without having business to do. The fourteenth article opens to American commerce the new ports of Swatow and Tai-wan, both of which were already in undisturbed exercise of foreign commerce. But this most unnecessary article, as we read the treaty, is clogged with the provision that any subject of the United States engaging in contraband trade shall be dealt with by the Chinese local authorities, without protection from the Government of the United States. When it is remembered that Mr. Reed was most careful to use terms which should include the importation of opium—in order, as it was suggested, to spite the British for their crusade against Slavery—and as all the eminent American houses in Hong-Kong deal in that drug, it may be imagined what the treaty rights of an American citizen would have been in China under this treaty. This is the whole of the document, so far as any new concessions are concerned. There is no provision for free transit through the country, no new ports, no provision for an amended tariff, nothing that could be of the least value to any class of merchants wishing to export from the harbors of America, or to import from the inner waters or the northern sea-coast of China. Having concluded this famous piece of diplomacy, Mr. Reed was not contented with his achievement. He was not satisfied to have made this wretched bargain for his country; he was most desirous that Lord Elgin should not make a better bargain for her and for civilization in general. The Chinese Commissioners had agreed by letter to all the English and French demands, the treaty had been drafted, and the hour had been named for the signature, when suddenly Mr. Reed and Count Putiatine sought solemn audience of Baron Gros, and represented to him that it was the height of oppression to insist upon any resident Embassy at Pekin; that the free transit through the country was a most useless and offensive demand; and that the additional ports could never be agreed to.

We are told that these remonstrances were pressed so strongly upon Baron Gros, that he, who had no special interest in the commercial stipulations, would have given up the points, had he not been influenced by a loyal regard for the unity of the counsels of England and France. We are further told that the two remonstrant Powers even forged or believed the fable that the Emperor of China had sent down an edict positively forbidding the Mandarians to concede these points. For some hours, the whole of the substantial benefits of this treaty were in peril—we are stating nothing which was not well known throughout the whole expedition—and the Americans were insanely rejoicing at the apparent success of an intrigue that could be beneficial only to the Chinese and the Russians, would be indifferent to the French, but would be vitally injurious to the English and to the Americans. By great ability and by great firmness the threatened danger was avoided. Prompt counsel was taken, a counter-mine was sprung, and again the clumsy player was checked by a fool's-mate. But, as we understand, some privileges were given up which would have been very useful to the merchants of both countries—not because they would not have been conceded, and justly conceded, nor because the reasonably hostile influence of Russia was feared, but because it would not have been safe to dally longer with the opposition of Russia, while Russia could count upon the insensate assistance of America.

This is as much of the story of the treaty of Tien-tsin as may be publicly known and publicly stated. The facts are freely talked of, and we believe there is no doubt of their correctness. We think they ought also to be known in America. This is not a question between the two countries. We are quite sure that the American people are as anxious to carry their drills up the Yang-tse and to exchange them for low-priced teas and silks, as the merchants of London can be, and that they would have been quite as indignant if the result of recent events had been no better than Mr. Reed's silly treaty, as we in England should have been. It is only fair to let them know how badly they have been served in this matter, and how unreasonably the moral influence of their country has been used against us and against themselves. Throughout the whole of this latter scene, no diplomatist ever made a weaker figure than that made by the American representative; he has not only caused us both much peril, but he has done us both some harm; he has been in all things the tool of the Russian, whose opposition was sensible enough, and to be expected; and he has succeeded only in fixing upon the Chinese mind an indelible conviction "that American man only number two class Englishman."

Correspondence of the Boston Traveller.

BEIRUT, *Sept.* 28, 1858.

The thirst for blood is still showing itself in this part of the country, and the revengeful nature of the Druses who inhabitant Mount Lebanon may be illustrated by an account of a horrible tragedy which occurred last week at the village of Tazanich, a few miles from Beirut. It was a case of blood, and in such cases the revenge of a Druse has never been known to sleep unappeased.

About eighteen years ago, a Christian killed a Druse in a quarrel, and succeeded in making his escape from the fury of the friends of the deceased—during which time two members of his family had been killed by the Druses, in revenge for the death of their friend; and, after wandering about for many years, he finally ventured to return to his home. It was supposed that, as blood had been taken for blood, the feud was at an end; but, on one beautiful evening, while the Christian was in the midst of his family, and while entertaining a neighbor who had called to spend a social hour, a band of 24 Druses entered the house, and, after seizing the Christians, began to torture them in the most excruciating manner, cutting off their ears, noses, fingers, and feet, before striking the fatal blow. The Christian, his family, and guest, were all brutally slaughtered, and the murderers, having finished their bloody work, returned home, well satisfied with what they had accomplished. The families of the murdered Christians immediately assembled, to the number of two hundred, and, after much heated discussion, determined to wait a short time, to see whether the Turkish Government would revenge their wrongs, and, if not, then to arise and exterminate the families of the murderers, which number about forty.

Mr. Walsh, writing from Paris to the *Journal of Commerce*, under date of the 14th ultimo, says:

"The British Government is fortifying all the exposed coasts of the United Kingdom; that of France has just launched at Cherbourg a *cuirassed* (iron-sided) frigate, and has others on the stocks. The *Trieste Gazette* announces that, by order of the Emperor of Austria, the effective of the Imperial fleet is to be three ships of the line of from 100 to 120 guns, with machinery of 1,000 horse power; twelve frigates, of which six are to carry 60 guns; three of the second class, of 50 guns; three of the third class, of 31 guns; six corvettes of the largest class; two sailing frigates, and two corvettes with propellers; two transport ships that may be armed in time of war; eight gun-boats, &c. All the Governments that have sea-coast and ports are engaged in rendering themselves naval. A Russian squadron is expected at Toulon. The British press calculates that in another year France will possess forty screw line-of-battle ships. It deserves to be remarked that, while there is a general increase of land and sea armaments, all the Powers profess the strongest desire and firm intention of durable peace; and we may believe them. They are not less earnest in promoting internal improvements of every description. In a recent American speech, the term decrepid is applied to Europe. This strikes me as an utter mistake. Europe is advancing wonderfully in social energies, intellectual forces, the mechanic arts, the application of the grand discoveries of the century, the improvement of laws and institutions.

