WASHINGTON, D. C.

CALEB CUSHING AND THE DEMOCRACY.

Mr. Cushing's edict to the Democracy of Massachusetts was not received so graciously as he anticipated. The Democratic Central Committee of Essex, Mass., issued a counter manifesto to the party in that county, of which the following is an extract:

A COUNTERBLAST FOR MR. CUSHING.

The Washington *Union* is publishing articles from the newspapers concerning Mr. Cushing's letter, but there are some things which it seems to have overlocked, we dare say through sheer inadvertence—for the *Union* is not very exact. We had supposed, until within a day or two, that the publication of that letter was so manifest an indiscretion, that Mr. Cushing's friends had concluded, in the words of the old adage, that the less was said about it the better; but it seems that it is not so. As, therefore, the fashion has been set at Washington to publish the comments on the letter, we shall supply a very remarkable omission of the *Union*.

Mr. Cushing is from Essex county, in Massachusetts. Here in New York the Democrats laugh at his letter, in Essex county they are indignant at it. Its vulgar and violent tone here awakens contempt; at home, where Mr. Cushing is better known, the contempt has a considerable mixture of wrath. The Democratic committee of Essex county has issued the following address, puffing back Mr. Cushing's edict:

"*To the Democrats of Essex County:*

"Brother Democrats: Upon us has devolved the duty of addressing you in the present exigency of public affairs. As most of you are probably aware, a letter, under the signature of the Attorney General of the United States, has been made public, having for its evident purpose the defeat of the Democracy of Massachusetts in their present struggle for constitutional right. This, he asserts, has been done with the full knowledge and concurrence of the President and his Cabinet.

"'In our judgments,' the Attorney General, in taking this step, has 'done worse than to commit a *fatal error*.' He has 'abandoned a principle which is fundamental' to Democracy. To give countenance and power (as he does) 'to persons engaged avowedly in the *persistent agitation* and support' of Federalism in its most naked form, is 'hostile in the highest degree to the *determined policy*' of the Democracy of the nation.

"*From the very outset*, 'the great principle of the constitutional rights of the States has been fastened to the thoughts' of the Democracy of the nation, 'as the corner-stone of this Union,' and the foundation principle of the Democratic platform. Our constitutional and personal rights are as dear to us as are those of other States of the Union, nor will we quietly surrender them. The edict of Caleb Cushing, in our opinion, is a shameless attempt to violate that principle, and an impertinent interference with the local affairs of Massachusetts which we cannot and will not submit to! *We entertain immovable convictions* on this point, as the only ones consistent with *personal honor* and the *success of the Democratic party*, that we will submit to no dictation, come from what source it may. If there be one purpose more fixed than another in our mind, it is that the 'dangerous element' of centralization of power by the General Government, through interference with the local affairs of our State, 'under whatever guise it may present itself, *shall be crushed out*—so far as we are concerned.' This the Democracy of Massachusetts have always declared, 'at all times and in all places, when they have had occasion to speak on the subject.'

"While we do not assume to judge the hearts of our public servants, we only need *overt acts* to show where they are, in order that the settled purpose of the Democracy of Massachusetts, not only to conduct and control their own affairs, but to resist unwarrantable interference therewith, shall be *unequivocally manifest*.

"Brother Democrats! as your duly appointed agents we speak in your name and behalf. '*Have we an autocrat among us?*' Have we submitted to dictation from any source? And shall we submit to it now? Out upon the brazen-faced impudence that would so utterly pervert the sacred principle of Democracy to further the petty intrigues and supposed personal interests of a renegade to his professed principles, his country, and his God!"

EDMUND BURKE, AND THE NOMINATION OF GENERAL PIERCE.

Edmund Burke, owing, we presume, to some personal grievance, has become dissatisfied with the Administration of Gen. Pierce, and may be considered among its opponents. But for this, the country would hardly have been favored with the following disclosure of the means used to bring about the nomination of Gen. Pierce. That event was hailed by the Democratic party as unexpected and unpremeditated: politicians wished the People to regard it as Providential—something not effected by human wisdom. The idea of a providential nomination in such an assemblage of calculating politicians as the Baltimore Convention was simply ludicrous, and we said at the time that the nomination of Gen. Pierce had all been predetermined and preconcerted. Mr. Burke's testimony shows that we were not mistaken. There is a minuteness and naturalness about it, which leave no room for doubt, so far as the main statements are concerned. Apart from the intrinsic interest of this disclosure, it must prove highly instructive, as showing the tricks of politicians, the manner in which public opinion is manufactured, the devices by which Conventions and Parties are led by the nose.

No credit is due to Mr. Burke for this revelation. He has turned State's evidence, not to promote the public good, but, so far as we can see, to gratify his own resentment. The statements he makes, whatever else they may prove, show him to be a cunning, unscrupulous, disingenuous, sinister politician.

