particular persons. All such obligations are a form of compulsory labor, that is, of slavery; and though I know that the legal invalidity of such contracts does not prevent them from being made, I cannot but think that if pains were taken to make it known to the immigrants that such engagements are not legally binding, and especially if it were made a penal offence to enter into them, that mode, at least, of immigration would receive a considerable check; and it does not seem probable that any other mode, among so poor a population as the Chinese, can attain such dimensions as to compete very injuriously with American labor. Short of that point, the opportunity given to numerous Chinese of becoming familiar with the better and more civilized habits of life, is one of the best chances that can be opened up for the improvement of the Chinese in their own country, and one which it does not seem to me that it would be right to withhold from them.

I am, dear sir, yours very sincerely,
J. S. MILL.

To HENRY GEORGE, Esq., San Francisco.

SECOND LETTER FROM MR. MILL.

AVIGNON, February 13, 1870.

DEAR SIR : I presume I am indebted to you for sending me the number of the Chicago Tribune which commented on my supposed opinions respecting Chinese immigration. Nothing could be clearer or fairer than the editorial statement of the reasons which, in my opinion, might justify the exclusion of immigrant laborers of a lower grade of civilization than the existing inhabitants. But I never said that in America, and in the present circumstances of the case, it ought to be done. My letter on the subject of a California citizen, who had asked my opinion, has been so much misunderstood that I cannot but think the copy of my letter which I understand appeared in the newspapers must have been a mutilated one. I distinctly declared that in my opinion the right course to be adopted is to endeavor by education to bring the rising generation of Chinese up to the level of Americans. If there is little or no rising generation, (the Chinese not being permanent settlers,) I said that in that case their coming cou'd be no such evil to the laboring classes as to justify its prohibition, while the opportunity it gives of conveying the ideas of a more civilized country into the heart of China is an advantage to the people of China of which (I said) I do not think it would be right to deprive them. The only mode of immigration which I said that I thought should be prohibited is the bringing over Chinese as Coolies under engagements to work for particular persons, which is a form of compulsory labor, or, in other words, slavery. * * * *

I am, dear sir, yours very truly,
J. S. MILL.

HORACE WHITE, Esq., Chicago.

"An Ex-Southerner."

If ever a rising race showed the power to outlive discouragement, it is the Southern freedmen. From the moment of emancipation they have been constantly assured that they were a doomed race; that starvation and disease would kill them, as Touchstone says, "in a hundred and fifty different ways;" that for them the alphabet was a delusion; that they could not earn their own living, nor rear their own children. It has been gravely asserted by "reliable informants" that the freedmen were starving by the waysides, and that black babies were constantly to be found abandoned under hedges. In spite of all this, the free blacks have lived, and have thrived; have earned money, and put it in the savings banks; have laughed and grown fat. Never was there a race so obstinately resolved to live and vindicate itself, in spite of croakers and calumniators.

The latest of these prophets of despair seems to be Professor N. S. Shaler, of Harvard University, who writes as an "Ex Southerner" in the Atlantic Monthly. Why the "Ex" is prefixed, when his views so closely resemble those of the average Southerner of the period, does not appear. He simply criticises emancipation and education from the point of view of the late governing class. All the old complaints: the absurdity of teaching negroes the alphabet: the bad influence exerted on them by the white teachers: the great mistake made in removing them "from what would have been, on the whole, the good influence of their former masters;" even the old assertion that the mulatto race cannot propagate itself, of which Dr. Bachman wrote more than twenty years ago that it was "a doctrine virtually abandoned." All these assertions are repeated, with no new facts, no new illustrations, and nothing to add any new weight, except that they appear in a magazine like the Atlantic Monthly.

How loosely and heedlessly Professor Shaler gathers his facts may be judged from his own admission that he never entered a negro schoolhouse, though he might have done so; from his claim that the negro race must be studied at the Sea Islands, while it does not appear that he made more than one brief visit there; and from the fact that he dogmatizes just as readily about the events he does not pretend to have witnessed as about the very few which he claims to have seen. These things show the habit of a man's mind; and are, therefore, worth a little attention in detail.