M. De Tchihacheff writes from Asia Minor respecting the alum district of Chabhana-Karahissar, which, he says, might be worked to advantage, were it not for the illiberality of the local authorities, who exact a large duty from the Americans engaged in that business. Notwithstanding the primitive methods practiced in the extraction of alum, the profits amount to between 25 and 30 per cent., and might be much larger in the hands of an intelligent European company.

The Burns club of the city of New York are making extensive preparations for the celebration of the coming one hundredth anniverrary of the birthday of the great poet. All kindred associations are invited to take part. The occasion will be celebrated by a festival dinner at the Astor House.

TO ADVERTISERS.—Business men will find it greatly to their advantage to advertise in the *Era*.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1858.

RENEW YOUR SUBSCRIPTION.

The time for renewing has come. Bills are now going out to subscribers in every number. Do not lose sight of them, or lay them aside, where you will forget them.

In your paper this week, look out for an *Era extra*: read it, and then act.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND ITS PERILS.

In political as well as social life, liberality of sentiment and civility of speech are virtues not to be neglected. The spirit of Party should never prevent the cordial recognition of whatsoever is praiseworthy or honorable in a political opponent; but, if the differences between us be still fundamental, our generosity ought to be guarded—it becomes important, while yielding him due honor, to keep distinctly in view what we regard as wrong in his principles and his position, lest our indiscriminating praise invest him with an influence, that may be used against the Truth we deem vital.

This considerate policy was not always observed by Republican journals or Republican Washington correspondents during the last session of Congress. It is clearly understood that the chief instrument by which the Pro-Slavery scheme of the Administration in relation to Kansas was defeated was the Republican Party. Gladly did it avail itself of the services of such men as Senators Douglas, Bell, and Crittenden, Representatives Harris, Marshall, and Winter Davis—but, where would these gentlemen have stood, what would have been their action, had not the Republican organization confronted the Administration in solid phalanx? And, yet, from day to day the busy Telegraph electrified the North with thrilling accounts of *their* words and deeds, as if they were the great champions of Truth and Right; and Republican journals followed up with unguarded editorials, ascribing to them a sympathy with the cause of Freedom, affinities with Republican Principles they never professed. The tendency of this injudicious course was to depreciate the Republican Party, and to suggest ideas of an undefined Opposition, without any declared opinions on the Slavery Issue, under the leadership of the new heroes.

Our readers will acquit us of any error in this respect. The position of Mr. Douglas on the Lecompton Question was one which his consistency, his self-respect, and the law of self-preservation, required him to take. He had abrogated the Missouri Compromise for the purpose, he declared, of securing to the People of all the Territories of the Union the right to govern themselves, to determine their own institutions, to exclude or establish Slavery; and he had reconciled the majority of his friends in Illinois to the measure, by urging upon them this consideration, and showing how it would operate in favor of free institutions. But, the People of the United States had seen this Principle of Self-Government trampled upon in Kansas; the Lecompton Constitution framed in contempt of the will of the great majority of the inhabitants; and the Administration publicly pledged by all the means at its command to secure its recognition by Congress. Had Mr. Douglas, in such a crisis, sustained this policy, he would have proved himself to be without consistency, without self-respect, a traitor to himself and to his constituents, and a fool—for he never could have been returned as a Senator from the State of Illinois.

Now, Mr. Douglas, like other Public men, would prefer to maintain consistency, for there is strength in it; self-respect, for there is pleasure in it; good faith, for there is honor in it; but he is not singular in this respect. Such a preference does not deserve special laudation—does not constitute a patent to nobility. In his position on the Lecompton Question, he did no more than simple honesty required at his hands—and in doing this, he best consulted his own interests as a political man. We do not blame any man for taking care of his own interests in a legitimate way—but, he is not a hero because he does so. Do we signalize a man as worthy of a place in the Calendar because he practices sobriety, takes exercise, and keeps his bowels open, for the sake of his health?

Mr. Douglas, having taken the position which consistency, pride, good faith, and self-preservation, required, maintained it with firmness, boldness, and ability.

All this we concede freely and cordially. But, does this give him any claim upon that body of voters who are organized for the purpose of taking the Federal Government out of the hands of the Slave Power, and making it an agent within the sphere of its own jurisdiction for the establishment of Liberty? He is not with them, but against them. He does not recognise the necessity of any such reformation. He regards Slavery and Freedom with equal indifference—institutions to be settled by climatic laws. He believes, with James Buchanan and Jefferson Davis, in the Cincinnati platform. He is a recognised leader of the Democratic Party, which we contend is the instrument used by the Slaveholding Caste for sectional, Pro-Slavery purposes. He would seek the acquisition of Cuba, and maintain at the same time its Slavery. He assents to the dogma of the majority of the Judges of the Supreme Court, that Congress cannot prohibit Slavery in the Territories, and that slaves are regarded as *property* by the Federal Constitution.

These are all fundamental points of difference between him and the Republican Party, and yet, Republican letter-writers and journalists, during the last session of Congress, overlooked them all, in their admiration of his antagonism to an infatuated Administration, which brought him into accidental co-operation with Republicans.

We would not do injustice to Mr. Douglas, but his true position ought now to be kept steadily in view. He would not surrender or qualify it to gain Republican support; why should Republicans surrender or compromise their opinions to secure his alliance?

Similar views might be taken in relation to Senators Bell and Crittenden, and their special friends in the House. The Lecompton affair was believed by those gentlemen to be a base, an unmitigated Fraud, and it was the measure of an Administration to which they were hostile. Their sense of honor was offended; their regard for justice outraged; they had the sagacity to see that its tendency was to increase the agitation of a Question they disliked to have discussed; they had nothing to lose, something to gain, by defeating the Administration. Generous and interested motives combined to place them for a time in exceptional co-operation with Republicans and Douglas Democrats, but these motives had nothing to do with the Principles on which Republicans acted. They were commended for the plainness and severity with which they denounced the base Administration measure. That was right. They were eulogized extravagantly for their *extraordinary* patriotism, nationality, liberality, courage. That was folly. The standard of public virtue must be low indeed where opposition to such an infamy is thought to entitle a man to an apotheosis.