Mr. Burke says, that for months before the Democratic National Convention met, he became convinced that neither Cass, Buchanan, nor Douglas, could get the nomination, and that the Convention would agree upon a compromise candidate; and he was satisfied that Pierce stood a better chance than any other man. "But his only chance," says Mr. Burke, "was to keep him out of the ring of competitors, who were sure to destroy each other." He then goes on to expose the wires which he set in operation to secure the nomination. After alluding to his extensive acquaintance with the Democratic politicians throughout the country, and of the opportunities which his residence at Washington gave him to see many of them, he says:

"For months before the Baltimore Convention, we took especial pains to see and converse with those gentlemen upon the subject of the Presidential nomination. We took pains, on all occasions, to suggest the name of General Pierce as a compromise candidate, in the event that the Convention should not agree on either of the three prominent gentlemen above named in connection with that office. We saw and conversed with from fifty to one hundred of the leading politicians of the Union, upon the subject, on all occasions introducing the name of Gen. Pierce. After satisfying our own mind that Gen Pierce could be nominated, we wrote to Gen. Pierce our views and opinions at length, expressing our belief that he could be nominated. He answered our letters.

"We also communicated the project of the friends of General Pierce to the shrewdest and ablest letter-writer at Washington, and procured him to throw out in the papers to which he corresponded, the idea that, in the event of a failure by the Convention to nominate either Cass, Buchanan, or Douglas, General Pierce would be brought forward by his friends as a compromise candidate. That gentleman did as we requested, in several adroit and ingenious letters, published in the Philadelphia *Ledger* and Baltimore *Sun*, which were neutral papers, and therefore the best mediums through which to communicate such designs."

Mr. Burke goes on to say, that about four weeks before the Convention, he came home and corresponded with Gen. Pierce in relation to his nomination. The latter desired that the delegation from New Hampshire should meet at Concord, to consider the matter, and requested Mr. Burke to write to some of the delegates and request their attendance. This Mr. Burke did, but was unable to attend the meeting himself. In a letter, however, he suggested a plan of operations. Gen. Pierce replied to this letter, acknowledging its receipt, and stating that the delegates present concurred in its views. What that plan of operations was, will appear presently. Shortly after, Burke and Gen Pierce had an interview, at the request of the latter, and fully discussed the plan, *which was carried out almost to the very letter at Baltimore.*

In the following extract, Mr. Burke fully exposes the cunningly-devised scheme which, under the artful management of shrewd politicians, secured the nomination of Gen. Pierce as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency:

"At that time, Gen. Pierce expressed his desire that our delegation should not cast its vote unanimously for any one candidate before the Convention. The reason he assigned was, that in consequence of the high character for fidelity to principle which the Democracy of New Hampshire enjoyed among their brethren of the Union, the united vote of her delegation, though small, would have a greater moral force than the votes of delegations much larger in numbers; and, if given for any leading candidate in the outset, would endanger the ultimate end we had in view.

"We then went to Baltimore, having some weeks previous engaged rooms for our entire delegation at the Eutaw House, one of the best hotels in that city. The Convention assembled, and throughout its session we exerted every energy to carry out the wishes of Gen. Pierce. On some of the first ballots, I gave my vote for Mr. Douglas, in accordance with what I knew was General P.'s express desire in regard to our delegation giving a united vote. Subsequently, we all united on Gen. Cass; and then we again divided, Mr. Atherton and myself voting for Hon. James Buchanan, and our colleagues voting for Gen. Butler, of Kentucky. At length, the delegates from Virginia introduced the name of Gen. Pierce, and *then our delegation gave him a united vote until he was nominated.* These facts the records of the Convention abundantly prove."

In continuation, Mr. Burke speaks of his own services after the nomination, and says, among other things, that he, "in co-operation with an eminent and distinguished naturalized citizen, aided in inducing Kossuth to take ground in favor of the Democratic nominees, which he subsequently did."

The remainder of the article is occupied with an exposition of the personal relations which have existed between himself and Gen. Pierce since the nomination. The article, it will be remembered, is in reply to the reports industriously circulated, that the General was personally hostile to Mr. Burke. In this connection, an extract from one of the private letters of Gen. Pierce is given, in which he says:

"I can state, distinctly, *that the charge that I am your enemy, has, so far as I know*, NO FOUNDATION IN ANY WORD OR ACT OF MINE."

Subsequently, General Pierce personally assured Mr. Burke that he did not countenance the reports. Mr. Burke says: "We prefer to believe that *he* is a man of truth and honor, and that *they* (Butterfield, George, and others, who have circulated the reports,) are base and infamous calumniators of both him and us."

Our readers can put their own interpretation on the following sentence:

"We have seen several Presidents in our day, and we have learned to look upon them as men, and not as gods. We approach them with no fear and trembling. They are men, but the office which they fill is the most exalted of human honors. It represents the majority of the people, and whoever fills it is entitled to the respect of the people while in office. But there is one character far above that of President—it is the GENTLEMAN. That implies truth, honor, integrity, and justice.