It does not, for instance, appear that Prof. Shaler was in the Sea Islands during the war, though he was in the army somewhere and at some time. Yet he says of that great spectacle of the first experiment of emancipation at Port Royal that "every movement of the Government has been clearly against the negro in this district." Of that noble body of self devoted teachers who went down there, at the sacrifice in many cases of health and life, and who finally won the respect of the very army officers who at first ridiculed and thwarted them, he says: "The whites who supplied their places were, perhaps, the worst specimens which could have been sent among the negroes." If the *Atlantic Monthly* had asserted that the women of the Sanitary Commission were the most depraved women in America, it would scarcely have been a greater outrage. Among the many who went there were, of course, individual instances of unworthiness; but as a body they were worthy of their trust, and it was through them that the freedmen of the Sea Islands vindicated their right to liberty by becoming self-sustaining and by furnishing the first slave-soldiers to the war.

Nor is it in the least true, as Mr. Shaler asserts, that these foolish teachers relied only on the English grammar. The Government itself, in sending superintendents as well as teachers, recognized the need of both material and mental training. Every woman who went there aimed to teach and taught something of domestic economy and the household virtues. There still dwells upon the island of St. Helena a noble woman, who left a cultivated home at the North, and trained herself as a physician, expressly that she might care for those poor people, and help to bring up the next generation more wisely in matters that English grammar does not reach. Of course, all that Government could do in this direction was limited in *time*, and had to be dropped at last to avoid the very habit of tutelage against which Mr. Shaler protests. But this whole essay does not contain a hint of any wiser or wider method of enlightening or guiding the blacks than was put in practice by Major-General Saxton and his teachers from beginning to end.

But it is impossible to follow Mr. Shaler into all his unjust and hasty statements. He says that "the fairest basis for hope we have is in his (the negro's) strong imitative faculties;" ignoring the far greater value of the deeply religious temperament which prevented even the strongly imitative nature of the blacks from imbibing one-quarter of the vice they saw exhibited before them during slavery. He charges the purely negro race with laxity of morals; when it was the uniform testimony of the early superintendents and teachers, in the very region he describes, that there was among them far less laxity than any one had expected. The singular absence in the early colored regiments of drunkenness, of profanity, of theft, and of offenses against the chastity of women is a thing established past question.

The same carelessness of statement follows him on ground where philanthropy does not enter. He "was informed that a number of the negroes brought over by the famous schooner 'Wanderer' are still among the Sea Islands," and draws from this important inferences. Yet it was the idlest rumor; for Colonel Higginson, with every one of the Sea Islands represented in his regiment, could find but one person who had ever heard of any one who professed to be a native African; and this witness was a mere boy, and very unreliable. In the same way, Professor Shaler repeats the common view of the physical inferiority of the mulatto, although his own university, with the whole community to choose from, selected for its athlete and gymnastic teacher a man of this puny race. He thinks it probable that the mixed race will die out under freedom, although the far greater proportion of mulattoes and quadroons in the Northern colored regiments (and especially the 54th Massachusetts) was a matter universally observed among those who had recruited only Southern blacks. There are, undoubtedly, in Professor Shaler's article some just remarks and fair criticisms; but there is throughout visible the bias we should naturally expect from a man who thinks that the South Carolina rebel leaders were "actuated by the same high impulses as those who gathered eighty years ago in Independence Hall"—or, in other words, that there is no difference between a revolt in the interest of slavery and one in the interest of freedom!—*N. Y. Independent*.

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Disgraceful Treatment of the Colored Cadet.

The following letter from J. W. Smith, the colored cadet at West Point, to his home-folks at Hartford, certainly makes out pretty hard times for that young pioneer:

WEST POINT, N. Y., June 29, 1870.