Those gentlemen acted very well—like sensible and patriotic men; but are good sense and patriotism political *principles*? Did Protectionists in former days vote for sensible and patriotic Free Traders? Was it customary in former days for Democrats to rally under Whig leaders, because they happened to perform some generous deed? The world of politics has not hitherto been governed by the affections.

Alas! while Representative Marshall in the House was opposing the Lecompton Bill, he was laboring to vindicate to his constituents his pre-eminent Pro-Slavery orthodoxy; and Senator Bell took care, while denouncing the vile thing, to magnify his loyalty to the Slave Interest of the South, for whose benefit that very thing was devised! Any of these gentlemen would have felt wounded, had he been claimed as harboring the slighest sympathy with Republicans or their Principles. Extravagantly as they were lauded, their courage was not equal to their conviction: They did not dare to vote for the rejection of what they knew to be a Fraud. The utmost they would consent to do was, to give the people of Kansas a chance to reject a Constitution which they themselves ought to have branded as an infamy. And when the Republican members, after having voted directly against the measure, seeing that it must pass, unless they would unite in the support of the Crittenden-Montgomery amendment, gave their votes reluctantly for that proposition, some of those very gentlemen disingenuously charged them with having surrendered their doctrine of the power of Congress over the Territories, and embraced the Principle of "Popular Sovereignty!" This was notoriously false: everybody knew that the case was exceptional—that it would be unfair to draw it into a precedent—that the Republicans voted for the amendment, first, because it afforded the only chance for saving Kansas from Slavery, secondly, because they knew that, were the Constitution submitted to the People of that Territory, it would inevitably be rejected; and that they did not dream of conceding or qualifying a single principle on which they had been acting.

But, the politicians, who regard politics as a struggle betweend the *Ins* and the *Outs*; those who tremble with apprehension at what are styled sectional issues; those who still linger over the traditional glories of Democratic and Whig conflicts, and devoutly look for a resurrection of old issues; and those who think nothing of Principle, but everything of success, fancied that they saw in the Douglas feud, the Crittenden and Bell demonstration, the estimation placed by Republicans upon the services of those gentlemen, and the conduct of the Republican members in relation to the Crittenden amendment, grounds for expecting a general rally of all the Elements of the country disaffected to the Administration—a kind of a nondescript People's Party. The Republican Party was to be ignored, but its adherents were to be gratified with tremendous resolutions of condemnation against the Administration for its sectionalism and its Kansas policy. "Popular Sovereignty," or the policy of allowing the People of a Territory to admit or reject Slavery for themselves, was to be endorsed, so as to satisfy Douglas and Forney on one side, Crittenden and Prentice on the other. National men of all sections were to be conciliated by the exclusion of sectional issues. Americanism was to be satisfied by pledges to maintain the purity of the elective franchise. The Tariff Interest was to be secured by declarations in favor of Home Industry. The timid, the conservative, the prejudiced, were to be propitiated by thrusting aside such veterans in the recent conflicts as Chase, Seward, and Hale, and giving prominence to Crittenden, Bell, and other "National statesmen."

Early last spring, the movement was formally initiated in this city by circulars sent out all over the Union, by a well-known Old Whig, recently an American. Then followed the great meeting at Philadelphia, in June, and similar demonstrations in Delaware, professedly with a view to the inauguration of a People's Party. An earnest call was made upon other States to do likewise. The Philadelphia newspapers of a certain stamp abounded in discussions on "Nationality," the folly of sectional issues, the necessity of a grand rally, to save the country from the ruinous measures of Buchanan's Administration. The *New York Tribune* gave countenance to the policy of the movement, and a strenuous effort was made to carry it out in New York State, by a union of the Republican and American Parties, on a mixed State ticket, with a Platform, from which it was seriously proposed to exclude any reference to Slavery, except a general indefinite expression of a sentiment in favor of its non-extension. Had the project succeeded, there would this day have been no Republican Party in that great State. The late election would have been without a definite meaning. The position of the members of Congress elect would have been involved in doubt. The cause of Freedom would have been betrayed; the foundation would have been laid for a Protectionist, Conservative, American, Compromise Party, which would finally have embraced Millard Fillmore, and repudiated William H. Seward.

The miserable scheme failed. The Republican Convention reaffirmed the Principles of the Party, nominated a genuine ticket, the Party went into the canvass on its own Principles, and the result shows that it commands a large majority of the voters of the State. To put the issues beyond all doubt, Mr. Seward took occasion, a short time before the election, to deliver two speeches, which were quickly republished throughout the State, re-stating and re-enforcing, in bold and eloquent language, the Principles and purposes of the Republican Party. The demonstration was timely. It was an extinguisher on the scheme of a "People's Party." Politicians in this District, who had studied the signs of the times in Philadelphia, and learned from the columns of the *Tribune*, by an unfortunate misinterpretation, to delude themselves with the idea that the struggle of 1860 was to be decided by an "Opposition Party," on a platform silent as to the Slavery Issue, were taken all aback, and filled with forebodings of disaster. They had really supposed the Republican Party either dead or demoralized!

We take no pleasure in speaking of these things: but the men of principle in the Republican party must be on their guard against the short-sighted, or sinister policy, that would lower its standard, surrender its principles, and degrade its champions. We have referred to the New York *Tribune*, not to impeach its devotion to the Cause of Freedom; far from it: nor would we attribute to it a deliberate purpose to demoralize the Republican Party: but its counsels from time to time have been calculated, we fear, to incline its readers to coalitions and compromises dangerous to the integrity and efficiency of the organization.

It is nonsense to talk of the formation of a People's Party. It is bad in principle and policy to think of slurring over or ignoring the only issue on which Parties are now divided in this country. It is folly to attempt to abate one jot or tittle of the declaration of sentiments made at Philadelphia in 1856, on the organization of the Republican Party. By that Declaration it must stand or fall. Emasculate it, and there are men now sustaining it who would scout the organization, and trample it under foot—men enough to destroy its power—and they would do it. That Declaration is true, and let the Truth be maintained boldly and without equivocation, cost what it may. If you say the Party cannot succeed with it, we answer, just as positively, it cannot succeed without it. But, we say, it can succeed with it, for there is no Principle avowed therein which is not true, and adherence to which has not brought to it increasing strength. That Declaration commands the cordial assent of a large majority of the voters of the free States, and, if honestly and manfully appealed to, they will sustain it at the ballot-box, whatever purblind politicians may apprehend. The time for shams has gone by. Slavery has unmasked itself, and boldly demands universal recognition and supremacy. The Republican Party meets it as boldly, rejects the demand, and claims for Liberty universal recognition and supremacy. It is false that the People are not ripe for such an issue—false that they are not up to the standard of the Republican Party. Has not that party for the last three years controlled the political power of nearly all the Free States, and is it not to-day stronger in all of them than it was in 1856?