"A President, personally, may be without these eminent qualities, but a gentleman, never. The President who represents and carries out our principles will have our political support, if he is no gentleman. The pretended friends of General Pierce would attempt to show that he was destitute of truth and honor, and therefore no gentleman. We prefer to believe that *they* are of that character, and not he. The facts we have above enumerated go to show they are the ones who are destitute of truth, integrity, and honor, and not Gen. Pierce."

NOMINATION OF MR. PERKINS.

The nomination of the Hon. Jared Perkins for the office of Governor, by the True Democracy, meets with the unanimous approbation of the friends of free principles in every part of the State, and is favorably received by that class of voters, now increasing in numbers, who care very little about party names and political managers. Mr. Perkins of course, stands no chance of an election. The time has not come for the political regeneration of New Hampshire. We can, however, safely predict that he will receive a much larger vote than any Free Democratic candidate who has preceded him. We notice that the *Patriot* and its echoes are anxious to make it appear that the Whigs will adopt our candidate at their State Convention next week. The Whig party is reduced to a very low extremity—is practically defunct—and it matters very little what course its convention adopts, though we infer that it will nominate James Bell, the candidate of last year. If any other party chooses to support our nominations, we shall not forbid it, and we trust that there are those of the rank and file of the old parties, who will do themselves the justice of voting for that stanch old Republican, Jared Perkins.

We care very little for party names. So far as regards coalitions, we oppose them where it involves a sacrifice of any principle; but in voting for members of the Legislature, we, for one, are ready to support any honest and intelligent man, of any political party, who will openly pledge himself in favor of State Reform and in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. But, on these questions, his position must be unequivocally defined. We think this view is the one generally taken by the Free Democrats of New Hampshire. Coalitions are at times desirable for the purpose of accomplishing certain ends; and where they effect their purpose without any compromise of principle, no valid objection can be made to them. On no other condition should they ever be entertained by any political organization.

Manchester (N. H) Democrat.

THE SOUTH AND THE N. YORK DEMOCRACY.

From the Richmond (Va.) Examiner.

Mr. Van Buren identified himself, in 1848, with the Free Soil party of the North, and took as the tenets of his faith and the articles of his creed the treasonable Buffalo platform. The South could not forget this assault; it cannot forgive this monstrous iniquity. It is no figure of speech to say that Van Buren and Arnold are names synonymous in the hearts of the Southern people.

The South knows full well that the sentiment of Europe is hostile to the system of Slavery—that all the energies of fanticism, moral and religious, are directed against us on that account. We know that every weapon in the armory of prejudice, national rivalry, and dread, are freely resorted to, to injure and destroy us. Misrepresentation, slander, fraud, falsehood, are the familiar means by which we are sought to be ruined and undone. Romance, poetry, political and religious literature, is all enlisted in the crusade against our altars and our homes. But the South quails not in the apparently unequal struggle, feeling that he is doubly armed who has his quarrel just. They can disregard foreign detraction, traduction, and assault; but they cannot forgive their own "countrymen and brethren," who add treason and fratricide to enmity, malice, and falsehood.

We know, however, that in the midst of the strongholds of our Northern enemies, within the bailiwick of the Lucifer of Kinderhook, we have friends, good, true, faithful, untiring, and courageous allies, whose enemies are our enemies, whose country is our country, and whose God is our God—men who have done all, dared all, and suffered all, for the South, the Constitution, and the country. Daniel S. Dickinson and his dauntless party in New York, the South have been accustomed to look upon as her friends, and the friends of the country; they have been tried and purified in the fiery furnace, and, like pure gold, have come out all the purer for the ordeal; like Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, they have come out with their faith and righteousness vindicated of Heaven, before princes and people.

That a feud and a warfare should exist between the Van Buren faction and the Dickinson party, is to be expected; that the South should side with Van Burenists against Dickinson and his friends, would be unjust, cruel, and most unnatural. If this qurrel is forced upon the nation, the South will take sides with the friends of the South, let who will take sides against them.

For the National Era.

THE SOUTHERN PLATFORM;

OR,

MANUAL OF SOUTHERN SENTIMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY.

Being a Compilation from the Writings of Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, whose names are consecrated in the affections of the Southern People—the Debates in the Federal and State Conventions which framed and ratified the Constitution of the United States—those which occurred in the first Congresses which sat during the Administration of General Washington—and extracts from the Debate in the Virginia Legislature in 1832; with various letters, judicial decisions, &c.

BY DANIEL R. GOODLOE, OF NORTH CAROLINA.

From Tucker's Blackstone.

ON THE STATE OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA.

By St. George Tucker, Professor of Law in the University of William and Mary and one of the Judges of the General Court in Virginia.

[CONTINUED.]

