for three pounds, and gets his shirt back, too, yer honor."

I am tempted to relate several of Jerry's stories, so peculiarly and richly Irish were they—odd, wild, extravagant, and ludicrous—yet now and then sparkling with a fine fancy, or a rare poetic thought, and in their drollery quaint and quiet, never coarse or common. But I should get on slowly indeed with the story of my tour, if I paused to do justice, either by description or quotation, to the originality of character, the spirit and humor, the warmth and generousness of feeling, of many of the Irish peasantry with whom I came in contact.

The mountain road from Glengariff to Killarney is a splendid specimen of engineering, and leads through scenery wild and beautiful in the extreme. On the sunny morning of our leaving Glengariff, landscape and air were fresh and delicious after the night's abundant rain, and with thrills and palpitations of inexpressible joy my heart responded to the gladness of Nature. I shall never forget the childish ecstasy of delight with which I gazed around me, and drank in the fragrant air of the morning.

The three lakes of Killarney descended upon by this road are likely to disappoint the tourist, especially if he be an American, more especially if he be a reader of and a devout believer in Mrs. Hall's beautiful and most *poetical* book, "*A Week at Killarney*." In truth, such fairy sheets of water seem little to deserve the name of lakes at first, but they grow on your respect rapidly as you approach; their beauty is, near or afar, quite exquisite and undeniable, and the mountains which surround them are really most respectable elevations. Our first visit was to the Tore Waterfall, by far the most beautiful cascade I have ever seen. The fall is between sixty and seventy feet: the glen into which the water comes leaping and foaming and flashing, is wild and rocky, and overhung with richest foliage. The approach to this waterfall is singularly picturesque, and the surroundings in admirable keeping.

We passed Lord Kenmare's noble demesne, and drove through the village of Killarney, to our hotel, the "*Victoria*," which is charmingly situated on the shore of the lower and larger lake. We found the house crowded with visiters of all characters and degrees—the elegant and the vulgar, the coarse and the refined, with the usual number of undefinable and unclassable betweenities. While taking tea in the coffee-room, we were struck by the mien and manner of a traveller near us. He was evidently a person oppressed with a consciousness of his own consequence, and bent on having the world do its part toward bearing his burden. He gave out his orders to the wondering waiter with a military sternness and a startling rapidity; but, strange enough, he ended each sentence with a sort of drawl. He was clad in a complete suit of checked Tweed, with an extravagant cravat—a John Bull, without doubt, yet black-browed and full-bearded—a curious cross between a Cockney and a Cossack. After tea, this unique individual swaggered up to one of our party, a most gentlemanly-looking person, and accosted him as he was passing down the hall, with a "Pray, are you one of the waiters of this hotel?" "No—are you?" coolly responded our friend.

In the morning, we were so fortunate as to be able to engage for our guide during our stay, the Stephen Spillane so honorably mentioned by Mr. and Mrs. Hall. We found him a young man of good education, much general intelligence, gentleness, and even refinement of manner.

Our first expedition was to the *Gap of Dunloe*, a wild and gloomy mountain pass, especially interesting to the reader of Gerold Griffin's fine novel of "*The Collegians*," as the scene of poor Edy Connor's happy honey-moon, and tragic taking-off. Our guide furnished myself and a pleasant English friend with ponies—the remainder of the party took a car.

Though tolerably well mounted, and able to abruptly cut the company of the old, crippled, and blind, of the begging fraternity, I found that I had small advantage over the boys. The fleet-footed little rascals kept up with me for miles—one juvenile Celt, literally *sans culottes*, but in a shirt of elder-brotherly dimensions, giving me a sort of Tam O'Shanter chase. A pretty, dark-eyed boy running by my side, held up a bunch of purple heather and wild honeysuckle, saying, with an insinuating smile, "Plase, my lady, buy these ilegant bright flowers, so like yer honor's self, this beautiful summer morning." What woman could resist such an appeal?

At the entrance of the Gap we were met by a detachment of volunteer guides, and a company of "*mountain dew*" girls—maidens with cans of goat's milk and flasks of "potheen," with which they are happy to treat the traveller, for a consideration. After listening to some grand echoes, called forth by the rich bugle-notes of our guide, we proceeded through the pass. This by itself did not equal our expectation; its finest feature is the "Purple Mountain," which in the glorious sunlight of that morning was beautiful beyond conception.

From Lord Brandon's fine demesne, we embarked upon the upper lake, rowed among its fairy islands, and ran down "the long range" to the middle lake—pausing for a little gossip with the echoes of "Eagle Nest," and shooting "Old Wier Bridge" on our way. The bay and mountain of Glená are the gems of Killarney. Even now, looking back upon the scene through the sobered light of recollection, it is all enchantment—the shore gorgeous with magnificent foliage, the waters flashing with silver gleams, the sky golden with sunset light—and it is difficult for me to believe that there is under the broad heaven a lovelier spot. Even the echoes from this beautiful green mountain seemed clearer, yet softer and more melodious, than any we had heard before.

We took dinner on shore, in a delicious little nook, shadowed by arbutus trees, dining off a large rock, some seated *a la Turc*, some reclining in the ancient Oriental style. Oh! we had merry times! and what with toasts and songs, and legends, and joyous laughter ringing out, peal on peal, over the still water, the wonder is we failed to rouse the great O'Donaghue, who, according to popular tradition, dwells in a princely palace under the lake, and only comes to the surface to take an airing on horseback, every May morning. Our row homeward, through the soft lingering sunset-light, with the plash and murmur of the blue waves, rising with the rising wind, heard in the intervals between the sweet songs of our guide, was a fitting close to a day of shadowless pleasure.

