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FREE TERRITORY. FREE LABOR. FREE SPEECH.

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Free Territory.

Speech of Mr. Niles.

SENATE, June, 2, 1848.

Mr. NILES .- Mr. President: I have a few remarks to submit on some of the questions raised by this bill, and I may as well offer them at this time as at any other. As this bill involves the question of slavery in one of its forms-always a delicate subject, nothing but a strong sense of duty could induce me to take any part in this debate. During the time I have been honored with a seat in this body, I have always forborne to enter into any discus- For Congress to interfere with either in a sion upon that subject when it has come up, State, would be the most flagrant invasion of as it often has, in the form of abstract propositions.-But it now comes before us in a different aspect, being directly connected with legislation, with the establishment of a territo- know that these matters belong exclusively to rial government in Oregon. In this view of the States .- And in regard to the territories, the question now before the Senate, it is not an although we have exclusive legislation, and

abstraction; nor can I perceive the justice of the remark, that any proposition affirmative either of the principle of absolute freedom, or I conceive, can derive no support whatever. of that of an opposite character, is to be re- I admit that we might legislate in these terrigarded as a " firebrand" thrown into the tories. That we have not done .-- We have Senate. We are now called upon to pass a very important act—an organic law to establish a gov- But were we to legislate, could we introduce

ernment for a distant people; and the question the laws of all the States there? Would it be is, whether in undertaking this great worklaying the foundation for a mighty empire which is to spring up on the shores of the Pacific Ocean, facing Asia as we face Europewe shall transplant there the sacred principles of such a system of legislation. The argument of freedom, which have taken root in our midst, ment of the honorable Senator, based on the and by which we have become a great people among the nations of the earth. That is the question, and it is no small question. Whether the people of that distant region are to continue a part of this confederacy, or whether, as is quite probable, they are to assume the character of a separate and independent nation. still the responsibility now devolving upon us is the same. Our duty is the same, whether they are to remain under our jurisdiction as part of us, or to grow up into an independent

State under our auspices and guardian care. What, then, is the particular question before the Senate? If I was to judge from the debate, there is no question here as to the exclusion | cessarily part with all their State rights of propof slavery; the only question is, as to how far erty and persons, and can only enjoy such of it is proper to go in favoring the introduction either as is consistent with the laws of the of slavery; whether we shall actually incor- territory. And those laws, whether emanating porate it into the institutions of that distant ganic laws as simply to encourage its introduction; leaving the door open, and asserting the first place, look to the interests of the people right, that it may insinuate and establish itself of the territory. We are called upon to act there. The difference is between those who for them. Our first duty is to consult their are for establishing by law the principle of slavery, who occupy the extreme ground, and the more moderate advocate of the same object. The former, as I understand from the remarks of some of them, the gentleman from Alabama | certainly cannot incorporate the laws of all who sits nearest to me, [Mr. BAGBY,] and the distinguished Senator from South Carolina [Mr. CALHOUN,] maintain, that under the constitution, slavery becomes the supreme law of as property by the law of some of the States, our territories_I state their position in my own language-and it is not in the power of Congress, nor in the power of the people inhabiting a territory to abolish slavery—that it is above the reach of both, resting on the solid foundations of the constitution itself. Well, I there is no doubt as to the power, in which the profess to be a steadfast and firm supporter of minority must submit. I have no doubt where every legitimate and constitutional principle, the majority is in this case. A proposition, whether it operate in favor of my views and the interests of my constituents or not. If I could believe that the position which I have just stated was well sustained, however reluctantly I might come to such a conclusion, still my friend from Alabama would find me standing by him in supporting even a proposition so hostile as I know that to be with the spirit of the age. But this proposition is very easily understood. I do not propose to discuss it at length; but as I understand, it rests on the South occupied that ground, I always stood simple idea of the right of private property. Well, now, it is certainly one of the strangest propositions I ever heard, and if any thing could add extravagance to a proposition in itself so extraordinary, it would be the fact that it emanates from the Senators from Alahama and South Carolina, and others who are par excellence, the advocates of state rights. What does this proposition mean? Why, nothing less than this; that the right of property depends upon the sanction of the federal government! Where, I ask, are your "state rights" if we have the power-the responsibility of guaranteeing private property to the citizens I will presently notice the more qualified stateof various States? If we can protect it we can invade it-we have the power or we have it not. It is idle to discuss a proposition which, upon the face of it, in my humble judgment, requires only to be stated to show the fallacy of it. Private property is that which the laws of the States constitute property, and we have nothing to do with it here. The rights of property do not depend on the constitution or laws of the federal government.

Mr. CALHOUN .- I have great respect for the honorable Senator, and I depart from my usual rule in interrupting him. But we do not rest this question upon that foundation. I set it cation here. "Guaranty" is the proper term. All upon the comity of the States of this Union. the States of the confederacy have guaranteed The territory of Oregon is the territory of the slavery. Our militia may be called out to

HARTFORD, CONN., SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1848. United States; we mean the States in their

North will justify this?

federal capacity as members of this Union. I rest it upon the additional fact, that the States in their federal capacity are equal and coequal, and being so, no discrimination can exist between those who hold and those who do not hold slaves. Mr. NILES .- The explanation is such as I

expected, and does not affect my statement of the question. The honorable Senator rests his position on the ground of equal rights guaranteed to citizens of all the States, which would be violated as he alleges, if citizens from any of the States should be prohibited from entering any of the territories and enjoying the same rights of property there which they enjoyed in the States from which they removed. Does this prove any inequality of rights among the citizens of the different States? It is no inequality that all the rights of property which exist in the different States may not exist in the territory; these are State rights, created by the State laws, and held under State authority. They are not rights derived from the federal constitution, nor upheld by it.

They may cease when a citizen removes from the jurisdiction of the State where they were enjoyed. The rights of property, and the rights of persons in their social relations, do not depend on the federal constitution, but on the constitution and laws of the States. State rights. Can this government regulate the titles to lands, the descent of property, or the rights of master and servant? Well, all may, if we please, regulate property there; still, even in that view of it, the argument, as delegated that power-we have constituted local governments based on organic laws. possible for us, however inconsistent they might be with each other, to establish the laws existing in all the States in relation to property in another? Every one must see the impossibility equality of the States, thus falls to the ground. It is impossible that the citizens of every State should enjoy the same rights of property in a territory that they may have enjoyed in the

States from which they removed, as the rights of property are different in the several States. Nor can this be said to occasion any inequality or injustice-The power and jurisdiction of Congress over a territory is entirely different from what it is in a State. In the latter it is defined and limited; in the former it is exclusive and local. It does not operate upon the citizens of the States, and affects only the people of the territory. Those who emigrate there nefrom Congress or the legislative councils of and rising people, or shall so shape their or- the territory, are merely local territorial laws. Was Congress to legislate, we should, in the wishes and interests; and in the next place, I admit, we should look to the establishment of equal and exact justice as regards all the States as far as that may be practicable. But we the States into the institutions of a territory. That would be impossible. We cannot make that property in a territory which is recognized without conflicting with the laws of others. In this, as in all other cases, the majority must decide; and the whole subject is in our hands: there is no constitutional restriction one way or another. It is a question like all others where then, resting on this ground or any other, that we are required to introduce slavery into Oregon, is, to say the least of it, a very strange one. It makes this federal government the propagandist and supporter of slavery! Hitherto, I believe, the doctrine has been in the South, and every where else, that this government should let slavery alone—that we have recognized it in the States and ought not to touch it. As long as my friends from the

with them, and so long as they stand there, I

shall sustain them. We have been told again

and again that it was a State institution-a

State interest-that the federal constitution had

recognized it as such-not as an institution

existing under our authority or sanction; and

that we had no right to interfere with it in

any way. But the proposition now advanced

goes much farther, and presents a new question.

makes slavery a federal right—an institution

not established by an act of Congress indeed,

but which is a part of the constitution itself!

ment of the doctrine; but that is the proposi-

tion now presented in its length and breadth.

I ask by what authority is slavery to be intro-

It connects this government with slavery-it

duced into Oregon? By authority of the terever its character, I would meet it fearlessly, ritory? No! Even in this qualified form of the and look it boldly in the face, and give my proposition, it is by your authority_by the vote according to my own judgment. federal authority-by the act or acquiescence The debate on the present question seems to of this government. To that I am not preparme to have been all on one side. I think that ed to accede. I have always voted here in favor the great principles of liberty-of equal rightsof maintaining the rights of the South, to the of humanity—ought to have at least more than utmost limit to which I believed the constituone voice raised in this chamber in their vindition secured and guaranteed them. I do not cation. These great principles are not withuse the word "compromise." It has no appliout tongues among the people. On this sub-

protect it. All that I am prepared to sustain. | their representatives speak one voice, whilst | however strange it may seem, it is nevertheless | lish. I hope the section may not be striken But when I am called on to employ the author- their representatives here, farther removed, true, that the element of slavery whatever it ity of this government for the purpose of in- and surrounded by other influences, often may be locally, has exerted in the federal gov-

such an exercise of the federal authority. I the public mind. am not here to excite irritation, or to use the language of menace; but, I ask, do gentlemen suppose that the free States will send reption of slavery to be decided by the people of resentatives here to take an active agency in the territory. This section is better than the introduction of slavery into free territory? nothing, because it asserts the principle of Do they think that the moral sentiment of the freedom in this government when it goes into operation; and it also does recognize the fact, that the people of Oregon are a free people. The second proposition is not so extravagant as the former, and yet I think it amounts to pretty much the same thing. In the one case we establish a government for this people in we are called upon to incorporate the principle of slavery; in the other to permit it to be that section out, and where do you stand? Why, in that case, you reverse the fact; you done-to leave it to introduce itself if it can, introduce a new system of legislation in regard | action been confined to this subject alone. either with or against the will of the people of the territory. The right of the people to govern, is a just and popular idea; but it applies particularly to this point. I find on an examonly to independent, organized communities, ination of our whole legislation on this subject, possessed of sovereign power. It cannot posthat from the organization of the territory of sibly apply to the people of this territory, who do not possess one particle of sovereignty. We Ohio, down to the present time, Congress has are called upon to exercise sovereign power acted upon one settled principle-both in the casion. It is a struggle for power! Every one over this territory. If the sovereignty is in the people of the territory, then we cannot pass in the admission of States into the Union-and | slaves into a remote Northern territory is conthis bill. I am not prepared to leave to the that principle has been, to take the condition cerned, the present question has very little of the people as it existed at the time, as the people of a territory the question of the establishment of slavery there. I do not think that basis of their action. Ohio being free from Now, sir, I believe the South is already too slavery, was organized as a free territory. strong. It exercises a preponderating influthat would be an honest and faithful discharge Then came Mississippi, in which a different state of facts existed. What did Congress do leive that if this preponderance continue—if of our duty. I know it is said the climate, and other geographical causes, will inhibit the esin that case? It recognized the existing state the North go on yielding as it has yielded to tablishment of slavery there. But that is a circumstance with which I have nothing to do. of things, and did not assert the principle of every pretension of the South, under this syren the ordinance of '87. An effort was made in the case of Missouri to set aside this principle, cession!"—"concession!"—there will be dan-I am not here, as a legislator, to speculate about the probabilities of the introduction of this great evil, or of the necessity of asserting any but it did not succeed, and Missouri was ad- ger to the Union. We all know what this cry of the great principles of freedom. Our ancesmitted as she was. Now we find the settlers for harmony and concession means_it is an tors did not act in that way, either in the estabin Oregon are a free people. They have vol- appeal to the North to give way, and it has allishment of their state or federal constitutions. untarily organized a provisional government, The illustrious statesmen of old Virginia did and expressly excluded slavery; we cannot not so act, when they proposed their ten amend- doubt what their will and purpose are. And the reluctance manifested on both sides of the ments to the federal constitution. None of shall we not recognize their action as the basis of our legislation? Shall we not carry out them perhaps were necessary; yet they deemed

curity which those amendments afforded. On that this matter must be left finally to the peothe same consideration we have those declara- ple; and this is true, when they become a sovereign state. But that is no reason why in bills of rights in all the States. Why do you organizing a territory we should not engraft do you establish the right of trial by jury? must regulate our action. They are a free Sir, the question comes up before us, and we people—I use the term in no offensive sense are bound to meet it. Without disrespect to by implication, for we are all free; yet the any one, I must be permitted to express the law of slavery is no part of free institutions. regret with which I perceive a disposition on They have not introduced, and do not desire both sides of the chamber, to evade and avoid this law. Shall we then not assume this action the great question which now presents itself, of the people of that territory as the basis on and which, I must add, cannot be blinked. which, under our care and guardianship, the

it wise and prudent to throw every safeguard | their wishes, which they have expressed in the

Florida. (Mr. Westcott,) brings up the extreme | a principle which has been heretofore recogni-

pared to ratify the constitution without the se-

tions of the great principles of liberty in our

sion, asserting the first proposition to which I

sovereign States of this Union, instructed to

engraft the principle of freedom upon all the

territories of this Union, that when we have a

bill before us by which the foundations of a

new empire are to be laid, it is possible to

evade and avoid this great question? I do not

know what my honorable friends, the Senators

'87 in reference to any territorial bill. The

people of the "Empire State," through their

sentiments on this great subject. I believe I

have myself received similar instructions.