In what manner manumission was performed in this country during the first century after the introduction of Slavery, does not appear. The act of 1668, before mentioned, (65) shows it to have been practiced before that period. In 1723, an act passed, prohibiting the manumission of slaves, upon any pretence whatsoever, except for meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the Governor and Council. (66.) This clause was re-enacted in 1748, and continued to be the law until after the Revolution was accomplished. The number of manumissions under such restrictions must necessarily have been very few. In May, 1782, an act passed, authorizing, generally, the manumission of slaves, but requiring such as might be set free, not being of sound mind or body, or being above the age of forty-five years, or males under twenty-one, or females under eighteen, to be supported by the person liberating them, or out of his estate. (67) The act of manumission may be performed either by will or by deed, under the hand and seal of the party, acknowledged by him, or proved by two witnesses in the court of the county where he resides. There is reason to believe that great numbers have been emancipated since the passing of this act. By the census of 1791, it appears that the number of free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians, in Virginia, was then 12,866. It would be a large allowance to suppose that there were 2800 free negroes and mulattoes in Virginia when the act took effect; so that upwards of ten thousand must have been indebted to it for their freedom. (68) The number of Indians and their descendants in Virginia, at present, is too small to require particular notice. The progress of emancipation in Virginia is at this time continual, but not rapid. The act passed in 1792 accords in some degree with the Justinian code, (69) by providing that slaves emancipated may be taken in execution to satisfy any debt contracted by the person emancipating them, before such emancipation is made. (70)

Among the Romans, the *libertini* or freedmen were formerly distinguished by a threefold division, (71) They sometimes obtained what was called the greater liberty, thereby becoming *Roman citizens*. To this privilege those who were enfranchised by testament, by the census, or by the vindicta, appear to have been alone admitted; sometimes they obtained the lesser liberty only, and became *Latins*, whose condition is thus described by Justinian: "They never enjoyed the right of succession [to estates;] for, although they led the lives of free men, yet with their last breath they lost both their lives and liberties; for their possessions, like the goods of slaves, were detained by the manumittor," (72) Sometimes they obtained only the inferior liberty, being called *dedititii*; such were slaves who had been condemned as criminals, and afterwards obtained manumission through the indulgence of their masters. Their condition was equalled with that of conquered revolters, whom the Romans called, in reproach, *dedititii, quia se suaque omnia dediderunt*; but all these distinctions were abolished by Justinian, (73) by whom all freedmen in general were made citizens of Rome, without regard to the form of manumission. In England, the presenting the villein with *free arms* seems to have been the symbol of his restoration to all the rights which a feudatory was entitled to. With us, we have seen that emancipation does not confer the rights of citizenship on the person emancipated: on the contrary, both he and his posterity, of the same complexion with himself, must always labor under many civil incapacities. If he is absolved from personal restraint or corporeal punishment by a *master*, yet the *laws* impose a restraint upon his actions in many instances, where there is none upon a free white man. If he can maintain a suit, he cannot be a witness, a juror, or a judge, in any controversy between one of his own complexion and a white person. If he can acquire property in lands, he cannot exercise the right of suffrage, which such a property would confer on his former master: much less can he assist in making those laws by which he is bound. Yet, even under these disabilities, his present condition bears an enviable pre-eminence over his former state. Possessing the liberty of locomotion, which was formerly denied him, it is in his choice to submit to that civil inferiority inseparably attached to his condition in this country, or seek some more favorable climate, where all distinctions between men are either totally abolished, or less regarded than in this.

The extirpation of Slavery from the United States is a task equally arduous and momentous. To restore the blessings of liberty to near a million (74) of oppressed individuals, who have groaned under the yoke of bondage, and to their descendants, is an object which those who trust in Providence will be convinced would not be unaided by the Divine Author of our being, should we invoke his blessing upon our endeavors. Yet human prudence forbids that we should precipitately engage in a work of such hazard as a general and simultaneous emancipation. The mind of a man must, in some measure, be formed for his future condition. The early impressions of obedience and submission, which slaves have received among us, and the no less habitual arrogance and assumption of superiority among the whites, contribute, equally, to unfit the former for *freedom*, and the latter for equality, (75) To expel them all at once from the United States would, in fact, be to devote them only to a lingering death, by famine, by disease, and other accumulated miseries: "We have in history but one picture of a similar enterprise, and there we see it was necessary not only to open the sea, by a miracle, for them to pass, but more necessary to close it again to prevent their return." (76) To retain them among us would be nothing more than to throw so many of the human race upon the earth without the means of subsistence; they would soon become idle, profligate, and miserable. Unfit for their new condition, and unwilling to return to their former laborious course, they would become the caterpillars of the earth, and the tigers of the human race.