In the coffee-room we encountered our black-bearded tourist, quite "knocked up," he averred, by the duties of the day. He had actually "done" the ascent of old Carran Tual, twice—once on his own account, and once (most amiable of his sex!) for a friend.

That evening, we listened to the fine music of Gandsey, the celebrated Irish piper, a truly venerable man, very old, and quite blind, who plays his native melodies with touching expression, waking the old sorrows of Ireland and making them wail again, and giving proud voice to her ancient glories, till you believe that her lost nationality "is not dead, but sleepeth," and *must* yet rise to free and powerful life.

On the following morning, with our pleasant friend, Sir Thomas Deane, we visited Muckross Abbey, a fine, picturesque old ruin. The cloisters, the refectory, and the chapel, are in comparatively good preservation—in the latter lie the bones of the great MacCarthy Mor, and, it is thought, of the O'Donaghues, with the exception, of course, of him who preferred the lake to holy ground, *waved* his privilege of Christian burial, and his chance of canonization, it may be, for his aguish palace, aquatic court, and questionable sub-marine existence. After taking leave of the solemn old Abbey, we commenced the ascent of Mangerton, a mountain 2,754 feet in height—a merry party of six, all pony-mounted. Here we were joined by a very large company of volunteer guides, and attacked, front, flank, and rear, by an Amazonian troop of "mountain-dew" girls. Barren and rugged as was that drear ascent, we found it a land flowing with goat's milk and whiskey; and at every pause which we made to breathe our ponies, or to treat ourselves to a fine view, twenty cups were held to our lips, twenty voices prayed us to drink, for present refreshment and future good fortune—that "the Lord" might "carry us safe" up that perilous steep, and grant to us and our families, to the remotest generation, health, wealth, honor, and "*pace*." Near the summit of the mountain, we came upon a deep, dark little lake—one of the devil's punch-bowls; for his Satanic majesty, who seems jovially inclined, has several in Ireland. The prospect from the summit of Mangerton is very extensive, and truly magnificent. We rested and reveled in it, for a bright half-hour, on the breezy mountain top. Here we again encountered the dark-bearded tourist. Disdaining all pony aid, he had done Mangerton as he did Carran Tual, on foot. But the trimness of his toilet, and the morning freshness of his mien, had suffered somewhat, from the heat and toil of the day. His raven whiskers were whitened with dust, his hat had a backward inclination, his pantaloons were tucked into his boots, his coat of tweed cloth was borne by the guide, his shoulders were free from the bondage of braces, which were twined carelessly about his waist, his cravat was untied, and he was at loose ends generally. Here he was first gracious enough to make some conversation with me:

"Madame, may I ask if you are an American?"

"I have that honor, sir."

"Aw—I thought so: something in the manner a little peculiar—aw. Have you spent much time in London?"

"About two months."

"Aw—a great place is London—quite a world, I may say. You would like the literary society of London, excessively, if you could once get the *entree*; but it is difficult to do that, very difficult—aw."

"Indeed! I have not found it so."

After a little more talk of this sort, our friend called to his guide, and was off. In a few minutes, we saw him on an opposite peak, and very soon dashing down the mountain, toward Killarney. He seemed to give no pause for resting, or "prospecting." "March! March!" seemed to be his word, as he were the Wandering Jew, on an Irish tour.

On our descent, my English friend abandoned his hard-gaited pony and the beaten track, and plunged down the mountain side in a more direct course, on foot. Piqued by this ungallant desertion, I made a rash vow to follow in the very footsteps of my faithless cavalier. Such a chase as he led me, through boggy hollows, down rocky ledges, over small chasms and natural ditches, while the above-mentioned volunteer guides and mountain-dew damsels followed close upon our track, uttering exclamations of delight and astonishment, sometimes more emphatic than pious—perhaps recognising in this reckless love of fun and adventure a spirit kindred to their own.

After a charming drive through Lord Kenmare's demesne, we dined in a picturesque cottage, on the lake shore, from which place we rowed to "sweet Innisfallen," and wandered at twilight among its deep, shadowy groves, and the solemn ruins of what, ages and ages ago, was the noble temple of learning and letters. From Innisfallen, we went to Ross Castle, a grand old ruin, once the stronghold of the O'Donaghue, besieged and destroyed by Cromwell, the great spoliator of Ireland. Here the fine-frenzied tourist turned up, for the last time—he rushed past us as we were entering, and was quickly lost in the ruins, but appeared afterwards at various points and parapets. He did the old castle as he had done the other sights, in an incredibly short time—dashed down to his boat, flung himself in, ordered the men to push off—"away flew the light bark," far into the deepening twilight, and the black-whiskered tourist passed from our sight forever! As for us, we lingered till long after night-fall, in the beautiful grounds of Ross Island, or on the lake before the castle, holding pleasant converse with the famous "Paddy Blake," the prince of echoes. "Paddy!" cried our helmsman, with a stentorian voice, "do ye know who's been paying a visit to yer ould castle? Listen, then, till I tell ye: the rose, the thistle, the shamrock, and the wild flying *angle!*" Paddy seemed duly to appreciate the honor, for he repeated the words of the boatman, as though in joyous surprise. It was odd to hear those dark, grand, ivory-mantled palace halls ringing with blithe bugle notes and jolly laughter—talking in such a free and easy way—vocal with so rich a brogue.