But, what avails all this, it is asked, so long as it shall be unable to take possession of the Federal Government? Nothing to the spoilsmen, the camp-followers, whose hearts are set upon Federal patronage, but much every way in the cause of Freedom. A strong, honest minority, like the Republican Party, wielding the power of nearly all the Free States, must exert a more decisive influence in favor of Liberty, although the Federal Government be in the hands of the Slave Democracy, than could be exerted by an accidental majority, blown up by a popular impulse, brought into power without principle, with no common object, and no bond of union, but a pledge to avoid distracting and sectional issues. Shall we never learn wisdom by the things that we have suffered? Such a majority made General Harrison President, John Tyler Vice President, John C. Calhoun Secretary of State, and it was while Tyler was acting President that the Texas plot was brought to a head. What good did your accidental majority do then? Just such a majority gave us Taylor and Fillmore—and, under the Administration of the latter, the Fugitive Slave act was passed, and the Wilmot Proviso abandoned—and, so rapid was the process of demoralization, that that same majority solemnly affirmed, at Baltimore, in 1852, that the Slavery Question should no more be agitated or discussed!

The politicians who now seek to disguise Republican victories, by styling them "Opposition," and propose a People's Party, to comprehend all the opponents of the Administration, of whatsoever complexion, ignoring or subordinating the Slavery issue, would repeat the experiments of 1840 and 1848. That is their policy. Could they achieve success in such a way, the Federal Government might change hands, but it would not change principles. Slavery would still wield its power, whoever might be the beneficiaries of its trusts; and a speedy reaction would soon restore to power the Democracy, with enlarged capacities for sectional atrocities.

On the other hand, look at the open, honest battle fought by the Republicans in 1856. They met the Slave Democracy, face to face—met it upon the real issue—declared their principles and purposes explicitly—resorted to no evasion, no subterfuge, no compromise, no clap-trap. What was the result? They failed to obtain possession of the Federal Government, but they did not fail to save Kansas from Slavery. They did not succeed in turning the Slave Power out of the White House; but they did succeed in balking every scheme it was contriving for its aggrandizement. What has Slavery gained since 1856? Nothing. What would it not have gained, had not its auxiliaries in the Free States, on whom it relies for its conquests, been rendered to a great extent powerless by the Republican Party?

But, is it never to have possession of the Federal Government? Yes—only, however, by adhering to its own Principles and its own Statesmen. There is no other way. It is now ascendant, by the force of those principles and the character of those men, in all the Free States, except New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California; in these States its growth is steady; in Illinois, it even claims a majority of the popular vote.

In addition to the States we now control, we need only Pennsylvania and New Jersey, to carry the election in 1860, even without the help of Illinois, Indiana, and California. But, let the counsels of the timid and time-serving prevail—let the Republican Party be persuaded to lower its standard, to put aside its principles, to permit itself to be absorbed by a People's Party, under the lead of "National" men so-called, and to suffer its old standard-bearers to be stricken down, and how many of the States, now recognising it, would continue to acknowledge it? You might gain Pennsylvania and New Jersey, but you would lose New England, New York, and the West. Where, then, your chances for victory in 1860?

Remember, Shams have died out. "Hard Cider" and "Log Cabin," "Buena Vista" and "Palo Alto," cannot supply ammunition for another campaign. The discussions of the last ten years have educated the People; they know that they have to deal with a real Question, involving fundamental Principles, affecting the destinies of the Union; and they will pour contempt on the politicians who shall be so impertinent as to attempt to treat them like children, and make light of their deep convictions.

We shall resume the subject in another number.

THE AMERICAN TREATY WITH CHINA.—The reader will find, in another column, a highly interesting article upon this subject, from the London *Times*. Our Minister to China, it will be seen, is handled "without gloves." We profess to know nothing of the manner in which the negotiation has been conducted, and we give the article for what it is worth. We are aware that the Administration, as the creature of the Slave Interest, is jealous of Slavery-hating England, and for that reason always ready to co-operate with any despotic Power against it; and since the slaveholders will have no direct interest in the China trade, it is not impossible that the true interests of the country have been sacrificed, as alleged by the *Times*, from a splenetic hatred of a country which has abolished Slavery, and branded it as a crime.

The sympathy of the late Administration and of the Slave Interest with Russia, on account of its serfdom, in its late conflict of arms with England and France, will be well remembered; and although the Czar is preparing for the abolition of that relic of barbarism, his Government will remain an absolute despotism, and, for that reason, it will be less repulsive to the Slave Oligarchy than the Government of a free people, like that of England.

Persons in the secrets of the Administration declare that the President will recommend an increase of duties, or a change from *ad valorem* to specific duties.

The Savannah *Republican* announces the receipt in that city of a quarter of a million of specie.

CURIOUS FACTS IN JOURNALISM, NORTH AND SOUTH.

Richmond, in the State of Virginia, is a town of about forty thousand inhabitants, of all shades of color. In 1850, its population was only 27,570, of which only 15,274 were white; and, supposing the present estimated number to be divided in similar proportions, the whites would fall below twenty-five thousand. Yet this small population supports five daily journals, if no more, and four of them—viz: the *Enquirer*, the *Whig*, the *Examiner*, and the *South*—are among the most widely read and quoted newspapers in the whole Union, if we except those of New York. It is to be remembered that there is nothing ephemeral or spasmodic in the success of the Richmond press. The *Enquirer* has been in existence fifty-four years, the *Whig* perhaps forty, the *Examiner* for several years, and the *South*, though of recent origin, is not behind the oldest in the mark it makes upon the politics of the day. These newspapers are large and well printed, and keep up with the progress of the age by enlarging their dimensions and improving their typography.