The recent history of the French West Indies exhibits the melancholy picture of the probable consequences of a general and momentary emancipation in any of the States where Slavery has made considerable progress. In Massachusetts the abolition of it was effected by a single stroke, a clause in their Constitution; (77) but the whites at that time were as sixty-five to one, in proportion to the blacks. The whole number of free persons in the United States, south of Delaware State, are 1,233 829, and there are 648 439 slaves—the proportion being less than two to one. Of the cultivators of the earth in the same district, it is probable that there are four slaves for one free white man. To discharge the former from their present condition, would be attended with an immediate, general famine in those parts of the United States, from which not all the productions of the other States could deliver them. Similar evils might reasonably be apprehended from the adoption of the measure by any one of the Southern States; for, in all of them, the proportion of slaves is too great not to be attended with calamitous effects, if they were immediately set free. (78) There are serious, I had almost said insurmountable, obstacles to a general, simultaneous emancipation. There are other considerations not to be disregarded. A great part of the *property* of individuals consists in *slaves*. The laws have sanctioned this species of property. Can the laws take away the property of an individual without his own consent, or without a *just compensation?* Will those who do not hold slaves agree to be taxed to make up this compensation? Creditors also, who have trusted their debtors upon the faith of this visible property, will be defrauded. If justice demands the emancipation of the slave, she also, *under these circumstances*, seems to plead for the owner and for his creditor. The claims of nature, it will be said, are stronger than those which arise from social institutions only. I admit it; but nature also dictates to us to provide for our *own* safety, and authorizes all *necessary* measures for that purpose. And we have shown that our own security, nay, our very existence, might be endangered by the hasty adoption of any measure for the *immediate* relief of the *whole* of this unhappy race. Must we, then, quit the subject, in despair of the success of any project for the amendment of their as well as our own condition? I think not. Strenuously as I feel my mind opposed to a simultaneous emancipation, for the reasons already mentioned, the abolition of Slavery in the United States, and especially in that State to which I am attached by every tie that nature and society form, is *now* my *first*, and probably will be my last, expiring wish.

But here let me avoid the imputation of inconsistency, by observing that the abolition of Slavery may be effected without the *emancipation* of a single slave; without depriving any man of the *property* which he *possesses;* and without defrauding a creditor who has trusted him on the faith of that property. The experiment in that mode has already been begun in some of our sister States. Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the immortal Franklin, (79) began the work of gradual abolition of Slavery in the year 1780, by enlisting nature herself on the side of humanity. Connecticut followed the example four years after. (80) New York very lately made an essay, which miscarried by a very inconsiderable majority. Mr. Jefferson informs us that the committee of revisors, of which he was a member, had prepared a bill for the emancipation of all slaves born after the passing that act. This is conformable to the Pennsylvania and Connecticut laws. Why the measure was not brought forward in the General Assembly, I have never heard; possibly because objections were foreseen to that part of the bill which relates to the disposal of the blacks after they had attained a certain age. (81) It certainly seems liable to many, both as to the policy and the practicability of it. To establish such a colony in the territory of the United States would probably lay the foundation of intestine wars, which would terminate only in their extirpation or final expulsion. To attempt it in any other quarter of the globe would be attended with the utmost cruelty to the colonists themselves, and the destruction of their whole race. If the plan were at this moment in operation, it would require the annual exportation of 12,000 persons. This requisite number must, for a series of years, be considerably increased, in order to keep pace with the increasing population of those people. In twenty years it would amount to upwards of twenty thousand persons, which is near half the number which are now supposed to be annually exported from Africa. Where would a fund to support this expense be found? Five times the present revenue of the State would barely defray the charge of their passage. Where provisions for their support after their arrival? Where those necessaries which must preserve them from perishing? Where a territory sufficient to support them? Or, where could they be received as friends, and not as invaders? To colonize them in the United States might seem less difficult. If the territory to be assigned them were beyond the settlements of the whites, would they not be put upon a forlorn hope against the Indians? (82) Would not the expense of transporting them thither, and supporting them at least for the first and second years, be also far beyond the revenues and abilities of the State? The expense attending a small army in that country hath been found enormous. To transport as many colonists annually, as we have shown were necessary to eradicate the evil, would probably require five times as much money as the support of such an army. But the expense would not stop there; they must be assisted and supported at least for another year after their arrival in their new settlements. Suppose them arrived. Illiterate and ignorant as they are, is it probable that they would be capable of instituting such a government in their new colony as would be necessary for their own internal happiness, or to secure them from destruction from without? European emigrants, from whatever country they arrive, have been accustomed to the restraint of laws, and to respect for Government. These people, accustomed to be ruled with a rod of iron, will not easily submit to milder restraints. They would become hordes of vagabonds, robbers, and murderers. Without the aids of an enlightened policy, morality, or religion, what else could be expected from their still savage state and debased condition? "But why not retain and *incorporate the blacks into the State?*" This question has been well answered by Mr. Jefferson: (83) and who is there so free from prejudices among us as candidly to declare that he has none against such a measure? The recent scenes transacted in the French colonies in the West Indies, are enough to make one shudder with the apprehension of realizing similar calamities in this country. Such probably would be the event of an attempt to smother those prejudices which have been cherished for a period of almost two centuries.