That last night, we enjoyed a merry tea-drinking together, in a private parlor, and early in the morning set forth, by stage-coach, for Limerick. As to the "Victoria Hotel," the least said by me, the better for its reputation. I constrain myself to silence in regard to the broken bell-wires and other dilapidations in my apartments, trusting in the truth of the proverb, "the least said, the soonest mended." In our out-door life at Killarney, our only serious annoyances were beggars and midges. Between the two, you bleed at every pore.

This letter has stretched to a preposterous length, but I could not help it. My pen has seemed to run by itself, and certainly has taken to wild and rambling ways. I will try to get possession of it, and hold proper sway over it, next time; but I cannot promise positively for its good behaviour. As ever, yours,

GRACE GREENWOOD.

THE CITY OF WASHINGTON.

We copy from the New York *Journal of Commerce* the following letter from its Washington correspondent, as giving a fair view of the present condition of the City of Washington, and of the prospect of its future:

WASHINGTON, *Sept.* 17, 1852.

Washington continues remarkably healthy, there being fewer cases of intermittent fever here than has been usual at this season. It is undoubtedly, now the healthiest city in the country, as the bills of mortality sufficiently show. Some thirty years ago, or more, when there were around the city uncleared and marshy grounds, and when Pennsylvania avenue was itself a marsh, there used to occur, even in the then small population, many cases in the autumn of congestive fever; but now, though the population exceeds forty thousand, such fevers are of rare occurrence. There are certain localities near the river, where, as was mentioned recently in a letter in your paper, cases of ague and fever occur; but, in general, the city is free even from that pest. Some proposed improvements in the navigation of the Potomac between Georgetown and Washington, and the opening of a canal through James's creek, near the Arsenal, will free those parts of the city from ague and fever.

Though Congress is not in session, yet the city is no longer as dull and lifeless as it used to be during the recess. The public and private improvements, which are going on so rapidly, give the city a cheerful aspect. There are more private houses now building than there have ever been at any one time before. The north part of the city, which is elevated, beautiful, and salubrious, is rapidly filling up with good brick houses. The Government appropriation for new works here, for the present year, is over a million of dollars.

The number of Government offices and office-holders is rapidly increasing, and is constantly tending to an increase. This must continue to be so, as long as the country continues to increase in population, territory, commerce, and intercourse with foreign powers. Washington, too, presents attractions for men of wealth and leisure, and it is found that every year the number of those who, with their families, spend a part of the year here, increases. Here will be, after a while, many national institutions and monuments of the greatest interest.

The Capitol will itself be an object of general interest when it shall be completed. The liberal appropriations made for the arrangement of the Congress library is an assurance that, ultimately, it will be a library worthy of the country. Over eighty thousand dollars were granted for the purchase of books during the last session.

The Smithsonian Institute will, after a few years, be able to extend the sphere of its operations and its usefulness. Very large additions to its funds are to be made by the beneficence of wealthy men now living, who have made their wills, bequeathing large sums to the Institute.

The National Observatory is already an object of national pride.

The Washington Monument, now one hundred and seventeen feet in height, is in progress, and with every prospect of being ultimately completed according to design.

The Jackson Monument will be erected in Lafayette square next winter.

Every change of Administration is a benefit to the Federal city. It brings to the city a fresh accession, from every part of the country, of men of public spirit and intelligence; and each Administration leaves us substantial public and private improvements; and each one contributes to the permanent composition of the community, and leaves its impress upon its tone and character.

All political capitals have attracted to themselves population and wealth, whether the result of commerce or not, and such will be the case with Washington, as the seat of an empire destined to be greater than any that the world ever saw.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1852.

RECOLLECT,

That after the 30th of this month, the postage of the *Era*, if paid in advance, for any distance, will be only 26 cents a year, or 6½ cents quarterly.

AND RECOLLECT, too, that payment of postage in advance may be made *at the office where the paper is delivered*.

September 18, 1852.

CAMPAIGN CLUBS.

At the earnest solicitation of numerous friends, and hoping to enlarge still more rapidly the circle of anti-slavery readers, and that they may be kept fully advised of the political doings during the present campaign, we have concluded to offer the *Era to clubs for four months*, which will embrace the whole period of the campaign, and the time during which official results will be made public, on the following terms:

Ten copies will be sent from the 1st of September to the 1st of January, for *Five Dollars*—the person making up the club being entitled to an extra copy.

STANDING TERMS.

Single copy, one year - - -	$2
Three copies, one year - -	5
Five copies, one year - -	8
Ten copies, one year - -	15
Single copy, six months - -	1
Ten copies, six months - -	8

Voluntary agents are entitled to retain 50 cents commission on each new yearly, and 25 cents on each new semi-yearly, subscriber, *except in the case of clubs*. *Twenty-five* cents is the commission on the *renewal* of an *old* subscriber.

A club of *three* subscribers (*one* of whom may be an *old* one) at $5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era three* months; a club of *five* (*two* of whom may be *old* ones) at $8, to a copy for *six* months; a club of *ten* (*five* of whom may be old ones) at $15, to a copy for *one year*.