Charleston has a white population not greater than that of Richmond, and is equally distinguished for the ability and influence of its newspaper press. The whole country is familiar with the editorials of the *Mercury*, which are quoted by friends and foes for their oracular significance. It is one of the oldest and best-established journals in the Union, and bids fair to out-last the "peculiar institution" itself, which at present supplies the pabulum on which it subsists.

New Orleans is likewise distinguished, like Richmond and Charleston, for an undue share of editorial vitality and force. The *Delta*, the *Picayune*, the *Crescent*, the *Bee*, and the *Courier*, are all able and leading journals, whose *dicta* we see quoted as authorities in other parts of the Union.

But, if we go North, we find that the press outside of New York city, however well conducted has an influence upon the politics of the country far less marked than that of the Southern journals referred to. Boston, with its two hundred thousand inhabitants, its immense wealth, its admirable institutions of learning, its unapproachable literary culture, so far as this continent is concerned, has no newspaper like the Charleston *Mercury* or the Richmond *Enquirer*, whose editorials are read in all parts of the land with eager interest. We doubt not that the *Atlas*, the *Post*, and the *Advertiser*, are conducted with as much ability as their Southern cotemporaries, but they fail to make an equal impression upon the public mind. The same is true of the press of Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and scores of places whose population far exceeds that of the cities of Virginia and South Carolina.

The facts to which we have called attention are notorious, little flattering as they may be to Northern pride We have a theory for explaining the anomaly, which we submit, but we shall be glad to see the views of others upon the subject.

The circumstances by which the newspapers in the Northern and Southern cities are surrounded differ in the following particulars:

1. There are very few daily newspapers in Virginia, South Carolina, and Louisiana, outside of the three principal cities, Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans; whereas, in the free States, every town of five or ten thousand inhabitants has from one to three dailies, and such towns are numerous; and the effect of this excessive competition is to reduce the price of newspapers below the point at which safe and permanent investments can be made.

2. In the free States, there is a common focus of news and manufactory of opinion, New York city, which has, in consequence of its commercial superiority, acquired an ascendency in this particular which is indisputable. This common centre will not answer for the South as it does for the North and West, in consequence of the sensitiveness in that section upon the subject of Slavery. The great newspapers of New York, which, in consequence partly of their cheapness, are a serious obstacle to the success of other Northern city papers, are rarely seen south of Mason and Dixon's line, except by editors and a few leading politicians.

3. But a third and material cause for the superior success of the Southern journals, and the sole cause of their superior influence, *is the fact that they are identified with a great, though bad cause*. They are superlatively and intensely on one side of the great controversy, and act as if they were ready to sink or swim with it. Their vocation is not so much that of journalists as propagandists of ideas, and educators of the people. The great facts and principles which divide parties and sections form the staple of their editorial comments; and by vigorous statement, passionate appeals to the prejudices of section and caste, and eloquent exhortation to action, they awaken and keep awake that spirit of "eternal vigilance" which is the price of political success. When will Northern editors learn the moral which these facts teach?

POSITION OF MR. CRITTENDEN.

The Frankfort (Ky.) *Commonwealth*, a leading American paper, says:

"If Douglas is crushed, the Administration will have succeeded in prostrating the man who had the boldness and hardihood to remind the President of his inconsistencies, and to brave his power; if Douglas wins, the verdict will have been given against the most dangerous attempt on the part of the Executive to destroy the freedom of the elective franchise, by opposing the whole weight of his patronage to the popularity of a hated rival. The question to be decided in the Illinois contest which is paramount to all others is, Shall the interference of the Federal Executive in local elections be tolerated—shall he be endorsed in removing men from office for no other crime than that of being favorable to the election of a man who has thwarted his will—shall he, by using the patronage of the Federal Government, have the power to say who shall and who shall not be elected—shall he, in short, ceasing to be a servant of the will of the people, become their master, their dictator? These are the questions at issue in Illinois, and Mr. Crittenden, as might be readily conjectured, stands with Douglas against the arrogance, the impertinent interference, and the tyrannical dictation, of the President.

"As to the mere personal preference of Mr. Crittenden between Douglas and Lincoln, if he has any, we do not know what it is; nor do we know what his views are as regards the mere *party* policy of electing either the one or the other; but we greatly doubt whether he has seriously taken anything of the kind into consideration. But we do know that he feels all the sympathy for Douglas that a soldier may naturally be supposed to feel for one who has fought by his side in a most desperate struggle for life and death. It would be strange indeed, if, under such circumstances, he did not heartily desire Mr. Douglas's re-election. To say that Douglas ought to be overwhelmed by the intermeddling Administration, to say that Douglas should be punished for the course he pursued in the last Congress, would be to admit that the Administration is justifiable in using the same expedients against himself, to acknowledge himself a vile criminal, unworthy of public confidence and support. We know these to be Mr. Crittenden's sentiments, from frequent conversations had with him since his return from Washington; nor has he ever deviated from them, or concealed them from any one who thought the subject worthy of inquiry."

The President has commuted the sentence of Charles H. Barret, for the murder of Reeve Lewis, into imprisonment for life in the Washington penitentiary.

A DEMOCRATIC TRIUMPH.

"If the Democratic party has triumphed in Illinois, it has been at its own expense, in consideration of joining in the Black Republican clamor against the 'Lecompton fraud and swindle.' It is a triumph barren and ignominious—it is a triumph over which the Black Republicans have reason to exult, and do exult more than the good and true Democracy. * * * We repeat, that a victory, won upon a charge of fraud and delinquency of principle, against the Democracy, * * * is not a victory over which we can rejoice, or from which we can expect any advantage or honor to the great party in whose service we labor."—*Washington Union.*

The *Union* has not overstated the humiliation of the Democratic party by the result of the Illinois election. Not only must the Federal Administration partake of the disgrace and ignominy which this triumph of Douglas reflects, but the whole party south of Mason and Dixon's line come in for an equal portion of it. Every man in Congress who voted for the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, every newspaper which defended it, every citizen who gave his voice in its favor shares in the rebuke.