Many persons, who regret domestic Slavery, contend that, in abolishing it, we must also abolish that scion from it, which I have denominated *civil* Slavery. That there must be no distinction of rights; that the descendants of Africans, as men, have an equal claim to all civil rights, as the descendants of Europeans; and upon being delivered from the yoke of bondage, have a right to be admitted to all the privileges of a citizen. But have not men, when they enter into a state of society, a right to admit, or exclude, any description of persons, as they think proper? If it be true, as Mr. Jefferson seems to suppose, that the Africans are really an inferior race of mankind, (84) will not sound policy advise their exclusion from a society in which they have not yet been admitted to participate in civil rights; and even to guard against such admission, at any future period, since it may eventually depreciate the whole national character? And if prejudices have taken such deep root in our minds as to render it impossible to eradicate this opinion, ought not so general an error, if it be one, to be respected? Shall we not relieve the necessities of the naked, diseased beggar, unless we will invite him to a seat at our table? nor afford him shelter from the inclemencies of the night air, unless we admit him also to share our bed? To deny that we ought to abolish Slavery, without incorporating the negroes into the State, and admitting them to a full participation of all our civil and social rights, appears to me to rest upon a similar foundation. The experiment, so far as it has been already made among us, proves that the emancipated blacks are not ambitious of civil rights. To prevent the generation of such an ambition, appears to comport with sound policy; for, if it should ever rear its head, its partisans, as well as its opponents, will be enlisted by nature herself, and always ranged in formidable array against each other. (85) We must therefore endeavor to find some middle course, between the tyrannical and iniquitous policy which holds so many human creatures in a state of grievous bondage, and that which would turn loose a numerous, starving, and enraged banditti, upon the innocent descendants of their former oppressors. *Nature, time, and sound policy*, must co-operate with each other to produce such a change; if either be neglected, the work will be incomplete, dangerous, and, not improbably, destructive.

(65.) Ante, p. 36.
(66.) 1723, c. 4.
(67.) May, 1782, c. 21.
(68.) There are more free negroes and mulattoes in Virginia, alone, than are to be found in the four New England States, and Vermont in addition to them. The progress of emancipation in this State is therefore much greater than our Eastern brethren may at first suppose. There are only 1,087 free negroes and mulattoes in the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, more than in Virginia. Those who take a subject in the gross, have little idea of the result of an exact scrutiny. Out of 20,348 inhabitants on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, 1,185 were free negroes and mulattoes when the census was taken. The number is since much augmented.
(69.) 1794, c. 163.
(70.) The act of 1795, c. 11, enacts, that any person held in slavery may make complaint to a magistrate, or to the court of the district, county, or corporation, wherein he resides, and not elsewhere. The magistrate, if the complaint be made to him, shall issue his warrant to summon the owner before him, and compel him to give bond and security to suffer the complainant to appear at the next court, to be admitted to sue *informa pauperis*. If the owner refuse, the magistrate shall order the complainant into the custody of the officer serving the warrant, at the expense of the master, who shall keep him until the sitting of the court, and then produce him before it. Upon the petition to the court, if the court be satisfied as to the material facts, they shall assign the complainant counsel, who shall state the facts, with his opinion thereon, to the court; and unless, from the circumstances so stated, and the opinion thereon given, the court shall see manifest reason to deny their interference, they shall order the clerk to issue process against the owner, and the complainant shall remain in the custody of the sheriff until the owner shall give bond and security to have him forthcoming to answer the judgment of the court. And by the general law, in case of pauper's suits, the complainants shall have writs of subpœna gratis; and by the practice of the courts, he is permitted to attend the taking the depositions of witnesses, and go and come freely, to and from court, for the prosecution of his suit.
(71.) Jus. Inst., Lib. 1, tit. 5.
(72.) Harris's Inst., Lib. 3, tit. 8.
(73.) Inst., Lib. 1, tit. 5, s. 3.
(74.) The number of slaves in the United States, at the time of the late census, was about 900,000.
(75.) See Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 208.
(76.) Letter from James Sullivan, Esq., to Doctor Belknap.
(77.) Dr. Belknap.
(78.) What is here advanced is not to be understood as implying an opinion that the labor of slaves is more productive than that of freemen. The author of the treatise on the Wealth of Nations informs us, "That it appears from the experience of all ages and nations, that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that done by slaves; that it is found to do so, even in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, where the wages of common labor are very high."—Vol. 1, p. 123, Lond. edit., oct. Admitting this conclusion, it would not remove the objection that emancipated slaves would not willingly labor.
(79.) Dr. Franklin, it is said, drew the bill for the gradual abolition of Slavery in Pennsylvania.
(80.) It is probable that similar laws have been passed in some other States, but I have not been able to procure a note of them.
(81.) See Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, p. 251.
(82.) Or, perhaps, by incorporating with them, become a formidable accession of strength to those hostile savages.
(83.) See Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, pp. 252 to 265.