Money to be forwarded by *mail*, at our *risk*. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposite.

It will be seen that the price of the paper, single copy, is still $2 a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber, whom they obtain or renew, the benefit of their commission, so that the subscriber by *their* kindness gets his paper for $1.50 or $1.75, as the case may be.

THE THREE PARTIES—OUR CLAIM.

The Whig and Democratic parties are frequently represented as coeval with the organization of the Government. No assumption can be more untrue.

On the question of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the People of the several States were divided in opinion. Those who favored it were styled Federalists; those who opposed it, Anti-Federalists. The former party triumphed, and came into power with the ratification of the Constitution. In these days there are no Anti-Federalists, if we except the Disunionists of South Carolina and the few Anti-Slavery men who have declared war against the Union.

On the Federalists devolved the task of organizing the first Administration, and laying the foundations of the policy of the country. Questions arose concerning the powers conferred by the Constitution, the sphere of Federal action, the reserved rights of the States and of the People.

The object of the Federalists was, to give activity and application to those powers; and in directing exclusive attention to this matter, they were liable to mistake or exaggerate them. Their old opponents, constrained to acquiesce in the new Government, but still jealous of its operation, and fearful of its trespassing on the rights of the States and of the People, arrayed themselves in opposition, and endeavored now to restrict its sphere, as they had tried to prevent its institution. The conflict naturally engendered bitterness, prejudice, misconception, and excess. A stretch of power on one side led to violent opposition on the other, and this again provoked new usurpations; until Democracy leaned to anarchy, and Federalism to tyranny. At last the Federalists were overthrown, and the Democratic party under Jefferson and Madison controlled the destinies of the country.

Now, the Federalism which passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, has no representatives at this day, organized as a distinct party, though it has its disciples among Whigs and Democrats, as is shown by the attempt of a Whig Administration to introduce among us the law of constructive treason for the protection of Slavery; and in the conduct of the slaveholding sections of both the Whig and Democratic parties, and their allies, when they passed a grossly unconstitutional Fugitive Slave Law, and then in their Conventions attempted to enact its "finality," and suppress freedom of discussion.

On the other hand, the Democratic party which acquired ascendency under Jefferson and Madison, in its general views of the Constitution and in its foreign policy, has perpetuated itself in no particular party, but is represented by both the Whig and Democratic parties of this day, so far as their latest declarations of sentiment may be regarded as defining their positions.

After the war of 1812, until the Presidency of Mr. Monroe, the Democratic party held and acted upon the views of the old Federal party in respect to finance, trade, and internal improvements. It was in favor of a National Bank, of a Protective Tariff, and of a great system of Internal Improvements; and at its head, Mr. Madison, recommended the establishment of a National University. Surely the Democratic party of to-day does not recognise itself as the lineal descendant of the Democratic party of 1816! Every distinctive measure of that party it has distinguished itself by opposing. The doctrines and policy of that party now constitute the characteristics of the Whigs, against whom it has so long struggled.

Under the Administration of Mr. Monroe there was a complete lull of party strife. The old topics of controversy had been disposed of; the Federalists appeared content, as the Administration, styled Democratic, had adopted their general views of policy. In fact, old party combinations were broken up.

The two parties, now called Democratic and Whig, were organized in their present forms under the Administration of Gen. Jackson, and had their origin in controversies concerning the connection of Government with banking institutions, the policy of a Protective Tariff, and a system of Internal Improvements by the Federal Government. The old Democratic policy of Madison and Monroe had favored the growth of Centralism, the dread of Democracy. Alliance with the Moneyed Power of the country was endangering the purity of the Federal Government, and investing it with a fearful capacity for mischief; and its schemes of internal improvement, if carried out, would have concentrated power and patronage in its hands at the expense of State sovereignty. Jackson took ground against this policy; those who sustained him were Democrats; those who opposed him soon took the name of Whigs.

It may be said that the Democratic party, thus rallied to his support, was but a revival of the old Democratic party. It is useless to dispute about names: one thing is certain, the Democratic party of the last twenty years, which has divorced the Government from Banking, inflicted a death-blow on the policy of a Protective Tariff and of Internal Improvements by the Federal Government, is not the Democratic party of the preceding twenty years, which allied the Government with Banking institutions, sanctioned the principle of Protection, and favored Internal Improvements by Federal action. The Whig and Democratic parties are now scarcely twenty years old. They originated, we said, in a difference of policy respecting the three subjects just referred to. The question of Slavery had nothing to do with their formation; no principle, no rule of conduct, was adopted by them in regard to it. Soon after their organization, it began to be agitated and demagogues in the South, for their own purposes of mischief, labored to attach to it a fearful political significance. The public mind was needlessly excited, and gross misconception everywhere prevailed; until General Jackson at last called the attention of Congress to the subject, and recommended a law to suppress the circulation of Anti-Slavery matter in the mails. This recommendation, as grossly repugnant in its spirit to the Constitution and to the fundamental principles of civil liberty, as the Alien and Sedition Laws, clearly showed that his Democratic principles embraced nothing within their scope but the questions of policy we have indicated. And this was true of his party.