However, as regards myself, that circumstance

exercises but a small influence upon my course.

Independent of all instructions, I feel called

upon in this instance to discharge a solemn

duty. The question cannot be avoided. It is

I have said that I cannot accede to the prop-

osition even in its qualified form. I cannot

consent to the extension of slavery by quiet ac-

quiescence. I do not believe that that acqui-

escence would be consistent with what is due

to ourselves or the country. Have we no opin-

ion on this subject? Have we no judgment of

serted? Ah! harmony-harmony may be en-

dangered by the assertion of a great principle!

And we have been told of a "platform." Let

me remind gentlemen that there is but one

platform on which we can stand in regard to

this or any other question—the platform of the

constitution. That is the standard by which

questions; but when a question arises, what-

upon us. It must be met.

principle contained in the bill of the last ses- zed by both parties to this question? Mr. WESTCOTT .- I understand the Senator to have directed the attention of the Senate. We say, that in the territory acquired by the treaty must meet that probability. Then there is the of Louisiana, Congress recognized the existproposition of the ordinance of 'S7. Now, do ence of slavery there. In two-thirds of that honorable Senators suppose that standing here | territory, by express action of Congress, slaas we do, the representatives of ten of the very has been excluded.

Mr. NILES.—I said that in the organization of territories, and in admission of States to this Union, we had always respected the condition of the people—that we had uniformly recognized and respected the existing state of things. Mr. Westcott.—Slavery has been attempted to be excluded by the adoption of the ordinance from New York, who sit here very much at of '87 and the Missouri compromise, in at least their ease, may say on this subject; but I be- two-thirds of the Louisiana purchase, and withlieve they have been instructed twice over to out a shadow of right. It existed in that terassert this great principle of the ordinance of ritory under Spain.

Mr. Niles -The 12th section of this bill may not be worth much, but it is better than local legislature, have on two occasions in nothing. It asserts the principle of the ordistructed their Senators here to declare their nance of '87 with some qualification.' That principle has been already recognized by the people of Oregon. The question is before us now. I, for one, wish to see it settled, so far as we have the power to settle it. If we settle it now, we get rid of it forever, so far as the action of this government is concerned. If this section is expunged, the question is left open to be agitated in Oregon, and in this

It has been suggested that this question is a political one-that slavery has become an element of political power. That it enters into the action of the federal system, not only as forming a basis of representation in one of the houses of Congress, but much more extensiveour own as to whether it will be better for that | ly as a controlling influence at all times in the country, or for the Union, that one or other of general government. Well this is a difficulty these principles should be incorporated into which, like all other difficulties must be met. the institutions to be established there? If It is a difficulty which did not exist, in my we have an opinion, why should it not be as- judgment, in the early stages of this government, and hence we find, that instead of decreasing, as was no doubt anticipated, the excitement and interest on this subject has become greater. The question must be disposed of, however, according to the judgment of the majority, in which the minority must acquiesce. Not long since, the honorable Senator all questions are to be decided. I would not from South Carolina, [MR. CALHOUN,] went go out of my way to bring up any disturbing into a consideration of this subject, and spoke of aggression upon the South, and of the alarming increase of power in the free States. I made some remarks at the time in relation to that point, and may now repeat my conviction. that the fact is entirely the other way. Do we not all know that our Southern friends have for a long period enjoyed the highest offices of the government—that the supreme executive has been monopolized almost exclusively, and the presiding officer in the other house, who appoints the committees and controls its ac- nor interfere with the primary right to dispose ject the people are not asleep. In many of tion—that they have usually had the central

troducing slavery into the territory now free, a speak a very different voice. How long this ernment a controlling influence. It serves to new question is now presented, and it is one, I is to continue is not for me to say. For my unite and bind together all of the states where believe, the people of this country will give a decided negative. They will never sanction I believe that a decision of it will tend to quiet power which when exerted, has never yet been successfully opposed. It renders all other It is proposed to strike out the 12th section questions subordinate to it; and although poof the bill before the Senate, leaving the ques- litical and other divisions may prevail, yet this principle is a bond of union which overrides and controls all others, and in no small degree consolidates all the states subject to its influence, and enables them to move with united force and power, and by taking advantage of the divisions which always prevail in the free By adopting this section, we also declare that states, they have been enabled to exercise an influence over the affairs of the confederacy, conformity with their own wishes. But strike greatly disproportioned to their numbers, if not dangerous to the interests of other sections of the Union. Nor has its concerted and united to territorial government, never known hereto- Often when the North and the West have been fore. I would call the attention of the Senate | divided on great political questions, the South has presented an unbroken front, which has

been decisive of the issue. Mr. President, it is not difficult to perceive where the real question lies on the present ocestablishment of territorial governments, and must see, that so far as the right of carrying importance. No sir, it is a struggle for power! ways been successful, and will be on the present occasion. The result is foreshadowed in chamber, to come forward and sustain the great principle of freedom. Yes, sir, the North will give way, if on this occasion it can around the rights of the states and the people, most solemn form? Will you force upon them be said to have made a stand. No one can and her enlightened statesmen were not pre- an institution which they do not desire? I mistake the influences operating on both sides know it has been said, and it may be repeated, of the hall—the great principle of freedom may be sacrificed to political power. I fear, sir, that if this course of action contiunes, the salutary balance of power in our system will be lost, and one portion of its machinery provide that there shall be no established reli- upon their institutions the true principles of will acquire an undue momentum which may gion? Why do you protect the sacred rights freedom. We possess and exercise the sovederange the whole. Then there will arise the danger of reaction. There is a danger always habeas corpus shall not be abolished? Why tirely to them. Their condition is a fact which to be apprehended from a long continued exercise of power in a particular direction, and unwise subserviency and yielding to it on the part of those against whom it is exercised. In these cases a point is at last reached when forbearance ceases to be tolerable, and reaction comes marked perhaps with more power than discretion. I desire to avert such a crisis. I wish to see restored to the free All the efforts to evade it must prove unavail- superstructure of the government of that peo- States that influence -that equality-that coning. The amendment of the Senator from ple is to be raised? Shall we now depart from trol in the affairs of the government which I think justly belongs to them, but which in my judgment they have not heretofore exercised. Pray, sir, is not the slave power seen and felt every where in the action of this govern-

ment-in all its departments? Who meets with most favor from it? Those who stand on the side of freedom, or those who advocate the opposite principle? Why I beleive it is very well known in this body, that there is a class of men in our land who are as much proscribed as if they were felons. I do not justify their course but ought any portion of our citizens to be proscribed for their opinions, however mistaken? They are called fanatics-abolition fanatics! No one of them can receive office under this government any more than though he had been convicted of treason against it! I have known cases in which the cry of "mad dog" has led to the rejection of men in these halls who did not really belong to that proscribed class. Is it right that this principle should enter so deeply into the administration of this government? Is it justis it in accordance with those great principles of human liberty in which we are all accustomed to glory, that such a prejudice should be permitted to produce a perfect proscription of a class of our fellow men.

MR. WESTCOTT .- I feel bound to call the Senator to order. The point of order I make is that it is never allowable to refer to the acts of the Senate in Executive session until the injunction of secrecy is taken off, which he does do when he asserts that nominees have been rejected on account of their anti-slavery opinions. It is not on my own account I object to this. I do not hesitate to say that I have and shall continue to vote against any nominee, who I believe is tainted with abolitionism, to any office, as I would against any incendiary .-With respect to the alleged cases put by the Senator, senators cannot defend themselves without referring to the facts. Hence a reference to them by the Senator is out of order.

MR. HALE. - The Senator from Florida must

educe the words not in order to writing. MR. WESTCOTT .- The call to order is not for exceptionable language or verbal impropriety. It is to the range of speech I exceptit is for reference to secret Executive proceedings prohibited by our rules that the call to order is made. The words need not be reduced to writing in such a case.

MR. NILES -Shall I proceed ? THE PRESIDING OFFICER.—The Senator from Connecticut is in order-the chair so decides. The Senator will proceed.

MR. NILES.—Every territorial government is founded upon the principle of regulating their own internal affairs within certain limits, and those limits are, that they shall not violate the constitution and laws of the United States, of the soil, and certain other great principles the States they have spoken audibly. But the press here under their control, which forms of freedom, which it is deemed more safe and misfortune is, that in their state legislatures, and directs public opinion—and that thus, proper that Congress should affirm and estab-

MR. BUTLER.-I desire to ask the honorable Senator, whether, under the guaranties of the constitution, the tribunals of the country would not be bound to recognize slave property, yes, even the tribunals of his own State? Mr. NILES .- That question has been settled

long since by the adjudication of the courts. MR. BUTLER.-I know it has where a slave was brought from a foreign country; but I desire the opinion of the Senator as to a suit, say an action of trover for a slave, brought in his own State. If you was the judge how would you decide it?

MR. NILES .- I would not give much for your suit. [a laugh.] I have not touched the subject of the rights of property in slaves in the States, but have confined my remarks to the immediate question before us_the power and duty of Congress in respect to slavery in teritories, where we have exclusive legislation, and if slavery is carried there it must be carried by the authority or acquiescence of Congress. I have entered into this debate with reluctance, and have studiously avoided going beyond the limits the occasion called for.

Mr. President, I have concluded what I have to say on this subject, and leave its decision with the Senate; if not deeply affecting any immediate interests of the country, it is highly important to the character and honor of the republic, and the cause of human rights. The debate on this subject, which has been going on the last three days, has afforded me any thing but agreeable reflections.-Had any of the liberal and enlightened men of the old world been here to have witnessed our proceedings, they would not, I fear, have been impressed with the most exalted idea of the estimation in which liberty and human rights are held in this free country. Could they have been otherwise than astonished, that at a period like the present, when liberty, awakened from its long sleep, is agitating all Europe, and rousing up the down-trodden people to the most heroic efforts for the vindication of their rights, that such a question could be the subject of serious debate in the American Senate?

What is this question? It is not the question which has really been before the despotic governments of Portugal and Prussia-it is not the question which formed the subject of the thoughts and efforts of that great philanthropist, Wilberforce, during a whole life-it is not the question which has recently commanded the attention of the provisional government of regenerated France, and which they have transferred to the national assembly-no, sir, it is not the question of the abolition of slavery, nor is it a question as to the restriction of slavery, nor a question as to the amelioration of the condition of those who are the subjects of slavery; no, sir, but it is a question as to the extension of the area of slavery. This is the question upon which the American Senate -in the middle of the 19th century-before the eyes of the world-at a time when new ideas of liberty are springing up in Europeupon which the Senate of this model republic

-holding ourselves up to the world as an example for all other nations-upon which the Senate of the United States has been for three days engaged in grave debate-a question as to the form, and to what extent, and under what local provisions, slavery shall either be engrafted upon, or permitted to introduce itself into, a territory where it does not existwhere the people have repudiated it-where, as far as we know their views, they have set

their faces against it.

Mr. President, it is desirable that this bill should pass; we have too long neglected to extend our jurisdiction over the people of Oregon and afford them our protection. I feel anxious to vote for the bill, but if the 12th section is stricken out I shall be compelled to vote against it. But with that section it is not what it ought to be. It ought to contain, without qualification or restriction, the principle of the ordinance of '87. I hope to have an opportunity to give my vote for such an amendment. Can we not, in the assertion of human rights, come up to the line where our ancestors stood sixty years ago? Can we not assert those principles of freedom which they then proclaimed and which have, from that day to the present time, when occasion called for it, been repeatedly re-affirmed. And are we now, in this age of progress, to be gravely deliberating whether we shall not repudiate the principle altogether? We are not proposing to introduce any new principle-not endeavoring to make any advance. I am considered rather behind the age. I do not profess to belong to the party of progress, and God forbid that I should belong to that progessive party which advances backwards, in the cause of civil liberty; which, instead of advancing and adopting a more liberal and comprehensive and enlightened policy, proposes to fall back upon antiquated ideas, and to extend and perpetuate an institution originating in a barbarous age, and equally in conflict with every sound idea of enlightened government as it is with every feeling of humanity.