The friends of Mr. Douglas, even before the smoke of the battle clears up, have proclaimed him as the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. He is to ride "rough-shod" over all competitors, and to receive the Charleston nomination by acclamation, as the only adequate reward of his heroic and triumphant campaign in the vindication of "Popular Sovereignty," against the supporters of the "Lecompton fraud and swindle."

We, of course, claim no right to interfere in the family quarrels of the "Democracy," but we cannot but express our admiration in advance, at the spirit of forgiveness which the suggestion of a nomination of Mr. Douglas at Charleston implies. Such an event could not take place without a complete transformation of the characters of the slaveholders, from that of proud and haughty dictators, into meek and submissive doughfaces. The old prophets, we know, have foreshadowed a period when the lamb and the lion are to lie down together, and we rejoice in believing them; but our latter-day seers would have us believe that the sheep are to conquer the wolves, and lead them captive!

The friends of Mr. Douglas propose to give him a triumphal reception on his return to the Capital, which shall eclipse "all Greek and Roman fame." The day will be one of humiliation, fasting, and prayer, to the Administration and the whole Lecompton swindle party; and it will be interesting to see the Southern Democratic delegation hasten in a body to make their peace with the victorious champion of Popular Sovereignty, and receive his forgiveness. He branded their favorite measure as the "Lecompton fraud and swindle," and he comes back to Washington to receive their applause and the pledge of their suffrages in 1860! The day of Pentecost was not a circumstance to the scene of humiliation and repentance which our eyes are to witness when the representatives of a whole people take upon themselves sackcloth and ashes for their sins. On that day we shall see the haughty and imperious Davis lower his crest, the irascible Toombs and the malevolent Clay will "roar you as gently as any sucking dove," the trenchant Stephens will become oily-tongued, and the fire-devouring disunionist, Keitt, will sit at the feet of the conqueror, and imbibe the new gospel of Popular Sovereignty with the docility of a true penitent.

But where shall the President and Cabinet appear in that day of triumph for their conqueror? Shall they follow in chains the chariot wheels of the victor, like the captive kings of old? It will be a melancholy spectacle—the venerable white-haired President, and the no less venerable brown-wigged Secretary of State, trudging through the mud or dust of the Capital, followed by the rotund head of the Treasury yoked with the lean and cadaverous commander of the Navy—but we will pursue the gloomy picture no further.

FRANCO-PORTUGUESE DIFFICULTY.

There can be no doubt that the French Government is determined to supply its colonies with labor, at any sacrifice of justice and humanity. Two or three recent cases make it clear that it is actively engaged in the purchase of negro slaves on the African coast, under the name of free laborers, in violation of laws and treaties to which that nation is pledged in the face of the world.

Every intelligent man, without any particular information on the subject, would conclude, from the nature of things, that ignorant savages are incapable of making contracts for labor. They know nothing of the value of labor, or of other commodities, in the distant colonies to which they are conveyed; and it is well ascertained that no contract is made with them. They are bought of regular slave-dealers on the coast, just as the traders to Cuba obtain their supplies; and the French trade gives the same encouragement to the perpetual slave-hunting wars on the African continent, which have been hitherto stimulated by the Cuban and Brazilian traffic.

The Government of Louis Napoleon, by reviving this infamous traffic under the specious guise of procuring free and voluntary emigrants to his colonies, only adds hypocrisy to crime; and the effect will be to render his reign as detestable for his colonial policy as it has uniformly been at home.

The subjoined article from the London *Times* gives the circumstances of a case in which the French Government has shown a disposition to go to war with Portugal in vindication of its right to purchase slaves on the coast of Africa. The reader will at once be reminded of a parallel case on the coast of Liberia, in which that feeble Republic successfully frustrated a similar piratical attempt at kidnapping on the part of the French Government. Louis Napoleon's home Government might have satisfied the infamous aspirations of an ordinary ambition; but it seems he is emulous of the eclat which will flow from a revival of the slave trade:

From the London Times, Oct. 18.

Whatever be the result of the difference which has arisen between France and Portugal, there are in it many things on which the mind of a well-wisher to the general peace of Europe, and to the great interests of humanity at large, must rest with little satisfaction. The circumstances appear very simple, and, indeed, on the facts there is very little dispute. A French vessel, the Charles et Georges, is found by the Portuguese authorities of Mozambique on a part of the coast interdicted to the approach of foreigners, because an approach to it in that particular point is regarded by the Portuguese Government as almost conclusive evidence of an attempt to carry on the slave trade. On board the ship were 110 negroes and a delegate of the French Government. The delegate and captain stated to the Portuguese authorities that the men were there by their own free consent, having engaged themselves to go as laborers to the island of Reunion; that the negroes had regular passports from the authorities at Mozambique, and that the vessel was lying off the interdicted portion of the coast for the purpose of obtaining a surgeon. To this it was answered by the Portuguese, that a surgeon was to be found at Mozambique, and was not to be found on that part of the coast.

The negroes were examined, and declared, one and all, that they were carried off against their will, and not in virtue of any agreement, and the passports spoken of turned out to be a document furnished by a native chief, who probably was the person from whom the negroes were obtained. Under these circumstances, the vessel was seized as a slaver, and sent to Lisbon for adjudication. On hearing of this, the French Government have sent two men-of-war to the Tagus, to wake, with the thunder of their guns, the echoes of the Rock of Lisbon, and have peremptorily demanded the surrender of the Charles et Georges within forty-eight hours, have given orders to the fleet at Toulon to hold itself in readiness to sail, and twice verbally refused the offer of the Portuguese Government to submit the matter to the arbitration of a third Power. The latest accounts hold out a hope, indeed, that a friendly arrangement may be expected, but matters are still in an uncertain state. The ground on which the French Government is understood to rely is, that the presence of a French delegate on board the ship necessarily implied such absolute innocence of any design of slave-trading, that the Portuguese Government was bound to be satisfied with it at once, and to inquire no further; and that, compared with this conclusive proof, all matters of suspicion or irregularity become absolutely insignificant, and ought to be thrown aside as of no account whatever.

THE ELECTIONS.

New York.