"In the present case, it is not only the slave who is beneath his master—it is the negro who is beneath the white man. No act of enfranchisement can efface this unfortunate distinction."—Chattelleux's Travels in America.

(84.) The celebrated David Hume, in his essay on National Character, advances the same opinion; Dr. Beattie, in his essay on Truth, controverts it with many powerful arguments. Early prejudices, had we more satisfactory information than we can possibly possess on the subject at present, would render an inhabitant of a country where negro Slavery prevails an improper umpire between them.

(85.) It was once proposed among the Romans to discriminate slaves by a *peculiar habit*; but it was justly apprehended that there might be some danger in acquainting them with their own numbers.—Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, Vol. 1, page 59. What policy forbade the martial Romans to do, nature and the Federal census have already done in Virginia, and the other Southern States.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

For the National Era.

ANTIOCH COLLEGE.

We had the pleasure, recently, of spending a day or two, visiting this new institution, located at Yellow Springs, Greene county, Ohio. The institution was opened with appropriate ceremonies on the 5th instant, when a very able address was given by the President, Hon. Horace Mann, to a large concourse of people.

The friends of this institution have been very fortunate in the selection of a site for it. We know of no place in Ohio better suited for a College. The scenery around it is beautiful, and the village is laid out and built with great taste. The College buildings, in beauty and elegance, surpass everything of the kind we have seen in the West. They have been erected at a cost of $80,000 or $100,000. Between two and three hundred students have already entered the institution, and their number is constantly increasing. The entire Faculty is an able body. Of the President, Mr. Mann, nothing need be said. His reputation as a scholar, and as an able advocate of education, freedom, and sound morals, is world-wide. He delivers to all the students a weekly lecture on some interesting topic. It must be a great luxury to hear these lectures.

We have great confidence that Mr. Mann will do much in moulding the minds of the young men and women of the West in a right direction. E.

Columbus, Ohio, Oct. 28, 1853.

JUDGE GRIER.

The people of Wilkesbarre do not seem to relish the language applied, on the bench, by Judge Grier, to some of their best citizens. A certificate, signed by the leading men of that town, bears testimony to the high character of Gilbert Burrows, Esq., whom the Judge stigmatized as a "two-penny magistrate." Judging from the witness they bear, Mr. Burrows stands as well at home as it is possible for any man to stand; and the act which called down upon his head the invective of Judge Grier, was one occurring in the regular discharge of his official duty. The people of Wilkesbarre may well take alarm, when their own civil officers are violently assailed, in high quarters, for a simple discharge of magisterial duty.

The following affidavit by a citizen of Wilkesbarre, in reference to another of the parties, against whom the Judge's harsh language was directed, developes a fact which ought to arouse some show of public resentment. In the ordinary affairs of life, such things would not be endured:

"Before Gilbert Burrows, a Justice of the Peace in and for the county of Luzerne, and State of Pennsylvania, personally came John L. Butler, of Wilkesbarre, in said county, and being duly sworn, deposeth and saith as follows, viz:

"About two years ago, I met Judge Grier in the city of Washington, D. C. The Judge asked me if I knew one Gildersleve, of Wilkesbarre. I replied that I did; that he was a respectable merchant, and a conscientious, good man. Judge Grier said to me, I hear that he harbors negroes and gives them arms. I replied, he may harbor negroes, but I think he would not arm them. Judge Grier then requested me to tell Mr. Gildersleve, from him, that if he, Gildersleve, should ever be brought before him, that he would hang him; which message I delivered to Mr. Gildersleve on my return home. JOHN L. BUTLER.

"Sworn and subscribed, Oct. 28, 1853, before me, G. BURROWS, Jr."

THE FEDERAL APPOINTMENTS IN NEW YORK.

We copy elsewhere an article from the Washington *Union*, designed to show how groundless is the charge that the Executive has appointed an undue proportion of anti-Cass men to office in this State. By the *Union's* statement, it appears that of the thirty-five leading appointments, twenty-six were supporters of Cass in 1848, and only nine opposed to him; and of the forty-one prominent postmasters in the State, thirty-one were Cass men, and only ten Van Buren men. As such bad luck seems to attend the appointment of Mr. Cass's friends to office here, might it not be well to try a few more of the other kind? How would it do to appoint a few who not only were, but still are Free-Soilers?

Suppose the President should look over the Constitution again, and see whether he is not mistaken in supposing that there is anything in it forbidding persons opposed to the extension of slave territory and slave representation from holding office; and while upon the subject, it may not be unprofitable for him to ask himself whether it is not quite as illiberal to proscribe a section of Democrats for their opinions about Slavery, as it was for the Constitutional Convention of New Hampshire to proscribe a portion of their constituents for being Roman Catholics? Will not the time come when the President will be as anxious to escape the reproach of intolerance towards the Free-Soilers, as he was to wash his hands of all responsibility for the proscriptive clause in the Constitution which he helped to construct for his native State? We sincerely hope that he may live till that day, and as much longer as he can.—*N. Y. Evc. Post.*

IMPORTANT TO YOUNG MEN.