The Slavery Provisos.

A late developement in the Senate of the United States has not awakened that attention in the country which its prospective importance demands. The public mind for the last three or four weeks has been so much occupied with political nominations, that no thought has been taken of Congressional proceedings. But a new step has been taken by Southern men in the Senate, that is full of evil portent. On the 1st of June, the Oregon bill came up.

The bill provides that the existing laws established by the people of Oregon, shall continue to exist, subject to the revisal of their territorial legislature. One of these existing laws provides that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist.

This provision is in the spirit of the principle held by the opponents of the Wilmot Provi-

so, who profess to be willing that the whole amanfully, philosophically and earnestly, but tive territories. This is the principle avowed by Gen. Cass, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency, in the following declaration, made in his letter of December 24, 1847, defining the extent of rightful interference of Congress over territory. He says:

"It should be limited to the creation of proper government for new countries, acquired or settled, and to the necessary provision for their admission into the Union, leaving in the mean time, to the people inhabiting them, to regulate their internal concerns in their own way.'

This is the ground on which it was suppos ed that all who are opposed to the Wilmot Proviso might stand, and this was considered as a vast concession to the Southern interests of the country.

But a new issue is made. Mr. Calhoun takes higher, or rather lower, pro-slavery ground, and insists upon the adoption of a clause which restricts the territorial legislature from making any law for the exclusion of slavery. He demands that the Senate shall decide first, that Congress has no power to extend the ordinance of 1787 to Oregon; and secondly, that the territory has no right to exclude sla-

The three several provisos in reference to territory to be settled or acquired, are therefore as follows:

1. The Wilmot condition that Congress do enact that slavery shall not be tolerated in any such territory;

2. The Cass platform, that it shall be left to the people of the territory to determine the question for themselves;

3. The Calhoun doctrine that the territorial legislature shall not be permitted to prevent slavery; after it becomes a State, it may do as it pleases.

It is evident that the South, instead of relaxing its demands, has taken a position more untenable than it has ever maintained on the subject of slavery; and it becomes the people of the United States to look it and its consequences boldly in the face. In the 19th century, when the Old World is bursting its chains, and the whole earth is in a jubilee of liberty, it is proposed by Mr. Calhoun, in the Senate of the Model Republic, to make an enactment by which the people of a free territory shall be restrained from securing equal rights to all its inhabitants! The proposition is hostile to the principles of our Declaration of Independence; it is repugnant to the free sentiments of the people of the United States; it is opposed to the spirit of the age in which we live. Such a provision as Mr. Calhoun now demands, would set back the wheels of time a century; and we shall be sorry to see the day when the people of these States in Congress assembled, shall consent to take one step backwards in the march of free institutions. Certain we are, that when Congress shall ordain that the people of a territory may not preserve their soil from the foot print of the slave, the spirit of revolution. now revelling among the rotten thrones of Europe, will revisit the land of its birth .- N. Y. Observer.

THE WHIG PARTY AND THE PRINCIPLE OF No Extension of SLAVERY .- The principle now maintained by the opponents of Slavery Extension, is that which the entire South affirmed and strenuously insisted on down to the commencement of the Mexican War. It is that which all the apologists of Slavery throughout the Free States vehemently proclaimednamely, that the Federal Government of this Union has rightfully nothing whatever to do with Slavery, beyond the execution of those clauses in the Constitution which stipulate that the Foreign Slave Trade might be prohibited after 1808, and that persons held to labor or service in one State who should escape thence into another should be surrendered on due proof of the relation asserted. Over and over again has the doctrine of non-interference with Slavery by the government or the Free States been asserted in the most positive terms .-From 1820 to 1845 this was the common platform of all but the ultra- Abolitionists-of nineteen-twentieths of the Freemen of this Country.

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We stand there still. We contend that the Federal government can rightly neither abolish Slavery in the Slave States, nor establish it anywhere else. The Constitutional power to establish it in the Territories may exist, for the power of Congress over those Territories is exceedingly full and comprehensive; but there is no more right to legalize Slavery there, than Polygamy, Duelling, Counterfeiting, Cannibalism, or any other iniquity condemned by and gradually receding before the moral and religious sentiment of the civilized and Christian world. "Hands off!" "No interference!" "Leave things as they are!" is the extent of our present demand. Why is not this truly conservative ground, on which a great National party may stand together? The demand that Slavery shall be extended to New Territory is indeed foremost among "the novelties that disturb our peace." There was never before anything like it. The ordinance of 1787 restricted Slavery. The Federal Constitution (in the matter of the Slave Trade) also looked to and provided for its restriction. The Missouri Compromise, though generally reprobated at the North, likewise closed against Slavery an extensive region wherein it had long had a legal right to exist. Even in the annexation of Texas a show was made of abridging the domain of Slavery. The present is the first instance in the history of our country of a serious attempt to extend Slavery into Territory previously free. Ought not all who love Freedom and loath Bondage to resist it to the utmost? And if excitement and ill feeling shall result-if "sectional feeling" shall be aroused and one "section of our common country arrayed in angry hostility against another," will not the blame rest on the encroaching rather than the defending party? Does not Washington's warning against sectional issues and cries speak for us and against the Extensionists ?-N. Y. Tribung.

The New York Evangelist of last week contained the following from Washington:

The political excitement here is becoming more and more intense. With blood-heat in the atmosphere, and fever heat in Congress, no wonder that there is some boiling over. The pregnant and racy element of Slavery, mingling its pungent influence with the contents of the great political caldron, mightily increases the effervescence, and no doubt some good remedial results will eventually be attained. Senator Calhoun delivered himself last week ably,

subject shall be left to the people of the respec- his struggles were like those of a wounded giant, assailed by enemies armed with the arrows of truth, and predestined to be victorious in the conflict. By his own showing, the tide of public sentiment, and the progress of national legislation have become too powerful, and too far advanced to be rolled back, even by a thousand such strong arms as his own. To this "manifest destiny" even he, and his ardent and sanguine associates, must bow, and contemplate with silent amazement the triumphal career of liberty. A new sensation is awakened here by recent events. The Empire State never looked so imperial and important as at the present crisis. To the first emotion of wonder will succeed invincible conviction. Let the prayers of the whole things that is arising.

#### Elections.

The following table will be useful for reference. The states of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Virginia, are not included in the list, their elections having been held in the spring :-

|   | North Caroli | na Aug. 3 | Maryland Oct.      |   |
|---|--------------|-----------|--------------------|---|
|   | Tennessee    | Aug. 3    | SouthCarolina*Oct. | 9 |
|   | Alabama      | Aug. 7    | Pennsylvania*Oct.  | 0 |
|   | Kentucky     | Aug. 7    | Ohio* Oct.         |   |
|   | Indiana      | Aug. 7    | Michigan* Nov.     | 6 |
|   | Illinois*    | Aug. 7    | Mississippi Nov.   | 6 |
|   | Missouri*    | Aug. 7    | Louisiana Nov.     | 6 |
| l | Iowa         | Aug. 7    |                    | 6 |
|   | Vermont*     | Sept. 5   | New York* Nov.     | 7 |
|   | Maine*       | Sept. 11  | New Jersey* Nov.   |   |
|   | Arkansas*    | Oct. 2    | Massachus'ts*Nov.1 | 3 |
| - | Georgia*     | Oct. 2    | Delaware* Nov. 1   | 4 |
| 1 | Florida*     | Oct. 2    |                    |   |

In those states which are marked with an asterisk, members of Congress are to be chosen as well as state Officers.

The Presidential election is to take place throughout the Union on Tuesday, the 7th of and resulted in the affirmative: Yeas 169, November. The Electoral College will con- Nays 48. tain 291 members, (counting 4 for Wisconsin) of which 146 will be a majority.

| INCRE. | 28, | for | F<br>Pr | Vo | TES. |     | The<br>as b | Fee | opular<br>n as follo | vote |
|--------|-----|-----|---------|----|------|-----|-------------|-----|----------------------|------|
| Years. |     |     |         |    |      |     |             |     | Vote                 |      |
| 1828   |     |     |         | -  | -    |     | -           |     | 1,152,4              | 18   |
| 1832   | -   |     | -       |    | -    | -   |             | -   | 1,250,2              | 98   |
| 1836   |     | -   |         | -  | -    |     | -           |     | 1,501,2              | 08   |
| 1840   | -   |     | -       |    | -    | -   |             | -   | 2,402,5              | 19   |
| 1844   |     | -   |         | -  | -    |     | -           |     | 2,702,54             | 19   |
| In 184 | 8,  | the | vo      | te | will | exc | eed         | 1   | 3,000,00             | 00   |

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS. Mr. Conger of N. Y. introduced the following amendment to the bill making appropriation for the Civil and Diplomatic service, for the year ending June 30, 1849, in the House of Representatives on Wednesday, July 5:

That Members of both Houses of Congress, from and after the present session, shall be allowed mileage as follows, to wit: Five doldollars per day during the time necessarily and actually spent in coming to and returning from the Capitol, and in addition thereto the actual necessary travelling expenses, to be settled on the affidavit of the Member by the Committee from and after the present session the compensation of Members shall be reduced to five dollars per day.

The amendment was rejected.

received in this city yesterday announces the | declaring that our national commerce and comdecease of a distinguished matron, a relic of mon defence required the exercise of the powthe era of the Revolution, in the person of Mrs. Julia Rush, widow of the distinguished Dr. Benjamin Rush, and mother of Hon. Richard Rush, now Minister of the United States to France. She died on Friday night last, in the ninetieth year of her age, at Sydenham, near Philadelphia, (the residence of her son ) She was the sister of the late Hon. Richard Stockton, U. S. Navy. She was venerable not only for her age, but for her valuable qualities; and has left many relatives and friends to bear testimony to the excellence of her life. National Intelligencer.

FREE SOIL PRINCIPLE IN N. Y .- The following is an extract from a letter of a gentleman in N. Y. city to a friend in this town:

I was gratified with the noble spirit, lofty bearing, and uncompromising tone of the Worcester Convention. Its measures met with a warm response in the bosoms of thousands of men in New York, good men, not demagogues, who look with an anxious eye to the future, and who see that this question of Slavery and Freedom, must be met. They thank God that the hour is approaching which will determine the issue. The free soil party in this city and state, beyond that openly before the public in the nomination of Mr. Van Buren, is large and hourly on the increase. I am astonished to find in various quiet, intelligent, unobtrusive circles, the principle of free soil constantly discussed, and whenever discussed, converts are inevitable, for men cannot resist the convictions of their hearts and consciences. The man who is least obnoxious as a politician, but who will be the embodiment of free soil doctrines, will receive an overwhelming vote among the masses in this state, so potent is the question upon the minds of the people, and so paramount to every other mere question of political change or agitation.-Northampton

THE NOMINEES. We this morning place at ne head of our colums the names of the Whig candidates for President and Vice President.

It would be hypocrisy in us not frankly to admit that in placing the name of Gen. Taylor in that position, we perform the most mortifying and unwelcome duty of our editorial life. We had fondly hoped, though not without fear, that there was enough of self respect and attachment for the free principles of the North in the Representatives from the anti-slaveholding States to nominate a Northern man for the Presidency. They had it in their power to have given us a candidate who would have carried out the principles to which the North have so long professed to be so warmly devoted, with an absolute certainty of his election. Auburn (N.Y.) Adv.

The friends of Free Soil in Maryland have determined to appoint Delegates to the Buffalo Convention, and to nominate an Electoral

## Congressional.

Monday, July 10. SENATE-Mr. HALE of N. H. asked and obtained leave to bring in a joint resolution in favor of preventing speculation in the public lands, and providing that every male citizen owning no other land, may enter 100 acres and receive a patent for the same, after five years residence thereon; which was read and passed over informally.

Mr. ATHERTON, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, reported a bill from said Committee providing for the payment of the adjudicated claims of our citizens against Mexico.

On motion, the Senate laid aside the morning business, and proceeded to the considera-Church be consecrated to the new order of tion of the regular order of the day, it being the Oregon Bill.

Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON, of Md. being entitled to the floor, rose and addressed the Senate

at length and with much ability. He concluded with an earnest recommendation of such a compromise as will reconcile the

North and the South. Mr. HANNEGAN of Ia. gave notice that he would offer an amendment to the effect, that all States formed out of Territories south of the line of the Missouri Compromise, shall be admitted into the Union with or without Sla-

very, as the people thereof may determine. The subject was then informally laid aside,

and the Senate adjourned. House of Representatives .- Mr. Ste-PHENS of Ga. moved to suspend the rules in order that he might move for a call on the Executive to communicate more authentic information respecting the boundaries of California and New Mexico, and also whether civil Goverments had been established therein, and whether trials and convictions under the administration of Gen. Kearney and Com. Stockton had occurred, and if so, upon what authority. On this motion the Yeas and Nays were demanded,

Mr. Stephens then proceeded to address the House upon the President's inconsistency and auplicity in claiming the Rio Grande from its mouth to its source in his message of 1846, as the boundary of Texas, and yet in Mr. Su-DELL's instructions declaring that Texas has not established said boundary. [Great excitement.

He was interrupted on leave and interrogated by Mr. McLane of Md. Mr. PILLSBURY of Texas, and others, many times.

A vehement discussion followed between Messrs. McClernard, of Ill., Schenck, of Ohio, and McLane, of Md. Mr. Hudson moved the previous question, which was seconded, and the resolution passed.

Tuesday, July 11. SENATE. Mr. Rusk, of Texas, attempted to get up his bill to transfer the officers of the late Texan Navy, to corresponding ranks in the U. S. Navy. Negatived.

The appropriation bill was taken up and discussed, but laid aside without action.

The consideration of the Oregon Bill was resumed, and Mr. HUNTER, of Va. addressed on Mileage; and Provided farther, That, the Senate on the subject of Slavery in the territories.

House.-The Speaker announced the first thing in order to be the River and Harbor resolutions, previously reported from the Committee on Commerce. The first of the series hav-er, the House had asserted in the first resolution, was passed. Yeas 112. Navs 53.

The third resolution was then proceeded with, which declares that the President's reasons, embraced in his Veto Message sent into Congress, are insufficient. The year and navs were called for on this resolution, and resulted

as follows. Yeas 91, Nays 71. The consideration of the fourth resolution then came up, which declares against the power of the States to levy tonnage and other duties for the improvement of harbors and rivers. The previous question was called for, which was sustained, and the yeas and nays demanded, which resulted as follows. Yeas 109, Navs 100.

The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill vas taken up in Committee of the Whole, and occupied the time till the hour of adjournment.

Wednesday, July 12. SENATE. -On motion of Mr. ATHERTON of

N. H. the bill relating to the payment of the adjudicated claims of American citizens against Mexico was taken up, read the third time and passed.

Mr. Davis of Miss. addressed the Senate at ength on the Oregon bill. He supported the extreme Southern view of the bill, and directed his argument against the proposed compromise. He said, however, that he would be satisfied with the Missouri Compromise, if it should be accompanied by a guarantee that the question should thus be put to rest forever.

Mr. CLAYTON of Del. moved to commit the bill and amendments to a select committee of eight, to be composed of four members from the North, and four from the South, to be also equally divided as to party, and the members to be elected by ballot, who shall report what propositions, if any, can be accomplished.

Mr. FOOTE of Miss. said that he heartily approved of the proposition. A debate ensued on the merits of the motion in which Messrs. FITZGERALD, CALHOUN, CORWIN and BUTLER

After a very long debate, Mr. CLAYTON's moion was adopted. Yeas 31, Nays 14. House.-Mr. Nicoll of N. Y. from the

Committee of Ways and Means reported a bill in favor of establishing a Branch Mint in New York, which was read twice and referred to the Committee of the Whole.

Mr. JOSEPH GRINNELL of Mas.s called up the bill in favor of granting reciprocal privileges to the productions of Canada and the United States, and of allowing their transit through each, free of import duties, which was read the third time and passed.

The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation bill was taken up in Committee, and the remainder of the day was consumed in discussing amend-

Thursday, July 13. credentials of the Hon. Wm. R. King, as a It would not touch the unclean thing.

Senator from his State, who went forward and was duly qualified.

Agreeably to previous notice, Mr. Downs of La introduced a bill, respecting private land claims, and in favor of facilitating the entry of pre-emption claims, which was read the first and second time.

Mr. HANNEGAN moved that the Senate proceed to ballot for a chairman of the Select Committee on the Oregon question ordered yesterday, which was agreed to.

On counting the ballots it appeared that Mr. CLAYTON of Delaware was duly elected, he having received 33 out of 39 votes. The Senate then proceeded to ballot for the remaining seven members of the Committee, which resulted in the choice of the following Senators to

serve on said Committee: FREE STATES .- Mr. DICKINSON of N. Y. Mr. Phelps of Vt.; Mr. Bright of Ind.; Mr.

CLARK of R. I. SLAVE STATES .- Mr. MASON of Va.; Mr. CALHOUN of S. C.; ATCHISON of Mo.; Mr.

UNDERWOOD of Ky.
Mr. Bell of Tenn. moved to take up the bill authorizing the accounting officers in the Treasury Department to make a settlement of the claims of the Cherokee nation of Indians, according to the principles established by the Treaty of 1846, which was agreed to.

A debate sprung up on the Bill, in which Mr. ATHERTON of N. H. Messrs. Bell and TURNEY of Tenn. Mr. SEBASTIAN of Ark. and Mr. Calhoun took part.

After which the Senate went into Executive Session, and after some time spent therein, ad-

House.-Mr. Hudson, of Mass. rose to a privileged question. Some forty members, absent last evening, had been fined \$2 each. The Sergeant at Arms was ordered to bring them before the House. He moved to dispense with further proceedings. It was voted that the arrested members be allowed to take their seats on paying the fees of arrest, except such as wished to offer excuses. Then followed an amusing scene of excuse-making. The subject was referred to a committee.

Mr. Henley, of Ia. made a motion which was deemed out of order and disrespectful to the Speaker, who ordered him to be taken into custody by the Sergent-at-arms, which was forthwith executed.

A dozen members were excused, and the rest paid up the fees.

The House took up the Appropriation Bill in committee. An amendment was adopted displacing GIDEON WELLES from the Naval Bureau, and requiring the vacancy to be filled by a Captain of the service, without extra pay, saving \$3,000 a year to the treasury.

#### Things in Washington. Correspondence of the Tribune.

Washington, Saturday, July 8.

The best Abolition speech made in Congress this session was delivered yesterday in the Senate by Mr. Johnson of Ga. It is but fair. however, to acknowledge that he had not sufficient astuteness to discover the purport and inevitable tendency of his Speech, unless he was secretly desirous to give to "the question of

cates are able to furnish it with. He contended that every acquisition of territory by the United States, whether by conquest or cession, must ex necessitate rei be accompanied by the Extension of Slavery. If Canada should be ceded to us by the British Crown, Slavery ipso facto would be extended

the age" more vitality than its professed advo-

This was his doctrine, so far as it was intelligible. Mr. CALHOUN, who seldom suffers himself to be taken by surprise, seemed some-

what puzzled, and more than usual cogitative. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Johnson alluded to Mr. HALE as the Representative of the District of Columbia. In a brief reply, Mr. HALE said that he held his seat by the election of the Legislature of New-Hampshire. It was as good a title as any Senator could claim. And he would tell the Senator from Georgia that he represented a State of Freemen: "no slave breathed its air-no enemy\* ever impressed his footsteps upon its soil." Everybody acknowledges, even those that are most addicted to the interests of Slavery, that Mr. HALE boldly maintains his exposed position in the Senate.

To-day the propagandists of the Senate received a partial check. After a debate of two hours, Judge Butler's resolution to add two to the Committee on Territories was lost by a vote of 27 to 17. Among the negative votes were Dix, Hamlin, Bradbury, Niles, Dodge, and Walker of Wisconsin. Had the vote been declared in the affirmative, two members would. in all probability, have been placed upon the Committee favorable to the extension of slavery to the newly acquired territories. The whole Southern vote would have been given probably in favor of two such, which vote, with the votes of Allen, Dickinson, and some one other (doubtless) attainable vote, would have given a preponderance in the Committee deadly hostile to the Proviso. Senator Clayton of Delaware was not present to vote,; Spruance voted against the proposition.

Mr. Davis, of Mass., made an able and lucid exposition of his views against the implied tolerance of Slavery in the Oregon Territory. It was impossible for any one to adduce any very original arguments agains the measure; so exhausted has the subject become by frequent discussion in and out of the Senate. But Mr. Davis fortified the old position with additional strength, and exposed in clearer light the weakness of his adversaries.

\* Mr. Hale forebore, from a feeling of magnanimity to allude to Mr. Johnson's position—the mere locum tenens of Wm. C. Dawson, a temporary appointee of the Governor, against the political opinion of the Legislature.

" Glorious News-The Union Preserved-The Repudiation of the Wilmet Proviso by the Whig Convention."- Under the above head the Montgomery (Alabama) Journal, a Whig paper, announces "with inexpressible satisfaction, that the Whig Convention promptly met the question of the Wilmot Proviso. and repudiated a resolution adopting that doc-SENATE.-Mr. Lewis of Ala. presented the trine at once, by an overwhelming majority.

# FREE SOIL ADVOCATE.

SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1848.

## Prospectus.

THE FREE SOIL ADVOCATE, a campaign paper, will be published every Saturday, till after the Presidential election, making a series of at least eighteen numbers. Its object is indicated by its title. It will earnestly and steadily resist the extension of slavery into the territories of the United States now free, and will oppose the Presidential nominations of the two leading parties, which have alarmed thinking men in the free states, from their manifest tendency to bring about that fatal

It is conducted by an association of gentlemen of dif ferent political parties, who have united for the purpose of maintaining principles higher than those of any party, and will be under the editorial charge of Mr Lucius E. Smith, late of the Hartford Courant. A limited space will be given to the most important

news, and to advertisements.

TERMS-Fifty cents for the campaign, payable in

## Introductory.

The Presidential canvass upon which the nation is

now entering, is one of momentous importance. The

drama which opened with the annexation of Texas, upon the "bloodless acquisition" of which the President of the United States congratulated the people in his inaugural address, has proved a tragedy, of high and solemn interest. A bloody and expensive war has ensued and this has ended in the further acquisition of nearly one third of the territory of the Mexican republic. The slave power of the south, having long despotically ruled the nation by controlling the whole patronage of the government through the executive, is preparing, as the grand catastrophe of the war, to secure the extension of human slavery over that great domain. This object has been pursued with untiring energy from the moment that the enlargement of our boundaries was seen to be inevitable. The people of the north, of both parties, began an early and apparently vigorous resistance, but one by one, the politicians on either side have retreated from their high position, till the two national conventions, assembled to present candidates for the Presidency, have ventured deliberately to pledge both parties to the most abject submission to the power of aggressive slavery. The Democratic convention has nominated a northern demagogue, whose treachery to the principles of liberty is rendered more conspicuously odious from the fact that he once professed himself an advocate of the prohibition of slavery in the territories of the Union but sold himself, body and soul, to secure the support of the slavery extensionists for the Presidency. The Whig convention, as if determined to outbid their opponents in subserviency, nominated a Louisiana planter, a large slaveholder, bound by every tie of education, feeling and interest, to the cause of slavery extension, and who was originally brought forward by some of the most ultra fanatical slaveholders of the far south as the exponent of their principles and the representative of their interests. He was supported by the almost unanimous vote of the slave states in convention, and by the aid of some northern men, who were ready to sacrifice their honor and conscience at the shrine of political expediency, whose only object was party success, and who sought no other quality in their candidate but availability, Gen. TAYLOR was selected as the nominee of the whig party.

We surely need not multiply arguments to show that the establishment of slavery on soil now free from that curse, is a high offense against justice and humanity. If the design is consummated, it will stand on the record of impartial history as the most enormous crime of which a free republic is capable-an atrocity for which the American people, to the latest generation, will blush in immitigable shame. The moral sense of every man whose conscience has not been wholly seared by selfishness, or made dumb by long enforced silence, bears witness to this. Yet the leaders of both political parties have entered upon a course which, if successful, will place the whole power, prerogative, patronage and influce of the national executive in the hands of men wh will wield those tremendous attributes for the accomplishment of this guilty purpose, and he who casts his suffrage for either of their "regular" candidates, will make nimself responsible before God and man for this result.