In New York, the Republican State ticket has been elected by nearly 20,000 plurality. The State Legislature is Republican by a heavy majority. The American vote was greatly reduced, and Gerrit Smith has probably received less than 10,000 votes. The Congressional delegation stands as follows:

R., Republican; D., Democrat; A. L. D., Anti-Lecompton Democrat.

1st	district.	Luther C. Carter, R.
2d	do.	James Humphreys, R.
3d.	do.	Daniel E. Sickles, D.
4th	do.	Thomas J. Barr, D.
5th	do.	William B. Maclay, D.
6th.	do.	John Cochrane, D.
7th.	do.	George Briggs, R.
8th.	do.	Horace F. Clark, A. L. D.
9th.	do.	John B. Haskin, A. L. D.
10th.	do.	Charles H. Van Wyck, R.
11th	do.	William S. Kenyon, R.
12th	do.	Charles L. Beale, R.
13th	do.	Abram B. Olin, R.
14th	do.	John H. Reynolds, A. L. D.
15th	do.	James B. McKean, R.
16th	do.	George W. Palmer, R.
17th	do.	Francis E. Spinner, R.
18th	do.	Clark B. Cochrane, R.
19th	do.	James H. Graham, R.
20th	do.	Roscoe Conkling, R.
21st	do.	R. H. Duell, R.
22d	do.	M. Lindley Lee, R.
23d	do.	Charles B. Hoard, R.
24th	do.	Charles B. Sedgwick, R.
25th	do.	Martin Butterfield, R.
26th	do.	Emory B. Pottle, R.
27th	do.	Alfred Wells, R.
28th	do.	William Irvine, R.
29th	do.	Alfred Ely, R.
30th	do.	Augustus Frank, R.
31st	do.	Silas M. Burroughs, R.
32d	do.	E. G. Spaulding, R.
33d	do.	Reuben E. Fenton, R.

Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts, the Republican State ticket is elected by an increased majority, and the Legislature is as usual overwhelmingly Republican. The Congressmen elected are as follows:

1st	district.	Thomas D. Eliot, R.
2d	do.	James Buffinton, R.
3d	do.	Charles Francis Adams, R.
4th	do.	Alexander H. Rice, R.
5th	do.	Anson Burlingame, R.
6th	do.	John B. Alley, R.
7th	do.	Daniel W. Gooch, R.
8th	do.	Charles R. Train, R.
9th	do.	Eli Thayer, R.
10th	do.	Charles Delano, R.
11th	do.	Henry L. Dawes, R.

New Jersey.

The Opposition in this State have triumphed by a decided majority. In the Legislature, on joint ballot, the Opposition majority will be *five*, enough to prevent the re-election of Senator Wright; but, as several members of the Opposition are Anti-Lecompton Democrats, it is uncertain who can be elected. The Congressmen elected are:

1st	district.	John T. Nixon, R.
2d	do.	J. L. N. Stratton, R.
3d	do.	G. B. Adrain, A. L. D.
4th	do.	Jetur R. Riggs, A. L. D.
5th	do	William Pennington, R.

Illinois.

The State ticket is in doubt—the Republicans may have a small majority, but have lost the Legislature. Mr. Douglas has triumphed against the Administration and the Republicans. The Senate will probably stand, Republicans 11, Douglas Democrats 14. In the House, the Douglas men have four or five majority.

The following Congressmen have been elected:

1st	district.	E. B. Washburne, R.
2d	do.	J. F. Farnsworth, R.
3d	do.	Owen Lovejoy, R.
4th	do.	William Kellogg, R.
5th	do.	Isaac N. Morris, A. L. D.
6th	do.	Thomas L. Harris, A. L. D.
7th	do.	J. C. Robinson, A. L. D.
8th	do.	Philip B. Foulk, A. L. D.
9th	do.	John A. Logan, A. L. D.

The delegation is the same as in the present Congress, except the three last named, who succeed Douglas Democrats.

The majorities are as follows: Washburne, about 8,500; Farnsworth, 8,100; Lovejoy, 5,000; Kellogg, 2,000; Morris, 2,000; Robinson, 1,500; Foulke, 1,800; Logan, 800.

The Republican majorities in the northern counties are somewhat reduced from 1856.

Michigan.

Republican State ticket elected by eight or ten thousand majority. Legislature will stand, Senate, 22 Republicans to 10 Democrats—House, 46 Republicans to 33 Democrats. Congressmen elected:

1st	district.	George B. Cooper, D.
2d	do.	Henry Waldron, R.
3d	do.	Francis W. Kellogg, R.
4th	do.	De Witt C. Leach, R.

It will be seen that Mr. Howard is defeated in the 1st district. This is a great loss to the Republicans in Congress, as Mr. Howard was a man of fine abilities, and occupying a leading position.

Wisconsin.

The returns from this State are imperfect and confused, so much so that it is impossible to decide how the vote stands. John F. Potter in the first district, and C. C. Washburne in the second, are doubtless elected to Congress, but the third is in doubt, and we much fear that the Republican candidate, Mr. Charles Billinghurst, is defeated.

LETTER FROM HON. F. P. BLAIR, JUN.—The course taken by the partisan press in the interest of Mr. Douglas, both here and in Illinois, has made it necessary for Mr. Blair to take some notice of their libellous assaults, and he accordingly does so in a letter. It will be seen, that whilst Mr. Blair declines to retail private conversation, he yet sees fit to relieve himself from the implication of having sought an interview with Mr. Douglas. In reference to the facts alleged, that his letter was designed to mitigate the hostility of this journal against Mr. Douglas, that it was done with Mr. Douglas's concurrence, and that for the time being it had the desired effect, we can ourselves testify. Further we are not at liberty to speak, except to repeat, that neither Mr. Blair nor the person to whom his letter was addressed have given any countenance to the newspaper comment which has so unwarrantably transpired in regard to a private correspondence.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

Dispatches have been received from Commander Dahlgren, of the United States sloop Plymouth, giving an account of the visit of that vessel to Tampico, and of an interview between Commander Dahlgren and President Juarez, at Vera Cruz.