It must be admitted that the nature of the controversy between the two parties generally attracted to the ranks of the Whigs, Capitalists, Conservatives, supporters of Monopoly, and that class of persons who, inclined to too much government, are disposed to a loose construction of the grants of power in the Constitution, while it led the Democrats to take a position rather antagonistic, and they found themselves constrained to appeal not unfrequently to natural rights and the fundamental principles of Democracy. In this way, though not founded upon these principles, or with any view to their universal application, the Democratic party has come to be regarded by many of its adherents as being committed by its professions to the cause of Progress in all its forms, especially as it relates to the overthrow of Human Bondage.

The questions at issue between these Parties were really settled by the election of 1844. Mr. Clay was the distinct representative of the Whig policy on these questions—Mr. Polk, the distinct representative of the Democratic policy. Notwithstanding the importance which the question of Slavery had assumed, notwithstanding its introduction into politics, and the impending question of the annexation of Texas, the People generally subordinated all these considerations to the old questions at issue between the Whig and Democratic parties, and decided in favor of Democratic policy. In our opinion, the project of a National Bank, the principle of a Protective Tariff, and the policy of a general system of Internal Improvements by the Federal Government, rapidly ceased from that time to be regarded as Party measures, and there would have been a breaking up of old Parties had no new question intervened to keep up their divisions. But it so happened that Mr. Polk's Administration, having disposed of the matters in dispute, took up the question of the annexation of Texas, and involved itself in a controversy with Mexico. In these elements it found means to maintain the organization of its Party, by appealing to the Slave Interest on one side, and to the National pride and passion for territorial aggrandizement on the other. With projects for the acquisition of territory, and a foreign war leading to conquest, it was not difficult to keep alive the old party divisions; but, the war ended, and the acquisitions made, then the question arose, How should the new territory be disposed of? The Slave Interest had sought to extend the area of Slavery; the Democratic supporters of the Administration at the North had assented to no such policy; the Whig Party had unitedly opposed all acquisitions, but was divided on the question, what should be done with them? For the first time, the two Parties found themselves confronted by a Question which had had nothing to do with their formation, on which they had never acted, respecting which they had no principle or rule of conduct; a Question, which, if settled upon Principle, would necessarily destroy their respective organizations, as it would divide their Northern from their Southern sections. As might have been expected, they attempted to avoid this result by Evasion or Compromise. As the Presidential election was pending, the Whigs *evaded* the Question, by selecting a candidate uncommitted upon it, but popular as a military leader; and the Democrats *compromised* by nominating a man whose repudiation of the *Wilmot* Proviso constituted his strength in the South, while his reputed belief in the *Mexican* Proviso, it was hoped, would save him in the North.

The experiment did not entirely succeed. Many disaffected Whigs, more disaffected Democrats, drew off, and, uniting with the small band of men resolved to settle the Question on Principle, made a separate nomination, and thereby defeated the Democratic Party. Recollect, no old issue entered into the canvass. That Party was defeated because it took a false position on the Slavery Question.

The policy of Secession prepared the way for the final success of Compromise. The Whig President died before he could carry out his schemes, and the Vice President, his successor, representing the conservative spirit of Whigism, labored for Compromise. By his influence, combined with the pressure of the Slave Interest, enough Whigs and Democrats of the North were induced to abandon the ground of Principle, to secure the success of a system of measures which left the Government under the control of Slavery, laid open the Territories defenceless to its irruption, and gave it new facilities for the arrest of fugitives. What else could have been expected? These old Parties had not been organized for the purpose of acting upon the Slavery Question. They had no well-defined principles in relation to it. Their organization was such, that a settlement of it, on its merits, would have necessarily dissolved them.

And now, what do we see? These two Parties, again arrayed in a Presidential election, marshaling all their forces, to secure the control of the Government for the next four years; while the questions which they were formed to dispose of have been settled, and there is no longer any real issue between them. By their Declarations of Sentiment, at Baltimore, they occupy substantially the same ground. They both recognise the Federal Government as one of derivative powers, to be strictly construed in their application. They both profess a zealous regard for the reserved rights of the States and the People. They both assert the importance of an economical administration of the Government. The Democrats denounce a National Bank: the Whigs ignore such a thing. The Democrats hold that no more revenue should be raised than is enough for the necessary expenses of the Government, and the extinction of the public debt, but affirm nothing concerning the mode in which duties should be laid: the Whigs hold that revenue should be raised for such purposes, and that duties should be laid so as to prevent fraud, and encourage American industry equally in all classes and all portions of the country. The Democrats assert that the Constitution does not confer on the General Government the power to commence and carry on a general system of internal improvements: the Whigs do not assert that it does, but that Congress should improve rivers and harbors, whenever such improvements are necessary for the common defence, or for the protection and facility of commerce with foreign nations or among the States, such improvements being in every instance national and general in their character. So that, on not a single question do these Parties take issue with each other. And this is proved, not only by a comparison of their platforms, but by an examination of the acts of their Representatives in Congress. Here, no one dreams of the re-institution of a National Bank. Projects are sometimes submitted in regard to the Tariff, but simply for a revision of its details, and certain changes not implying a return to the old policy of Protection—projects in support of which many Democratic votes are recorded. Whigs and Democrats unite in giving away portions of the public lands for internal improvements, in making appropriations for clearing our great rivers and repairing our lake harbors, and in other expenditures, which are anything but economical.