We therefore appeal to northern men, who have eyes separate themselves from every alliance that would involve them and their country in such fearful guilt. We appeal to them, because on the north, in a peculiar manner, the responsibility must rest. The free states have a majority in Congress and in the electoral colleges, and if slavery is permitted to fix itself on the shores of the Pacific, it can be only by the assent of northern men. Who will assume tha responsibility of such an act? Who will cast his suffrage for a Presidential candidate, in whose person aggressive slavery will be enthroned in the highest place of power, and permitted to wield the sovereignty of the nation unawed and unchecked? There is no "choice of evils" here. On either hand there is one and the same monster evil, and there is no escape but by turning away from both the subservient factions, and going forward, in one united host, to defend the cause of freedom from open enemies and treacherous

Why should there not be such a union? The politirians say that there are "other questions" besides slavery to be settled. It would puzzle any supporter of Gen Taylor to name one single party issue that he is pledged to maintain, or that he even pretends to understand. But grant, for a moment, all that is claimed on this head, and what does it amount to? Simply to this, that the material prosperity of the country may be promoted, if a certain financial, commercial and administrative policy is pursued. The wealth of the nation, it is claimed, will be increased or diminished, as one or another system of measures is adopted. But the extension of slavery is a CRIME of appalling magnitude. To assent to the commission of such a crime, to secure these other ends of government, is an act of precise y the same import as for an individual to connive at a capital crime for a pecuniary consideration. Tariffs, currency, and all the other "great issues" which are so magnified by party leaders, however valuable in themselves, may be purchased at too dear a rate. These virtuous politicians would procure them by the sin and shame of extending slavery across the continent, to curse a soil now free. Men of the north! Republicans! Christians! will you ratify this bargain? Will the fullest tide of commercial wealth, the most splendid results of industrial energy, that ever gladdened the vision of a political economist, soothe your consciences at the thought of the infinite price you pay for them-national guilt and infamy? Think, before you barter your own and your country's innocence for such perrishable gains. Think of that great problem-what shall it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?

We call on every man who has a soul that he values, to cast off the trammels of party, and act from broad, humane and unselfish motives-to leave partisan struggles for offices and spoils to those who have nothing higher to engage their sluggish sensibilities, and act nobly for freedom in this hour of her extremity. It is nance of 1787 for the government of the Northwestern no light or transient object to which we invite them. It territory, down to the present session .- Nay, Gen. Cass takes hold of the essential and permanent interests of all himself, was governor of the territory of Michigan for coming generations in this land, and in a world that looks eighteen years. But with his present views he must deto this land for its lessons of civil liberty. It is a high and worthy aim, to be followed, if necessary, alone. people of that territory were unconstitutional, and that But we are not alone. The noble army of "Barnburner" he was engaged during all that period in executing laws

Democrats have already lifted the ensign of FREE SOIL. A goodly portion of the Whigs of Massachusetts and Ohio have rallied to the same standard, and thousands are enlisting throughout the free states. The spirit of freedom is not dead in Connecticut, but is awaking to an activity that will yet startle the secure allies of the usurping slave power. To the people, the uncorrupted masses, who have no spoils to secure, but who are quick to discern the danger of national degradation, we commit the hallowed interests of liberty with strong confidence.

To furnish a vehicle for the earnest thoughts of those who have been startled by the rude shock of southern domination-to aid in arousing other minds from the false security into which they may have been lulled by the persuasive accents of designing politicians-to aid, with whatever power God has endowed us, in the defence of the truth and the right, THE FREE SOIL ADVOCATE has been established. We ask for it the support of those whose principles it maintains, and we seek for it no patronage that is not deserved by its merits as a defender of those principles. It will impartially oppose the nomination both of Gen. Cass and Gen. TAYLOR, and will support any candidate pledged to the principle of FREE SOIL who may best unite the suffrages of the independent friends of freedom. Though we have ourself labored with zeal for the Whig party, while it promised true faith and allegiance to the holy cause of liberty, yet having been repelled from it by the treachery of the Philadelphia convention, we will labor, with the same ardor and with unyielding earnestness, for any true man, of whatever political faith, who will pledge his allegiance to that cause. Forgetting past animosities, we hail every such man as a brother and fellow laborer. Painful as it is to be found in hostility to those with whom we have acted so harmoniously in time past, it would be inexpressibly more painful to accompany them in the downward course upon which they have entered. Though we believe our opponents, of both parties, are inflicting deadly injury on the country, and shall act with our whole energies to resist the evil they are doing, we shall never, we trust, be betrayed into any personal hostility, but while we maintain an unvielding position, and plainly expose the enormous mischiefs of their party policy, we shall endeavor to treat every man with personal respect, whatever treatment we may ourselves receive from the baser hirelings of party. Those, if any there are, who sympathize with our principles, but doubt the necessity of a separate organization for their support, we can only request to read with candor and impartiality the evidence we shall present from time to time in our columns. If not convinced, go in peace, but if your mind and heart shall respond to our appeals, then let your suffrage be cast with ours, for THE CANDIDATE OF A FREE 

## State Convention.

It will be seen that the friends of Free Soil in Suffield, have recommended a STATE CONVENTION, to be holden in this city on Wednesday, the 26th of the present month, for the choice of Delegates to the Buffalo Convention, and for the transaction of other business necessary for organization.

We hope this call will be generally responded to throughout the State, and that there will be secured as full a representation as possible of the people in the several towns, without distinction of party, in favor of maintaining the freedom of the territories.

It may seem expedient, on consultation with friends in different parts of the State, to postpone the time for the meeting of the Convention, but delegates should be chosen without delay, and seasonable notice will be given, should another day be fixed.

## The Two Generals.

THAT the election of Gen. Taylor would inflict serious injury upon the country by its fatal influence on the question of slavery extension, we consider too plain to be denied, unless by some authentic declaration made or authorized by himself. His interests, feelings, and habitual associations, and the whole public sentiment of the people among whom he resides, go to confirm this. His supporters at the south claim this in his behalf. One of his earliest supporters at the north, the editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, declared, with characteris. tic ardor that he was raised up by Provide down the Wilmot Proviso!! These things are not to be put aside by the declaration of Col. Johnson, of Ohio that he "believes" Gen. Taylor opposed to the extension of slavery-of the Albany Journal that its editor has evidence to prove this point (which is not produced)to see and ears to hear and hearts to feel, to come out and separate themselves from every alliance that would inwill not veto a bill embodying the principles of the Wilmot Proviso. This point is examined in an article from the Northampton Courier, in another column, to which the reader is referred.

> Some of the Cass journals having had the effrontery to claim support for him, on the score that he resides in a free state and was born in New England, let us take a survey of his position on this question. When Mr. Wilmot's celebrated Proviso was moved, near the close of the first session of the twenty-ninth Congress, it passed the House as an amendment to the so-called two million bill. It came up in the Senate on the last day of the session, and a motion was made to strike it out Senator Davis, of Massachusetts, took the floor in op. position to this motion, but in consequence of a difference between the Senate and the House clocks, the House adjourned before the Senate came to a vote, and of course the bill and amendment were both lost. Mr Cass thereupon expressed his deep regret, that through the unintended effect of Mr. Davis's remarks being prolonged, he was prevented from voting for Mr. Wilmot's amendment. He longed for an opportunity to record his vote in favor of that great principle. This was in the hearing of several Senators, whose testimony has never been contradicted and will not be.

At the next session the same question came up once nore. Mr. Cass made no objection to the principle, but thought it was brought up at an inopportune moment If passed then it would embarrass the administration, and for that reason alone, he voted against it. So far he seemed to preserve his integrity.

But last fall he made a direct summerset, and confess, ed that an "interesting change" had taken place in his views. On a full examination, he came to the conclusion that Congress has no constitutional power to prohibit slavery in the territories. Congress may acquire territory, and may cede it entirely away, but cannot control it in any way, except to take care of the public lands! To such straits is he driven to get rid of an inconvenient issue and secure votes for the presi-

Now the constitution empowers congress to make "all necessary regulations respecting the territory" of the U-States. Under the authority to "regulate" commerce, it has been held that congress may control the whole subject, overrule all state legislation respecting it, and even prohibit it altogether, as in the case of the embargo. But when territory is the subject, the power is reduced to

The construction of Gen. Cass would convict the government of the United States of a continual series of violations of the constitution, from the first Congress under President Washington, which confirmed the ordi-

by virtue of an appointment which had no constitutional | those who trust in the statements of the Taylor organs validity, under acts which could have no binding force! What a sinful life he has unwittingly lived! During that period his regular salary amounted to \$36,000-he received \$60,000 for "extra services," and his Secretary, afterwards Gov. Woodbridge, received \$4,602 74, for discharging the duties of Gov. during Mr. Cass's absence for two years, though Mr. Cass received his regular salary at the same time. Here is a sum of \$96,000 which Mr. Cass, according to his own declarations, received contrary to the constitution. If he is sincere in his present professions, we submit that he is bound to repent in sackcloth and ashes for his "sins, negligences and ignorances," and by way of manifesting the depth of his penitence, to pay back the cash, with the same promptitude with which Judas Iscariot refunded the price of his treason. When he does this it will be time enough to set him down an honest man, and to think of voting for him as a candidate for the Presidency.

As he believes the Wilmot Provise unconstitutional he would be bound by his oath of office to veto any bill embodying its principles. A vote for Lewis Cass is a direct and fatal stab at the freedom of the territories.

Need we say more to prove the unfitness of either of the two Generals to receive the votes of freemen?

#### The Missouri Compromise.

The present posture of things in reference to the Oregon territory, must excite the greatest solicitude in the minds uf all. The people of that territory, by their provisional government, have prohibited all involuntary servitude. The bill establishing a territorial government ratifies the existing laws so far as they may be confirmed by the territorial legislature. Mr. Calhoun insists on legalizing slavery there. And now Mr. Bright of Indiana, offers a proposition to extend the line of the Missouri compromise to the Pacific, the effect of which will be to legalize slavery in all of California and New Mexico lying south of the parallel of 36° 30'. This is called a fair compromise! Mr. Reverdy Johnson expends a prodigious amount of vehement eloquence, begging and praying both northern and southern men to be magnanimous, and accept of so conciliatory a proposition, and the Journal of Commerce endorses the Senators from Indiana and Maryland, and predicts their success. This, strange as it may seem to some, we think is very natural, on the part of that sheet, which preserved its "independent" position while the annexation of Texas was pending in 1844, but has just begun electioneering, in the present canvass, for Gen. Taylor.

We do not believe the Bright compromise can succeed. The ultraists of the south, who deny the constitutional power of congress to limit slavery in the territories, will hardly assent to the exercise of this power now. What they have declared to be a usurpation, will not be made legitimate in their eyes by confining its exercise north of the Missouri line. Mr. Bright and other Cass men, who pretend to entertain the same opinion, may perhaps agree to commit perjury within certain parallels of latitude-we do not undertake to measure the capacity of their consciences in such matters, but their Southern allies are made of sterner stuff. Still, we will not be too confident. The Southern members may possibly sink their general principles, or find some metaphysical flaw through which to escape. The Cass men are apparently ready for anything, and so delicate is the question in its bearings on the Presidential election, that there may be danger of some act of this nature being passed for the relief of aspirants for power.

At this juncture, then, it behooves the people to look sharply at the course of their representatives. They may be betrayed before they are aware of it. The whole project of a compromise is a cheat. It is no compromise. It gives Oregon to free labor, with a small slice of California, but the lion's share of California and New Mexico is given up to slave labor. Now that is precisely all they want. They know that slavery cannot exist in Oregon. Though the soil and climate in a portion of that territory might not forbid it, the temper of the people will be such as to bar its introduction forever. Nobody was ever crazy enough to think of going there with human chattels. What the extentionists by this pretended compromise. They affect to give up what they never had and never can have while the world stands, and ask us to give up everything that is really in dispute. This will never be submitted to. Whatever Members of Congress may do, their constituents will repudiate such a hollow mockery with the scorn it deserves, and visit with political oblivion the traitors who enact it.

Let the measure pass, if Congress dare to pass it The cry of repeal will shake the whole land. It cannot be repressed. The act, before another session, will not be worth the parchment on which it is engrossed. It is a plot as short sighted as it is wicked, and those who urge its passage as a means of allaying excitement, will find they have raised a spirit they cannot quell.

# Can't do anything.

This is the excuse made by many for refusing to aid in a free soil movement. "You'll only throw away your votes." We are not concerned even at this prospect. When both the great parties, or their leaders, deliberately determine to sanction, or even permit, the enactment of such a damning crime as the extension of slavery upon territory now free, the man who votes for the candidate of either makes himself accessory to the guilt, and he is bound to withhold his suffrage from them, even if he cannot do anything more. There are times when an honest man cannot do anything better with his vote than to "thow it away."