Senor Jarez, the Special Envoy from Nicaragua, is out, warning people against buying tickets by the San Juan del Norte to California. He says:

"The isthmus is not yet in a condition for the conveyance of passengers and freight, for which reason it will be impossible to secure a comfortable passage over the isthmus. Notwithstanding the anxiety of the Government of Nicaragua to have the route opened, it deems it an act of justice to the citizens of the United States, who might be misled into purchasing tickets, to caution all such not to risk their means in taking passage, as it will not be in the power of such company, or persons concerned therein, under the present condition of the transit, to fulfil their engagements in this respect.

"In making this announcement, the undersigned is desirous to avoid entering into any discussion as to claims of right by the parties above referred to under any contract; but he has the gratification to announce his expectation that by convenient arrangements, in conformity with the powers intrusted alone to the undersigned by the Republic of Nicaragua, said route will be speedily opened, and kept open for the benefit of commerce."

Mr. Butterfield, President of the California Overland Company, has made application for protection through the country traversed by the Company's stages. The journals in the interest of the Southern route say:

"The Secretary of War gave him a most cordial reception, congratulated him on his success, and assured him that military protection should be afforded at as early a day as possible. Troops will probably be concentrated at Fort Smith in considerable numbers, and be moved in suitable detachments to the exposed points. This important movement of the Government will open all Texas and Arizona to settlement. The forces so successfully fighting the Camanches are to be promptly reinforced by a regiment from Fort Leavenworth, with the view to compel them to sue for peace. Improved arms, similar to those which were so effective at Washington and Oregon, will be forwarded to Fort Smith. The President favors the protection of the mail and emigrant route from Indian attacks. Mr. Butterfield left for home this afternoon, greatly pleased with the comprehensive plans of the Secretary of War. He will soon start for Memphis, Little Rock, and Fort Smith, to see whether that route cannot be greatly improved."

Captain Ingraham, of the Ordnance Bureau, is in New York, inspecting two new steamers chartered for Paraguayan service.

The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent says:

"Government has in no manner or form expressed a disposition to recognise any new contract for the Nicaragua route, and all projects conceived for that purpose are without even its countenance, and are wholly speculative.

"If the Cass-Yrissarri treaty be ratified, then all rights under its sanction will be protected in the degree in which they are legally established, not otherwise. The object of the Administration is to disentangle itself from these complications, and, having fixed a basis, to leave the solution to Nicaragua, unless manifest injustice should be attempted. Mr. Wallace, who is alleged to be associated with Vandyck, is an Englishman, which is a sufficient answer to the last alleged contract. Several Spanish-Americans are also in the scheme, to give it a seeming countenance."

It is now understood here that Mr. Glancy Jones will not start for his mission until the action of the Senate upon the nomination, though he will resign his seat in the House, in order that the vacancy may be filled at once. This is a becoming deference, inasmuch as the meeting of Congress is near at hand.

Messrs. Dallas and Mason, Ministers at London and Paris, have agreed to resign their offices next spring, say the letter-writers.

Some weeks ago, the *Star* of this city published the subjoined in reference to the New York election:

"Our private advices from New York satisfy us that the Democracy will undoubtedly elect their candidate, the Hon. Amasa Parker, in the approaching Gubernatorial election. *We beg the reader to note this prophecy of ours.*"

We complied with the request, and *noted the prophecy*. Morgan is elected by 20,000 plurality.

It is rumored on the streets that Mr. Buchanan takes the defeat of Lecomptonism at the recent elections coolly, and is only troubled with the disposal of the wounded.

Congress legislates recklessly upon the public domain, as may easily be seen from the single fact that, one day last week, the General Land Office transmitted to the Governor of Arkansas a patent for 224,538 acres of swamp land. The swamp-land act of September 20, 1850, was intended to transfer to the several States lying on the Mississippi river the overflowed lands which could not be sold, and which were consequently worthless. It was urged that these lands, in their natural condition, were unhealthy, but if transferred to the States in which they lie, they would be drained, and rendered healthy and arable. The effect of the act has been to transfer to the several States millions of acres of the best lands, merely because there was a pond on one tract, or a marshy spot on the corner of another, and to fill the courts with lawsuits between claimants under the general land laws and claimants under State titles. Many an honest settler has been ousted of his homestead, and denied the benefits of the pre-emption laws, because he happened to have a swamp upon his location. Such is the result of the loose legislation of our National Congress.

It is reported that the Government admits the right of Nicaragua to call to her assistance British aid in defence against invaders, only such assistance must not be rendered at sea, no attack upon any vessel carrying the United States colors being allowable.

The following are the official majorities of the several Democratic candidates on the State ticket in Indiana, at the recent election:

Daniel McLure, Secretary of State	[illegible]
John W. Dodd, Auditor of State	1,749
N. F. Cunningham, Treasurer of State	[illegible]
Joseph E. McDonald, Attorney General	1,534
Samuel L. Rugg, Superintendent of Public Instruction	2,897
James L. Worden, Sup. Judge—1st dist.	[illegible]
Andrew Davidson do. 2d do.	3,116
Samuel E. Perkins do. 3d do.	[illegible]
James M. Hanna do. 4th do.	2,111

The entire vote of the State (the highest being that cast for the candidates for Treasurer) was 213,050, which is 21,782 less than that cast in the Presidential election of 1856.

The aggregate vote for the Congressional candidates in the several districts is as follows:

1. Niblack [D.]	10,329	Hovey [Opp.]	[illegible]
2. English	9,292	Wilson	[illegible]
3. Hughes	8,385	Dunn	[illegible]
		Carr [A. L. D.]	[illegible]
4. Holman	9,525	Hackleman	[illegible]
5. Develin	5,921	Kilgore	[illegible]
6. Ray	9,718	Porter	[illegible]
7. Secrist	7,584	Davis	[illegible]
8. Blake	10,387	Wilson	[illegible]
9. Walker	12,610	Colfax	[illegible]
10. Dawson	9,410	Case	[illegible]
11. Coffroth	10,038	Pettit	[illegible]
	103,197		[illegible]

Total Congressional vote, 216,377—being an excess of 3,327 over that cast for the State ticket. Opposition majority, 9,983.

The Legislature of the State of Maine met on the 3d. The Governor's message is very long, and quite an ultra anti-bank document. The Governor recommends the prohibition of the circulation of bank bills of a denomination under ten or twenty dollars. He also advises the adoption of a State sub-treasury. The whole message is devoted exclusively to State affairs.