DEAR FRIEND: Your kind letter should have been answered long ere this, but really I have been so harrassed with examination and the insults and ill treatment of these cadets that I could not write or do anything else scarcely. I passed the examination all right, and got in, but my companion Howard failed and was rejected. Since he went away I have been lonely indeed. And now these fellows appear to be trying their utmost to run me off, and I fear they will succeed if they continue as they have begun. We went into camp yesterday, and not a moment has passed since then but some one of them has been cursing and abusing me. All night they were around my tent cursing and swearing at me so that I did not sleep two hours all night. It is just the same at the table, and what I get to eat I must snatch for like a dog. I don't wish to resign if I can get along at all; but I don't think it will be best for me to stay and take all the abuses and insults that are heaped upon me. The examination was very hard this year—harder than ever before—and since I have been successful in getting in I will stay as long as I possibly can. One of the cadets refused to drill the squad because I was in it, and they reduced him from a corporal to a private for disobedience of orders, and they are all mad about that. The one who drills the squad now is the meanest specimen of humanity I ever saw. After marching us out to the drill ground this morning he said to me, "Stand off one side from the line, you d—d black ——. You are too near that white man. I want you to remember you are not on an equal footing with the white men in your class, and what you learn here you will have to pick up, for I won't teach you a d—d thing." And thus he kept me standing until the captain came around inspecting, when he pretended that he put me there to teach me a movement which I had never practiced before. And I could say nothing at all, or I would have been locked up for disobedience of orders or disrespect to "superior officers." If it ever happens again I shall deny it to his face and then resign.

If I complain of their conduct to the commandant, I must prove the charges, or nothing can be done; and where am I to find one from so many to testify in my behalf? If this afternoon's drill is conducted as this morning's was, you need not be astonished at hearing that I have resigned. I have borne insult upon insult until I am completely worn out. I have written a plenty of bad news, and I wish I had some good news for you; but alas! it seems to be getting worse and worse. I forgot to tell you that out of eighty six appointees, only thirty-nine passed the examination. They had prepared it to fix the colored candidates, but it proved most disastrous to the whites. I hope you are all well at home. I saw a very fine article relating to me in the Hartford Courant, and I feel very grateful to Mr. Capron for his kind words concerning me. I hope my brightest hopes will be realized, but I doubt if they will ever be here.

Give my kind regards to all, and write soon to your much benefited and thankful servant,
J. W. SMITH.

P. S.—There were ninety-one appointees; five failed physically, forty-seven failed mentally, leaving thirty-nine admitted.

Americans Wronged in Europe.

The Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce writes that complaints are continually arriving which go to establish the oft-repeated assertion that the citizens of the United States travelling abroad enjoy fewer immunities or natural safeguards than the people of any other nation. It is shown that in many countries of Europe Americans are shamefully treated, while Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Prussians are treated with most distinguished consideration, for the reason that they are citizens of countries who retaliate for wrongs committed against them.

Take, for instance, two of these cases. An American Consul happened to meet another at a town in the little Kingdom of Nassau, now part of the dominions of Prussia. While there a man died suddenly of acute pains or cramps in the stomach. In less than half an hour afterwards he was carried from the hotel to a stable belonging to it, and laid on some straw. His wife remonstrated, but to no purpose. He was buried from the stable. A bill for some 4,000 Prussian dollars was presented, among the financial items of which were—for dying in the hotel and hotel bill, $900; $700 for lying in the stable, &c.; but the principal charges were incurred by reason of his misfortune in being an American citizen. The Consuls remonstrated, and finally succeeded in having the bill reduced to 2,000 Prussian dollars.

In another case a New York merchant bought an invoice of toys near Berlin, on condition that they be delivered in New York within six months. And the end of eleven months they were delivered and pay asked. The merchant of course refused to receive them or make any compromise, as the time had passed some months before when such goods were in demand. He went back to Berlin afterwards, was arrested by soldiers, thrown into prison, and kept there until he paid the amount of the invoice, nearly $3,000. If he had been an Englishman or Frenchman, he would have been treated differently.

A MORE fitting coincidence seldom happens than the accidental running together of the following telegraphic head-lines in a Democratic paper of the repudiation stripe: "A Horrible Outrage Discovered—Payment of the Public Debt."