But, under favor, how is it so certain that we are shut up to so forlorn a prospect-for it is indeed bitter to see the nation rushing forward in a career of shame, without power to arrest the downward progress-how does it appear that we cannot succeed? Look, for a moment, at the elements of success. There are three parties in the field contending for a common principle of freedom-first, the radical, or "Barnburner" Democrats of New York, with their allies in other states. In New York they are believed to constitute a numerical majority of the Democratic party. In other states the number of those sympathizing with them is not so easily estimated from the fact that they are not organized, but their numbers are large and evidently increasing. They are numerous in Ohio and the other Northwestern states, and developments in Fennsylvania and New England indicate the existence of large numbers, who will manifest themselves in due time. In Massachusetts Ex-Gov. Morton is understood to lead the movement, and a recent convention in Stockbridge shows that the Democrats of Berkshire in considerable numbers, join in it. Then there is the Liberty party, able to bring 100,000 voters to the polls. And last, though by no means least, in spite of the studied efforts of the Taylor organs to depreciate their numbers, there is a large and daily increasing number of Whigs, who will not submit to the numination of Gen. Taylor, but are resolved to resist the extension of slavery by something more than words. They are numerous in Massachusetts, as the Worcester Convention demonstrated. With most of the whig presses alternately denouncing and ridiculing the movement, with most of the wealth and political influence of the state against them, not less than 5000 assembled, a majority of them whigs, and pledged themselves to support an independent nomination. In Ohio the evidence of dissaffection with the Philadelphia nomination is most cheering, and than is flattering to the prospects of either.

will learn a different lesson before the end of November. In other states the tide is rising.

It is not confined to the free states. Delegates to the Buffalo Convention are appointed or about to be appointed from Maryland, and we know from the most unquestionable authority, that in more than one slave state there is a widening and deepening sentiment against the further aggrandizement of a system that has so retarded the progress of half the union.

If, now, these elements can be united, and the whole public sentiment in favor of free territory can be embodied, something can be done—everything can be done. Let only those who have professed hostility to the extension of slavery act up to their professions, and join hands, and they can carry the nation with them. Let Democrats and Whigs suspend, if they cannot entirely abandon, their differences about minor matters. Let Liberty men suspend, though they do not abandon, their ulterior purposes. Without raising any question about abolishing slavery where it is now planted, adhering to the constitution fairly interpreted, a union to resist the attempted aggressions of slavery may be formed, and may have the most complete success. It may be hard, in the eyes of some to abandon the support of JOHN P. HALE, after all that he has done and deserved-it may he hard for others to relinquish Mr. Van Buren, enthusiastically as he was nominated at Uticait may be hard for others still to resign the hope of seeing some other worthy candidate presented for general support—but if the honest and upright masses will come out in the might of irresistable numbers and indomitable zeal for the cause, a union on our common principles and on a common candidate will be compelled. The people cannot be prevented from flowing together. We say, then, to all-You need not throw away your votes. You can do something. Only resolve that you will, and something will be acheived more honor-

#### Conventions.

able to the country than has been accomplished since

the Declaration of Independence.

No sentiment seems to have greater power with many ninds, than that they are bound by the decision of a National Convention. They have assented to the call for such a meeting, they have been represented in it, and they consider themselves bound in honor to abide its decision, however disagreeable it may be. So, with many wry faces, they swallow Cass or Taylor, and seem to themselves the very martyrs of duty and honor.

Far be it from us to disparage the feeling which prompts this course of conduct. A nice sense of honor s no matter of ridicule, but rather of most emphatic ommendation. And we are ready to admit, within certain limits, the doctrine that binds us to the decision of a convention, so far as mere preferences for men are concerned. Of several fit candidates for office, all representing common principles, it is reasonable that, one being selected by the voice of a majority, the minority should yield their individual wishes, and unite in support of the uccessful nominee. But when a sacrifice, not only of men, but of principle, is demanded, allegiance to truth, justice and conscience, forbids the submission. No man has a right to bind himself beforehand, expressly or by implication, to follow the lead of a convention at all hazards, and if participation, in the proceedings of such a body draws after it these extreme consequences, no man should suffer himself to countenance it. It would be a most intolerable evil, requiring, if needful, suppression by force of law. We acknowledge no such obligations. Ready, for the sake of principle, to yield to the nomination of any man who is not entirely unqualified for the station for which he is named, we would also be at all times ready to resist the nomination of the most transcendent statesman, whose election should menace the essential principles of political justice and equity-The brief, pointed, and convincing remarks of Judge Allen on this subject, at the Worcester convention, are worthy of thoughtful consideration.

"I understand the object of a convention to be to concentrate public opinion, to recommend to the people some person whom the majority shall deem to be a suitable person for President of the United States. But I do not understand that the people are bound, if he is unfit for gate was there. It is a recommendation not a law. But if you are bound by it, what does it amount to? That you give the convention the absolute power of choosing the President of the United States. And what would become of that convention? It would be a scene of undisguised corruption and bidding for office. And if that could be a true theory of acting in convention for any party of the United States, rendering the people bound thereby, no convention should be allowed to sit again. No convention should be allowed to step with absolute power, between them and the ballot box."

# Van Buren and Niles on Slavery.

The views of these distinguished statesme n o the extension of slavery are worthy of note. Those who have had no potitical sympathy with them cannot fail to be gratified by the general soundness of their views on this subject. There may be positions taken by both on some points in which there will not be perfect agreement among our readers, but on the great issue of the time their opinions are as satisfactory as their exposition of them is able, and that is saying much. Those who have heretofore enjoyed the perusal of either, we are sure. will not grudge the space they occupy in our present issue, as all are interested in having them for reading and reference.

# No Compromise.

Hon. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, has introduced a proposition to compromise the question of slavery in the territories, in a more imposing form. A committee consisting of two of each party from the North and two of each party from the South, is to try to arrange the

Mr. Clayton and his coadjutors in this business will find that it is too late to think of any thing of this kind. When the whole of Texas, a region worth more than all New Mexico and California put together, was seized by the slave power, and consigned, by the terms of its constitution, to PERPETUAL SLAVERY, the door was shut against any faither concession. The extensionists must rest satisfied with what they have got. Not another inch can they claim-not another inch can the free states

The proposition may pass, though we think it must fare hard in the House. The people will keep a sharp lookout for their representatives. Whoever, representing a free state constituency, lends himself to extend slavery over a single acre of the new territory, will be "damned to everlasting fame." He will perish before the frown of an outraged constituency, and his work will perish with him. It will not endure a single year. There can be NO COMPROMISE.

The Whig papers, by way of keeping up their spirits, are prone to describe the Free Soil movement as mainly "locofoco" in its character, and cheer on the Taylor column by proclaiming the weakness of the Cass party. The Cass journals are equally positive thai it is a Whig move, threatening ruin to the Philadelphia nomination. Both are right and both wrong. We draw our strength from both parties, and more of it

## Free Soil Meeting in Suffield.

PURSUANT to previous notice, a meeting of the Friends of Free Soil, convened at the Town Hall, in Suffield, on the 6th day of July, 1848, at 6 o'clock, P. M.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. John P. In-GRAHAM and DAVID HALE, Eso., was called to the Chair, Samuel N. Reid, was appointed Secretary.

On motion, the following gentlemen were appointed Committee on Resolutions and an Address, viz; Dr. S. B. Lowe, Samuel Austin, Henry Endress,

M. S. Austin, Samuel Hastings, Thomas J. Berton, and John P. Ingraham. During the absence of the Committee, the meeting

was addressed by C. W. PHILLEO. The Committee then reported the following Resolu-

ions and Address Whereas, The South have forced upon the People of the Union, the issue between the extension of Slavery and the restriction of that Institution to the confines o

its present limits.—
Resolved, That we accept the issue thus tendered us, and we declare, that while we are willing to abide by all the compromises of the Constitution, and to avoid any interference with the reserved rights and domestic insti-tutions of any of the States of the Union, we are, at he same time, the determined and uncompromising opponents of the extension of Slavery over any territory

Resolved, That the Federal Government by hesitating o use its constitutional and often exercised power, and ordaining the territory of Oregon to be and remain for Soil, shows itself to be still more under the malign influence of the Slave Power than ever before and to be far behind the spirit of the age, in liberality and a just appreciation of the principles of Freedom.

Resolved, That it is the right and duty of the Government of the United States, to preserve the free territories of this Union from the curse of slavery, by an express prohibition of its introduction therein, so that these vast countries may be left open to free laborers, emi-

vise be virtually excluded from settling there. Resolved, That we believe this question to excel in importance all other issues at this time before the People of the Union, and that it is the duty of every elector to in-form himself upon the subjects connected with it, so that he may be able to come to correct conclusions, and to act

grants from our own and other lands, who would other

decisively when he shall be called upon to vote.

Resolved, That we believe the late National Conventons at Baltimore and Philadelphia, to have been con trolled by the slave power—that the respective nominaions by these bodies, were the direct and intended result of this influence,—and that the two great political organzations represented in these Conventions, are each

them prostituted to the service of slavery.

Resolved, That while we know by his own confession that Gen. Cass is the supple tool of Slave-holders and Slavery-extensionists, we have reason to believe that Gen. Taylor is opposed to the restriction of the limits of slavery—and that therefore we dare not trust either of

them with the interests of Free Labor.

Resolved, That in this crisis, a new political organ zation is necessary for the purpose of securing the united action of the Friends of Freedom, Free Soil and Free Labor,—and that we will co-operate heartily with our Fellow Citizens of other States, in the efforts now being made to concentrate the action of the friends of free so and free labor in support of these principles.

gates from the Town of Suffield, to the State Conven-

Resolved, That this Meeting through their Chairman and other Officers, tender their thanks to the Hon. John M. NILES, for the manly and patriotic course which he has pursued, in so ably defending the free soil of our erritories, from the invasion of the slave power.

Resolved, That the following be adopted as the adress of this meeting to our fellow citizens of the State

#### TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT.

Fellow Citizens:-The nominations made by Democratic and Whig Parties respectively, at Baltimore and Philadelphia, are of such recent and well known occurrence, that it is unnecessary for the particular ars and details of either of them to be rehearsed, to call hem to your minds.

It is well known that the nomination of Gen. CASS to the the Presidency by the Democratic National Convention, both in itself, and by the manner in which it was accomplished, has caused deep and grave dissatisfaction among large numbers of the Democratic Party in the Northern States,—and it is a fact equally notorious, that Gen. TAYLOR'S nomination by the Whig Conoleasing to the numerous masses of the northern Whigs.

The causes of these dissensions are also of sufficient elebrity to need here but a simple statement. Both Democrats and Whigs are influenced by a like reason in hesitating at the acceptance and ratification, or actually rejecting and repudiating the nominations made by eventions, to whose decisions they have been accus comed cheerfully to bow. This reason can be found in the notorious fact, that the action of each of those bodies was influenced, guided and controled by the slave power, and that in neither of them could have been nom of slavery. or even suspected of being in favor of the principle of free soil for a free people. It cannot be successfully denied, and at the south it is openly pro-claimed, that both Gen. Cass and Gen. Taylor are the champions of the extension of the institution of slavery over territories as yet intact by its blighting curse.

The principles to which we have alluded we deem to be at this crisis, of paramount interest; and the issue between the propagandism of slavery and and the pres-ervation of free soil we believe to transcend, in imporance, each and all other questions upon which the peopl f this country are at this time called upon to decide.

Nor are we singular in this opinion. The larger por ion of the citizens of the Union, both of the North and South, holding antagonistic opinions upon the same question, and who have heretofore acted diversely with the two great political parties of the country, now unite in the belief, that the time has arrived when all questions of less pressing necessity shall be considered as of no weight than their relative importance strictly demands in comparison to the vast moment of the issue

which has already been mentioned.

The south shows an unbroken front, differences of opinion upon all other subjects, however marked, are postponed while they unite as one man in this matter. Mere party lines can cause no break in the serried ranks

of the friends and propagandists of slavery.

On the other hand the Freemen of the North are aroused. The grave calamity which threatens the vital interests of the infant yet important colonies of freemen established on the free soil of our territories, the danger which impends over the rights of every citizen of the northern states, the jeopardy in which the Union itself is placed by the late new and startling assumptions of slave power, and a consideration of the other and manifold disasterous consequences should these assumption be established and made good, have convinced many thinking men of the north that there exists an imminent thinking men of the north that there exists an imminent necessity for immediate, prompt and energetic action; that it is unwise and wicked any longer to allow their political conduct to be entirely controlled by interests which have now come to be of less importance, to the neglect of an interest of such overpowering and pressing moment: and that it is their strict duty as freemer and friends of liberty and their country, to rally without distinction of party in support of the compromises of the Constitution and the time honored usages of the Government, and in defence of the free and virgin soil of our territories against the aggressions of the too

mighty power of slavery.