What, then, is their position? On questions substantially settled, or settled so far that they are not likely to be made subjects of mere party controversy, there is no conflict between them, thus showing that the causes which originated them in their present forms have ceased to exist. On the other hand, they have demonstrated their inability to meet and settle the real Questions which now press upon the American Public for a decision.

On the Slavery Question, as we have seen, they united in betraying the interests and rights of the non-slaveholders, by a shameful Compromise, which they have the folly to suppose will satisfy the People, and in relation to which they have audaciously attempted to put down Freedom of Discussion.

In regard to Land Reform and the disposition of the Public Lands, they have been unable to take any definite ground, and their Representatives in Congress act in the most contradictory way, now voting to secure free homes to the homeless on the Public Domain, and then supporting bounty-land bills, railroad grants, and monster land cessions to the States, involving a profligate waste of this great patrimony of the People.

On the subject of Intervention against Intervention, they shrink from a manly support of the doctrines of our Declaration of Independence, of the well-established Principles of International Law, both combining to hold back this Republic from its proper position in the family of nations. In response to the demand that America should so far interpose in the struggles between Despotism and Republicanism as to throw her moral influence into the scale of Freedom, they have turned their backs upon their less fortunate brethren of other lands, and resolved that the special mission of this country is to take care of itself.

Another important Question the country may at any moment be called upon to deal with—that of Territorial Extension. Our Government is adapted to extensive empire; the character of our People and the nature of their civilization forbid that any fixed limits should be set to our territory. The Whig Party, not recognising this fact, arrays itself against any further extension of territory, even though free from Slavery: the Democratic Party, recognising it, is committed to the extension of territory, even though cursed with Slavery. The true policy—Territorial Extension, where circumstances demand, and justice authorizes, provided it carry Freedom and Free Labor with it—is adopted by neither.

Need we repeat, that the two Parties were not originated to settle these Questions? They do not properly come within the scope of their policy: their training has not been such as would qualify them for dealing with them wisely: their very composition precludes well-principled and appropriate action respecting them. They are composed of Slaveholding and Non-Slaveholding sections, and history shows that the supremacy in their councils has almost uniformly been conceded to the former. But, on the Questions of Slavery, Land Reform, Intervention, and Territorial Extension, the Slave Interest, governed by the law of self-preservation, occupies a position repugnant to the fundamental principles of our Government, to the character and true interests of the American People, and to the demands of a sound and comprehensive Policy. As a condition precedent to the proper disposition of those Questions, one or the other of the two Parties must redeem itself from the control of this powerful Interest: to neither, in its present form and under its present influences, can the American People look for wise action respecting them.

In view of this fact, is any wonder that a new political organization should become necessary? The secessions of 1848 heralded the Pittsburgh movement of 1852, and the formation of the Independent Democracy was a necessity of the times. Read its Declaration of Principles, and see whether it does not meet their demands. It asserts the true principles of Government, the true character and objects of the Constitution of the United States. In relation to Trade and Finance, it does not seek to disturb the settled policy of the country. On the subjects of River and Harbor Improvements, Cheap Postage, Ocean Postage, and elections by the Popular voice, it occupies ground sanctioned by the American People. It defines clearly the relations of Slavery, its purposes in regard to it, and declares boldly that it aims to divorce the Federal Government from all connection with it. It claims the Public Domain as the heritage of the People, to be held sacred to the use of actual settlers. It asserts the right and duty of the American Government to interpose its voice and influence in behalf of Freedom, wherever it may struggle against the demands of Despotism. And, on the subject of Territorial Extension, if it has not defined in words its position, the voice of its press and the votes of its Representatives show that it will always favor it, unless when attempted by fraud or violence, or for the extension of the area of Slavery. Its candidates represent its Principles, and they have a right to claim the votes of all those who believe that the Constitution of the United States was formed to establish justice and secure the blessings of Liberty, and that the Whig and Democratic Parties have taken ground repugnant to these aims, and to the best interests of the Republic.

UNCLE TOM'S CABIN seems to be creating as much excitement in Great Britain as in this country. We published last week a review of it by a distinguished English author, from Fraser's Magazine. Since then, we have seen a very long critique in the London *Times*, speaking in strong terms of its literary merits, but pronouncing against its tendencies in relation to the Slavery Question. The London *Examiner*, on the other hand, commends it highly, and "devotes three pages to an exhibition of its merits."

THE PUBLIC LANDS—FREE FARMS.

That the public domain should be held sacred and free, in limited quantities, to actual settlers, constitutes an essential part of the creed of the Independent Democrats, as announced by their Convention at Pittsburgh. The policy, though acceptable to the masses of the people, North and South, has been adopted by neither of the old parties, chiefly because repugnant to the Slaveholding Interest, and to the peculiar interests of Capital. It is essentially Democratic, its tendency being to change laborers into land-owners, to multiply the number of small proprietors, to raise the wages of labor, to restrict, consequently, the power of Capital, and to discourage land speculation and monopoly.