I OFFER for sale upwards of thirty different Receipts, many of which have been sold the past year for five dollars a-piece, and the whole comprising so many different ways to make money. In the sale of one of the articles alone, I have known young men the past year to make from five to twelve dollars per day; and in the manufacture and sale of any one of the articles, no young man of energy and ability can fail to make money. Address E. BOWMAN, Boston, Mass., enclosing one dollar, and the whole number of Receipts will be forwarded by mail. No letter taken from the office unless prepaid. June 16.

GEO. W. NEWCOMB,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Chicago, Ill.
WILL pay particular attention to collecting business in Chicago and vicinity. Oct. 20.

ONE THOUSAND AGENTS WANTED.
FINE chance for young men this winter. Address
Nov. 3 M. J. COOK, Crawfordsville, Ind.

GRAHAM'S MAGAZINE.—NEW VOLUME.
For 1854.

THE year 1853, for "Graham," is ended. With the next number, *we* are in 1854. The "Magazine year" is necessarily anticipated, and is not reckoned by the ordinary rules. The January number must be manufactured in November, and complete copies, as sample numbers for agents, will be ready before the first of December: for with the first of that month all contracts for the year are filled, and the renewal of clubs and single subscribers commences.

In announcing his readiness to receive orders for the new volume, the editor does not know that he has any very brilliant ideas to hold out, in large capitals, to dazzle people's eyes—"Graham" will be pretty much what it has been this volume, with some improvements which experience suggests. No number will contain less than 100 pages of matter; and the readers of "Graham" may rely with great confidence upon *this*—that the two volumes for the year shall contain

OVER TWELVE HUNDRED PAGES

of the very best reading matter that capital can command from original sources, or taste-select from the vast mass of available material.

The aim of the editor will be to produce a publication which shall be valuable in matter, and choice in taste and style; and he flatters himself, from the known talents of his contributors, that he will be able to present as many *good original* articles to his readers as any publication of the day. He shall not, however, hesitate to publish, from time to time, articles from English authors, and translations from the best German and French writers; provided the pieces have never before appeared in print in this country. Essays on important political subjects will likewise be inserted, and criticisms on the literature of America and the movements of the age. The Review Department, in which a large and liberal spirit of criticism will always be maintained, will be extended. For the defence and support of American literature, the editor will always be ready; for the maintenance of a correct tone in the Magazine, he will, if possible, be still more watchful.

Each number will contain an Engraving from a splendid steel plate.

In addition to the choice designs and engravings of Devereux, who will still supply illustrations for the text in the body of the book. The aim of the editor will not be so much to increase the *number* of his engravings, as to secure for those he publishes the *utmost finish* which the artist can give them; for common wood cuts are so easily multiplied that the most indifferent publication may outrank, in dreary display, the choicest periodical.

The editor does not feel that, with his own readers, he can increase his claim to respect by insisting on any very great superiority of "Graham" over several similar publications, but thinks he may safely confide in their friendship for the Magazine, and in its past management, for its present list, and such increase as naturally grows out of an extended circulation in a country where readers are multiplying so rapidly.

Of the January number, the first edition will be 30,000 copies, and the editor trusts his old friends will be so prompt in *renewing old clubs*, and extending the list among *new ones*, that the first edition shall be but half of what the year will ultimately establish as the permanent circulation of "Graham."

Postage.—Subscribers in any part of the United States may now receive the Magazine, by mail, at three cents a number, or thirty-six cents a year postage, payable at the post office where it is received.

Postmasters and editors, all over the Union, are respectfully requested to act as agents for the New Volume.

TERMS:

The terms of "Graham" are three dollars for single subscribers, if paid in advance; for six dollars, in advance, one copy is sent three years.

We continue the following low terms for clubs, to be sent, in the city, to one address, and, in the country, to one post office:

Two copes, $5 per annum.

Five copies—and one to agent, or the getter up of the club—$10 per annum.

Eight copies—and one to agent, or the getter-up of the club—$15 per annum.

Eleven copies—and one to agent, or the getter-up of the club—$20 per annum.

The money for clubs always must be sent in advance. Subscriptions may be sent at our risk. When the sum is large, a draft should be procured, if possible—the cost of which may be deducted from the amount. Address, *always post paid*,

GEO. R. GRAHAM, Editor,
No. 50 South Third street, Philadelphia.

N. B. Any person desirous of receiving a copy of "Graham," as a sample, can be accommodated, by notifying the editor by letter, post paid.

Nov. 10—3teow

T. S. ARTHUR'S HOME MAGAZINE,

Gives over 900 large, double-column, octavo pages of choice reading matter in a year; also, from 12 to 15 steel engravings, of a high order of excellence; besides from 150 to 200 fine wood engravings.

☞ *All for $1.25 in clubs of four subscribers!*

THE CHE