How to direct this action is a most serious question.-The Government is controlled by the slaveocracy.-The wo great political party organizations are governed by its power, as we have so lately seen.—The election of either Cass or Taylor is a defeat to the principles of librty.—What course shall then be pursued?

In this conjuncture for the purpose of affording a fit opportunity for the interchange of opinion upon upon these subjects between men from all sections of the country, and, if it shall then be deemed proper, for the further purpose of taking measures to organize into an effective force those citizens who hold the opinions to which we have alluded, so that their power and influence, as men and as electors, may be exercised with an unity of action n support of the principle of free soil and free labor, it has been deemed proper by certain distinguished citizens to call a National Convention. And accordingly, upon the 9th day of August next, a National Free Soil Convention will assemble at the City of Buffalo, to take into consideration the state of the union, to deliberate upon the weighty question now pending before the nation, to decide upon a course of political action, to form an effective organization for the defence of the principles of freedom.

centrate the popular will respecting the question of the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, and if it should be thought proper, to nominate to those high and responsible offices such men as may be selected to lead the way and carry the standard in this great contest between the conflicting elements of freedom and

slavery. It is extremely desirable that the State of Connecticut be represented in the National convention at Buffalo, by a delegation regularly appointed by a constituency according to well established usages. For this purpose and also to effect a convenient organization a Free Soil Convention should ere long be holden at some proper

It is of course necessary that the initiative step be ta ken by individuals clothed with no authority and assembling at first without previous organization. We have gravely considered the nature and consequences of this step, and are aware of the responsibility which those must unavoidably assume who take it.—But we have come to the conclusion, that, believing as we do, we have no right to avoid this responsibility, in the hope that we may save it by the seasonable intervention of others.

We therefore earnestly and respectfully recommend you, our fellow citizens of the state, friends of the principles of free soil, to assemble in your several towns at some convenient time, and unite with us in the election of delegates to a State Convention-which we would advise to be holden at the City of Hartford, on Wednesday the 26th day of July next, for the purposes which have been already stated.

On motion, the blanks in the Resolution appointing delegates to a State Convention, were filled by the following names, viz:

Dr. Aretas Rising, Calvin W. Philleo, David Hale. Jr., John P. Ingraham. And the following named genlemen were appointed their substitutes, viz: Henry Endress, Thomas J. Bertor, Moses S. Austin, Samuel

Voted, That copies of the proceedings of the meeting, with the Resolutions and Address, signed by the Chairman and Secretary, be offered for publication to the Hartford Courant, the Hartford Times, and the Char-

Voted, That the Chairman and Secretary be empowed ered to call future meetings. The meeting then ad\_ iourned. DAVID HALE, Chairman.

SAMUEL N. REID, Secretary. SUFFIELD, July 8th, 1848.

# foreign News.

#### Insurrection in Paris.

By the arrival of the Steamer Niagara, at Boston, on Thursday morning, seven days later intelligence from Europe is received.

Paris has been the scene of a frightful massacre, in which 35,000 are said to have been killed or wounded. It is gratifying to be able to add that the government sustained itself, and that those who looked for the overthrow of the Republic, must "wait a little longer." England is quiet. Ireland is arming, and the signs of

violent insurrection are increasingly evident.

Austria seems to have the advantage in Italy, but nothing very decisive has occurred. An Austrian and Russian invasion of Prussia seem to be threatened. The draft of a German constitution is completed, and promses to give general satisfaction.

#### From the Liverpool European Times, July 1. AFFAIRS IN PARIS.

In our last number we mentioned that the laboring lasses were assembling in great numbers in the eastern part of Paris, and that some were proceeding to the Na part of Paris, and that some were proceeding to the Pational Assembly. A deputation of five ouvriers having waited upon M. Marie, at the Luxembourg, he listened to their grievances, but observing that their spokesman had been an active party in the affair of the 15th May, said to the men, "You are not the slaves of this manyou can state your own grievances." This expression was distorted amongst the workmen, that Marie had called them "slaves," and seems to have been the signal for he conspirators, who had organized a vast movement,

to commence their operations.
On Thursday night, the 22d inst., the first barricades were raised, and the troops and the National Guards called out. On Friday the insurgents, for by that time the movement had assumed all the character of an open insurrection, possessed themselves of that portion of the right bank of the river Seine, stretching from the Fauourg St. Antoine to the river, whilst on the left bank they occupied all that populous portion called the Cite, the Faubourgs St. Marcel, St. Victor, and the lower quar ter of St. Jacques. The communications of the insurgents between the two banks of the river, were maintain ed by the possession of the Church St. Gervais, a part of quarter of the Temple, the approaches of Notre Dame, and the Bridge of St. Michael. They, who are familiar with Paris, will see, by a glance at the map, that, by these extensive lines of operations, the insurgents occupied a vast portion of the most defensible parts of the city, and actually threatened the Hotel de Ville, which, if they had succeeded in taking, might have se

oured the final victory on their side.

On the Friday there were partial conflicts, but the insurgents seemed to be occupied more at fortifying their positions than in actually fighting; but whatever success the Government troops may have had in various quarters, where conflicts took place, as at St. Dennis, and St. Martin, it now appears that the enthusiastic courage of the insurgents repulsed them, and even beat them in other parts of the city. Lamartine rode with the staff of Cavaignac through Paris to quell the insurrection; but it was evident that nothing but the power of arms could compel the insurgents to yield. The Government forces were divided into three divisions; and large masses of troops were brought to bear with artillery upon the po-sitions of the insurgents; but still Friday passed and the insurrection had evidently gained strength.

On Saturday the National Assembly declared itself in permanence, and Paris was placed in a state of seige. The Executive power was delegated absolutely to General Cavaignac; and at half past ten the members of the Executive Government resigned. They declared that they should have been wanting in their duties and honor had they withdrawn before a sedition or a public peril. They only withdrew before a vote of the Assembly. Reports poured in every hour to the Assembly; and as the intelligence arrived of the slaughter of the National Guards, and the fall of one general after another, who was killed or wounded by the insurgents, the sensation became deep and alarming, Various proclamations were issued by Gen. Cavaignac to induce the insurgents o lay down their arms, but to no effect. The whole of Saturday was employed in desperate fighting on both sides. Except a full during a frightful thunder-storm in the afternoon of Friday, the conflicts were without intermission. On Saturday, however, the carnage and battles on the south of the river were horrible. During the whole of Friday night, and until three o'clock on Saturday, the roar of the artillery, and the noise of mus-

ketry, were incessant.

In this frightful state of things the Assembly betray ed not a little alarm. Deputations from the Assembly were proposed to go and entreat the combatants to cease this fratricidal strife; but all the successive reports pro ved that the insurgents were bent upon only yielding up the struggle with their lives; and their valor was only surpassed by their desperate resolution. On Saturday night at eight o'clock, the capital was in an awful state Fighting continued with unabated fury. Large masses of troops poured in from all the neighboring departments out still the insurgents, having rendered their positions almost impregnable, resisted, more or less effectually, all the forces which could be brought against them. The "red flag," the banner of the Republique Democratique was hoisted by the insurgents.

On the Sunday morning, at the meeting of the National Assemby, the President announced that the Govern-ment forces had completely succeeded in suppressing the insurrection on the left bank of the river, after a frightful sacrifice of human life; and that Gen. Cavaignac had given the insurgents, on the right bank, till 10 o'clock to surrender; when, if they did not lay down their arms, he would storm their entrenchments in the Faubourg St Antoine, where they were now driven, and put the whole to the sword. The heaviest artillery had been brought to bear upon them, and little doubt could be entertained that the insurrection would be put down. The hope thus held out of the termination of the insurrection was not, however realized. The fighting continued the whole of Sunday, with a fearful loss of life, especially to

the National Guards.
On Monday the reinforcements Gen. Lamorciere had received from Gen. Cavaignac enabled him to hem in the insurgents in the eastern part of the city; and, although reduced to extremities, they still fought with incredible valor. It was thought, on Monday morning early, that they would surrender; but again the hope thus held out of the termination of the insurrection was not immediately realized. At half-past 10 on Monday the fighting was resumed; and it was only after a frightful struggle against their earnest remonstrances?

B.

and to oppose the extension of slavery, to collect and con- of about two more hours that the Government troop everywhere prevailed; and the heart of the insurrection being broken, the insurgents were either shot, taken prisoners, or fled into the country, in the direction toward Vincennes. The eastern quarters comprising the Fau-bourgs St. Antoine, du Temple, Menilmoutant, and Pe-pincourt were the last subdued. The last band took refuge in the celebrated cemetery of Pere la Chaise, but the Garle Mobile hunted them even from this sanctuary, and they were scattered in the neighboring fields. On Tues-

day the insurrection was definitively quelled.

The loss of life in this most unexampled conflict has been terrific. We are afraid that the predominating loss will be found to be far greater on the side of the soldiery than of the insurgents. No fewer than fourteen general than of the insurgents. No fewer than fourteen genera officers have been put hors de combat, a greater loss than in the most splendidengagements of Napoleon. Amongst those who fell are General Negrier, and Generals Deart, and Brea; Generals Charbonnel and Renault, and others severely wounded. Four of five members of the National Assembly are amongst the killed, and as many more wounded.

But perhaps the most touching death is that of the Archbishop of Paris. The venerable prelate, on Sunday volunteered to go to the insurgents as a messenger of peace. Cavaignac said that such a step was full of danger, but this Christian pastor persisted. He advanced, attended by his two vicars, towards the barricades, with an olive branch borne before him, when he was ruthless ly shot in his groin, and fell mortally wounded. The venerable patient was carried by the insurgents to the nearest hospital in St. Antoine, where he received the last sacraments, languished, and has since died.

It will probably be never correctly ascertained to what extent the sacrifice of human life in this fearful struggle has reached. Some compute the loss on the side of the troops at from five to ten thousand slain, but we hope this is exaggerated. The number of prisoners captured of the insurgents exceeds five thousand. All the prisons are filled, as well as the dungeons and vaults of the Tuilleries, the Louvre, Palais Royal, the Chamber of Deputies, and the Hotel de Ville We have not space to recount many acts of individual heroism. Many soldiers mere boys, exhibited sublime courage. On the other hand, the savage cruelty with which the insurgents waged war almost exceeds belief. They torture some of heir prisoners, cut off their hands and feet, and inflicted barbarities worthy of savages. The women were hired to poison the wine sold to the soldiers, who drank it, reeled, and died. We would gladly turn from the details of the awful deeds which have been perpetrated. It seems to be believed generally, that if the insurgents had succeeded in following up their most admirably concerted plan of operations, and having advanced their line, and possessed themselves of the Hotel de Ville, and followed up their successes along the two banks of the river, that the whole city would have been given up to pillage; in-deed the words "PILLAGE AND RAPE" are said to have been inscribed on one of their banners. Not less than 30,000 stand of arms have been seized and captured in the Faubourg St. Antoine alone.

#### LATEST ADVICES.

The latest news describe some frightful scenes of large bodies of prisoners being shot in various attempts to escape, The National Assembly seems wound up to a high state of excitement.

Upon the debate-if it may be so called-on the deto transport the five or six thousand prisoners taken. Caussidiere burst into a loud imprecation against their cruelty, and from the tone of the speakers no doubt exists that the insurgents were supported by the Montagnards of the Assembly.

#### THE NEW MINISTRY.

Already several legions of National Guards have been disarmed by Cavaignac. He has been empowered to form a new Ministry. The following Ministry has been appointed:

Gen. CAVAIGNAC, - President. BETHMONT, - - - Justice. LAMORICIERE, - - War. LE BLANC, - - - Marine. GOUDCHAUX, - - Finance. SENARD, - - - - Home Department. SENARD, - - - Home Department RASTIDE, - - - Foreign Affairs.

Decurer - - - Public Works. Toures, - - - -

Gen. Cavaignac has appointed Changarnier Com-

mander-in-chief of the National Guard of Paris, and Gen. Bedeau Governor of Paris. The National Assembly has this day (the 20th) to elect a President in the place of M. Senard, and M. Dufaure has been started as the candidate of the moderate party. The Commission of Inquiry into the conspiracy of and its connection with that of the 15th of May, sits in permanence, adjourning only for short intervals. During the day Athas addreseed a Circular to the Law Officers of the Republic throughoot France, requiring them to send, with the utmost expedition, the telegraphic despatches that they received, the documents which they have in ands, and in a word all the political information which has any relation to these two events; and also the result of such inquiries as they may be enabled to

# STARTLING DISCLOSURES.

The Government, it is said, was quite aware for some out, and the Minister of War consequently gave orders for the fresh supply of troops to be sent to the Capital, which orders were to be transmitted to the military authorities in the provinces by telegraph. These or-ders, it seems, were never sent; and, as the telegraph is in the Department of the Minister of the Interior, it remains with him to say why they were suppressed.