It is said, the price of the Public Lands is now so cheap that he must be worthless who cannot raise two hundred dollars to purchase a quarter section. Let us see. He is a man of family. It will cost him a hundred dollars to pay the expenses of emigration to the Far West. He must buy farming implements; he must put up a log cabin; he must lay out money for bread and meat, till he can sow and reap, and raise stock of his own. Very likely, by converting what few valuables he has into money, and borrowing a little, he could contrive to meet all these expenses; but then he must pay down two hundred dollars for his new homestead! Now, all we ask is, that the Government, which is not dependent upon the public domain for its support, shall relieve him from this heavy expense, and secure to him at once a free title to the homestead. The mere fact that, by raising money enough to defray the cost of emigration, and make the necessary outlay for farming, he would secure, without charge, one hundred and sixty acres of good land, for himself and children, would inspire him with new life; he, and the community in which he had so long been a drone or something worse, would be alike gainers. There can be no doubt, then, of the beneficent consequence of this policy to that increasing class of population in the Eastern States, which consumes more than it produces, and is a burden instead of blessing to itself and society.

Small shop-keepers, just able to feed and clothe their children, without giving them the requisite education to secure their advancement in a densely-peopled region; mechanics, distressed for want of work, or by fluctuations in wages; workmen in factories, always the first to suffer when their employers fail to "realize" their expected profits, would so far take advantage of it, as to relieve the older States of their surplus labor, and thus enable the working classes left behind to secure employment on reasonable terms.

There would be no danger of too great a drain of labor; for the man who could make enough by his work, at the anvil or loom, to live respectably, and give his children a fair start in the world, would not be anxious to venture on the hardships of pioneer life.

Nor would the working of this policy in relation to our immigrant population, be less beneficent. It is useless to talk of the evils of foreign immigration. The door is open, and cannot be shut—nor would we shut it, had we the power. The earth is the Lord's, and is for the use of his children. Let them seek homes where it pleases them best. But, while we welcome the stranger to our shores, let us point him to a home where he may escape from the vices of large cities, and from the privations belonging to an old civilization, where he may find independence and a competence, and contribute his full share to the general welfare. Such a home this homestead policy proposes to provide.

We are aware that it is not favored by the class of large Slaveholders; but the poor white men of the South, who are held down by the incubus of Slave Labor, for whose children the State provides no common school instruction, who scarcely can hope ever to rise to social equality with their aristocratic neighbors, will hail it as a measure of relief. True, their transfer to free homes in the West might diminish the police force of the slave States, reduce their political power, and foster the growth of free States in our Territories; but all this can furnish no objection to the policy, in the judgment of the true Democrat—of the man who thinks more of the interests of the Many than of the claims of the Few.

It is a policy, too, of which the free colored people might avail themselves, in the work of self-improvement. Should it finally prevail, (and of this there can be no doubt,) they could then emerge from the degradation to which they are now subjected. They could leave the cities, escape from the oppressive competition and prejudices of their enemies, and distribute themselves as settlers on the public domain. In the possession of independent homes, as industrious producers, they would be treated with respect, encountering little of that prejudice which they cannot surmount so long as so many of them follow menial pursuits, or live in squalor and poverty, without any steady employment at all, in our cities and villages.

In a general way, we may add, that such a policy would retard the growth of a redundant population in particular sections of the country, promote the equalization of conditions, thus favoring the perpetuation of Democratic Institutions in their purity, make foreign immigration a blessing, enlarge the Western market for the sale of Eastern manufactures, and augment the Western granary for the supply of Eastern necessities, thus augmenting internal trade, and multiplying rapidly the materials for external commerce.

As it is, the utmost profligacy prevails in the disposition of the public domain. Speculators buy up large portions of the best districts, and keep them lying idle and unproductive until the labor of the small settlers in the neighborhood has so raised the price of land that they can sell them at enormous profits. Bounty-land bills are passed by Congress, disposing of millions of acres by warrants, which, instead of being located by "poor soldiers," as they are styled, are bought up by agents, at half or two-thirds their value, and made the subjects of an established system of speculation. Trade in bounty-land warrants is as regular a business as buying and selling merchandise. Then there is any amount of "log rolling" legislation. A Representative who has an interest, or represents constituents having an interest, in certain local improvements, seeks to secure a grant of land from Congress to aid in their construction. He finds other Representatives similarly situated, and forthwith they enter into co-partnership, each to sustain the demand of the other; and in this way has grown up a most profligate system of giving away the public lands—giving them in many cases to monopolies, which appropriate them, not to general but merely local purposes.

The proper corrective of this evil is, to adopt the Homestead policy, and secure the Public Lands for the benefit of actual settlers. Turnpikes and railroads will then follow population, and spring up where its necessities require, and its resources authorise. The adoption of this policy by the Independent Democrats, and the warm and consistent support given to it by their candidates, Hale and Julian, shows that their devotion to Freedom is something more than a name, and is not limited to one idea, but embraces the best interests of all classes and races.

BISHOP HUGHES AND POLITICS.

The Washington *Union* publishes a correspondence between Thomas J. Semmes, a Roman Catholic and Democrat, and Archbishop Hughes, in relation to the part which Catholics should take in the coming Presidential election. The object of Mr. Semmes seems to have been to draw from that functionary some expression of opinions which would tell in favor of General Pierce, but he was completely foiled. The reply completely baffles all attempts even to guess the position or views of Bishop Hughes. Mr. Semmes says:

"I address you because, for some weeks past, common rumor has given out in this vicinity, and I believe elsewhere, that you, in conjunction with several other distinguished members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, entertain and express the opinion that the Catholics throughout the Union should regard the approaching Presidential election as a fit opportunity to signify their disapprobation of that portion of the Constitution of the State of New Hampshire, commonly called the religious-test clause, which excludes the Roman Catholic citizens of that State from an equal participation of the privileges and immunities enjoyed by their Protestant brethren; and that, as a merited rebuke to the State of New Hampshire, the Catholic voters should manifest their disapprobation at the polls by voting against General Pierce, regardless of ordinary party affinities and political predilections.

"In consequence of your exalted station in the church, adorned as it is by such distinguished ability, your opinions, without any active exertion on your part, must necessarily have great influence on Catholic sentiment, particularly in respect to a subject partaking of a religious nature. I therefore write you, in order, if the rumor be false, to destroy its effects by contradicting it upon authority; but, if true, to indicate the reasons which have brought my mind to a different conclusion, in the hope that if I am wrong, you will do me the favor to point out my error, and if I am right, you will adopt my conclusion."

The reply is brief, and leaves Mr. Semmes just as well informed as it found him.

NEW YORK, *September* 17, 1852.

DEAR SIR: I have read through and carefully, the letter which you addressed to me, under date 11th instant, in regard to the impending election of President of the United States, and the part which you think the Catholic citizens of the republic ought to take in it. The two candidates presented are General Scott and General Pierce. The entire American people appear to be nearly equally divided in opinion, as to which of these two will make the better Chief Magistrate. This fact seems to intimate a general opinion that the country will be safe under the four years' Presidency of either. As to the Catholics, they have never been consulted as to the limited choice between these two. The probability is that, like their fellow-citizens of other denominations, they will be divided—some voting for one candidate, and some for the other. Like others, they are liable to err in their choice. But, under all the circumstances, I should prefer that, voting honestly, each acording to his own judgment, they should err with the minority; or (what is equally possible) with the majority of their fellow-citizens of all denominations, rather than see them guarded against such danger of erring in their choice of President by any ecclesiastical influence.

I am sure that with your enlightened mind and large Catholic education, you will appreciate the reasons on which this my humble opinion is founded, whether or not you will agree with me in regard to its justice and expediency. In any event, however, I beg leave to subscribe myself.

Your sincere and devoted servant in Xt.

† JOHN, *Archbishop of New York*.

Thomas J. Semmes, Esq.

For ourselves, we must say that we *have no* sympathy with the attempts made in this canvass to arouse sectarian feeling, and array religious denominations in support of or against particular candidates.

WHO OWNS BRITISH NORTH AMERICA?

Such is the title of a remarkable article which appeared in the *Democratic Review* for August. The writer, by a reference to authorities which appear to be indisputable, shows that the ownership of Nova Scotia and Canada was vested in William Alexander, a commoner of Great Britain, who was born in 1580, and was First Master of Requests to James VI of Scotland and I of England. He was knighted in 1625, and ennobled in 1630, receiving the title of Lord Alexander of Tullibodie and Viscount Stirling. At different times, by several charters granted by James I and Charles I, confirming each other, he was invested with the proprietorship and lordship of what is now British North America. The French, as we know, contested the claim of Britain, and for a century held possession of the country themselves; but they were finally dispossessed, and the title of Great Britain was fully confirmed, to Nova Scotia in 1757, to Canada in 1760.

Meantime the heirs of the Earl of Stirling had not been able to assert their rights, but the establishment of the title of Britain necessarily involved the revival of the charters granted to that family, as they could not be annulled by the French usurpation. At the peace of Paris in 1763, the right of inheritance was in John, the great-great-grandson of the first Earl of Stirling; but he died three years thereafter, and his successor, the eighth earl, and last male heir, died three years after him, so that neither had time to establish his rights; and, says the writer in the *Review*, "a most extraordinary fact took place, to wit—that for almost fifty years the right of exercising all the great powers of the charters was dormant, because it fell upon the female heirs of the said last heir male, of whom Mary died in 1794, and Hannah, the mother of the present Earl, in 1814." Alexander, Viscount Canada and now ninth Earl of Stirling, her son, was at that time in captivity in France, but escaping in 1815, with such means as were left him from the spoliation to which he had been subjected, assumed in 1825 his peerage rights as Earl of Stirling. As a peer he repeatedly voted, unquestioned, and his title was recognised by the Lord Chancellor of England. The highest law authority of Scotland, all the thirteen judges having been consulted, recognised his rights unanimously, and four juries, at different times, did the same thing in cases where they were brought into controversy.

But the charters under which he held his titles associated with it the proprietorship of the noblest colonies of England, and it was not to be expected that the Government would surrender this without a struggle. He was subjected to the necessity of constant litigation, and in 1839 to a trial for forgery. The jury triumphantly acquitted him; but his counsel proved false, and the Court gave such instructions that it was subsequently compelled, not to reverse this verdict of acquittal, but to accompany it with such an expression of opinion concerning the charters, as obliged him again to enter into a contest with the whole power of the Government. This he could not do—his means were exhausted—he left the shores of England. At last he came to this country, and with a large family, this legal representative of the Stirling rights and estates, now seventy years of age, is residing at present in Washington.

Such is the substance of the article in the *Review*. It will attract attention, and win sympathy for the family, which, as it would seem for political reasons, is denied its rights.

It is understood that it is determined to prosecute the matter, until justice be done.

"THE WHITE SLAVE."—Two editions of this work, the author of which is Rich'd Hildreth, have been published in London.