Some of the insurgent prisoners do not hesitate to assert that they have friends in the Government, who would have moved in their favor had an opportunity occurred. This may account for the manner in which the insurgents were allowed to complete the barricades without interruption. One of the principal prisoners M. de Flotte, was found to have in his possession laisser paper in the hand-writing of M. de Lamartine, and another in that of M. Louis Blanc. Several letters from M. de Lamartine were seized at his house. It is now ascertained that at one time the insurrectionists were as near as possible gaining the victory.

# LATER FROM MEXICO.

Revolution in Guanajuato-Paredes in the Field.

From the New Orleans Delta, of July 2. By the arrival here yesterday of the steamship Portand, Capt. Place, from Vera Cruz the 26th ult. w have received files of the Arco Iris up to that datevith intelligence from the Capital to the 20th.

REVOLUTION.—The standard of revolution has again been raised in that distracted country. Gen. Paredes having succeeded in causing a defection of a portion of the Army, has taken possession of the city of Guanaju-ato. He is seconded by Padre Jarauta. The Mexican Government had forwarded to the scene of insurrection ill its disposable force, under Gens. Bustamente, Yanez, Minon and Cortazar. On the 20th ult dispatches had been received from those officers, intimating that they had so disposed their forces as to compel Paredes to risk a battle, which would be definitive in its issue.

## MEXICAN ABHORRENCE OF SLAVERY EXTENSION.

Correspondence of The Tribune. WASHINGTON, July 12, 1847.

Public attention has not been sufficiently called to the fact, that in the negotiations between Mr. Trist and the Mexican Commissioners, the strongest repugnance was manifested by the Mexican Commissioners to the cessation of Territory with a prospect of the introduction of Slavery therein. The following is an extract from Trist's letter to Mr. Buchanan, dated Sept. 4, 1847: "Among the points which came under discussion

was the exclusion of Slavery from all Territory which should pass from Mexico. In the course of their remarks on the subject, I was told that if it were proposed to the people of the United States to part with a portion of their territory in order that the Inquisition should be therein established, the proposal could not excite stronger feelings of ABHORRENCE than those awakened in Mexico by the prospect of the introduction of Slavery in any Territory parted with by her. Our conversation on this topic was perfectly frank.

"I concluded by assuring them that the BARE MENrion of the subject in any treaty to which the United States was a party, was an absolute impossibility; that no President of the United States would dare to present any such Treaty to the Senate; and that if it were in their power to offer me the whole Territory described in our project, increased ten-fold in value, and, in addition to that, covered a foot thick all over with should be excluded therefrom, I could not entertain the offer far a moment, nor think even of communicating it to Washington."

How will the American people stand in the estimation of the whole civilized world, if they shall extend the curse of Slavery over Territory thus acquired, and

#### Free Soil in Norwich.

They had a large and enthusiastic meeting in favor of free soil in Norwich, on the evening of July 5. The call was signed by 350 persons. F. A. PERKINS, Esq. presided, and the meeting was addressed by Hon. C.F. Adams of Boston. The meeting passed, among others, the following resolutions:

Resolved, That in our judgment it is not only the right, but the duty of Congress, by legislation, to ex-

clude slavery from the territories. Resolved, That we will submit to no compromises, and will hold any representative from a Free State who shrinks from the full support of this principle, as behind the free spirit of the age, and derelict to his duty

and false to his constituents. Resolved, That the great issue in the coming Presi dential Election is between Freedom and Slavery; that whatever issues may be made by the artifices of party, we will consider them all subordinate and nothing worth in comparison with the vindication of Free Soil Free Labor, and Free Men.

Resolved, That if Congress, contrary to the wishes of the People of Oregon which have been solemnly ex-pressed, should leave that Territory to be spoiled and devastated by the blight of Slavery, it would be an outrage which would not be submitted to by the Free

Resolved, That we regard with warm sympathy and highly approve the noble stand taken by the Democracy of New York, and the Conventions of Massachusetts and Ohio, in opposition to the extension of Slavery and the aggressions of Slave power, that all honor and are due to the patriots who first bared their praise osoms to the conflict, and that "come weal come woe," we will stand by them in this second Revolution and great struggle for Liberty.

Resolved. That we recommend to all who entertain like sentiments with ourselves, to organize themselves into Freedom Leagues, and hold meetings in their respective towns as soon as may be, to choose delegates not less in number than two, nor more than four, from each town, to represent them in Convention whenever and wherever it may be called, for the purpose of appointing delegates to the Convention of the Free States to be held at Buffalo on the 9th day of August next, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency of the United States.

#### Political Meeting, without distinction of Party.

A call for a meeting of the above character was signed by the following gentlemen, to be held on the 4th of July, at Eastford, to discuss the following proposition: "Can Northern freemen, favorable to the destine of fee lebested for proposition: "Can Northern freemen, favorable to the doctrine of free-labor, and free territory, vote for any candidate for the Presidency who is not opposed to the Extension of Slavery into territory now free, or who may refuse to express his sentiments on that subject, without becoming recreant to the principles of human liberty, and exposed to the charge of gross

inconsistency,"
Signed by J. Skinner, R. Stebbins, J. Buss, W. Lyon,
H. Whiting, J. Dorsett, Jr., Z. P. Arnold, J. Bowen,
D. B. Dorsett, N. Lyon, H. North, A Hewit, E. Chapman, D. Bosworth, J. Shepard.

The meeting was held at the time, in the Vestry of the Methodist Church, Z. P. Arnold being chosen

chairman, Martin Buss, clerk. The following resolutions were then offered, and after a very free and full discussion, adopted without a dissenting vote:

Resolved, That no Northern freeman favorable to the doctrine of free labor, and free territory, can vote for any candidate for the President of the United States, who is not opposed to the Extension of Slavery into territory now free, or who may refuse to express his sentiments on that subject, without becoming recreant to the principles of human liberty, and exposed to the observe of cores in the sentiments. to the charge of gross inconsistency.

Resolved, That the time has fully come when North-

ern freemen without distinction of party, should take a stand, and withhold their suffrages from any man for President, unless he is known to be opposed to the Extension of Slavery into territory now free.

Resolved, That we recommend a State Convention

to be held, to elect delegates to attend the Buffalo Convention, to be held the 9th of August, to nominate President and Vice President.

Resolved, That the high position recently taken by Hon. J. M. Niles, marks him in view of this meeting, as a man, qualified to do honor to the country in the Presidential chair. Resolved, That the Secretary be directed to forward

the doings of this meeting to the Hartford Times, Con-necticut Courant, and the Charter Oak, for publication. Z. P. ARNOLD, Chairman,

MARTIN Buss, Secretary.

Eastford, July 4, 1848. Circumstances," much more imperative, we apprehend, than those which detained "Gen. Cass from the Chicago Convention, prevented the seasonable issue of this number of the Advocate. We shall try

to furnish no occasion for such an apology in future. Messrs. R. S. Burt, Thomas Freeman and James E Mallory are authorized agents for the Advocate, and all

# Marriages.

At Meriden, on the 5th inst., Walter Booth Jr., Esq. of Chicago, Illinois, late of Meriden, and Miss Elizabeth Birdsey, daughter of Alanson Birdsey, Esq. At Killingly, on the 2d inst., Mr. Jordan A. L. Smith and Miss Louisa Harrington.

At Norwich, on the 9th inst., Charles H. Bushnell

and Miss Harriet N. Congdon.

receipts signed by them will be valid.

# Deaths.

At the Retreat, in this city, on the 9th inst., Mr. Robert Linen, late of Bridgeport.
At Oxford, June 12th, Mrs. Mary, wife of Mr. John Fairchild, aged 71.

At Wolcott, on the 7th inst., Mrs. Wealthy Harrison, wife of Mr. Henry Harrison, aged 35 years and 7 months. In this city, on the 16th inst, (by injuries received from a scald) Mary C., only child of Lorenzo B. and Adaline G. Goodman, aged 2 years and 10 months.

## **AGENTS WANTED** TO procure subscribers for the FREE Soil ADVO-

CATE. Liberal encouragement will be given. Apply to the Editor.

#### **BOOKS AND STATIONERY.** THE subscribers take pleasure in informing their

friends and the public that they keep constantly on hand at 219 Main St. Hartford, and Main St. Springfield Mass. a full assortment of Theological, Classical, Miscellaneous, Sabbath School and School Books which they will furnish at the lowest wholesale and retail prices, They have also a very fine and extensive assortment of Stationery, and Paper Hangings—which they offer at low prices—They also have a full supply of Sheet Music, and are prepared to furnish any pieces ordered Music, and are prepared to furnish any pieces ordered within a week. Traveling booksellers, and agents supplied on the most reasonable term.

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# DRY GOODS.

H. MILLER will sell from his choice assortment of Broadcloths and Cassimers, Barages, Muslins, Ginghams, Silks, Shawls, Hkfs., Hose, Lace, &c. &c. &c. henceforth on the " Free Soil" Principle. HARTFORD, July 12, 1848.

of the regislature, Schools of Teachers will be holden he present year under the direction of persons who have been selected for that purpose, at the following times and places, and continue in session about five days at each place, viz:

DURSUANT to a Resolve passed at the late session

at each place, viz:
At Birmingham, Deep River and Portersville, commencing on Tuesday the 12th of September.
At Canterbury, New Britain and Watertown, on Tuesday the 19th of September.
At Windsor and Durham, on Tuesday the 26th of

September.
At Guilford and Newtown, on Tuesday the 3d of At Stamford, Danielsonville, Mansfield Centre and Norfolk, on Tuesday the 10th of October.

At Lebanon, on Tuesday the 17th of October. At Ellington, on Tuesday the 24th of October. SETH P. BEERS.

Superintendent of Common Sc July 11th, 1848.

#### The Crisis.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Across the Stony Mountains o'er the desert's drouth and sand, The circles of our empire touch the Western Ocean's strand; From slumberous Timpanogos to Gina, wi'd and free, Flowing down the Nueva Leon to the California Sea; And from the mountains of the East to Santa Rosa's shore, The Eagles of Mexico shall beat the air no more.

Oh. Vale of Rio Bravo! let thy simple children ween. Close watch about their holy fire let maids or recos Let Taos send its cry across Sierra Madre's plains, And Algodones toll its bell amid its corn and vines: For lo! the pale land-seekers come with eager eyes of gain, Wide scattering like the bison herds on green Salada's plain.

Let Sacramento's herdsmen heed what sound the wind sbring down Of footsteps on the crisping snows from cold Nevada's crown! Full hot and fast the Saxon rides, with rein of travel slack, And, bending o'er his saddle, leaves the sunrise at his back; By many a lonely river, and gorge of fir and pine, On many a wintry hill-top, his nightly camp fires shine

Oh, countrymen and brothers! that land of lake and plain. Of salt wastes alternating with valley fat with grain,
Of mountains white with Winter looking downward, cold, serene On their feet with Spring-vines tangled and lapped with softes

green,
Through whose black volcanic gateways, o'er many a sunny vale
Wind-like, the Arapahoe sweeps the bison's dusty trail!

Great spaces yet, untraveled, great lakes whose mystic shores The Saxon rife never heard, nor dip of Saxon oars, Great herds that wander all unwatched, wild steeds that none Strange fish in unknown streams, and birds the Saxon never

Deep mines, dark mountain crucibles, where Nature's chemic Work out the Great Designer's will—all these ye say are ours

Forever ours! for good or ill-on us the burden lies; God's balance, watched by angels, is hung across the skies Shall Justice, Truth and Freedom turn the poised and tree

scare?

Or shall the evil triumph, and robber Wrong prevail?

Shall the broad land o'er which our flag in starry splendor w
Forego through us its freedom, and bear the tread of slaves?

The day is breaking in the East, of which the prophets told e sky of Time the Christian's Age of Gold And brightens up the sky of Time the Christian's Age of Gold; Gold Might to Right is yielding, battle-blade to clerkly pen, Earth's monarchs are her peoples, and her serfs stand up as men; The isles rejoice together; in a day are nations born, And the slave walks free in Tunis, and by Stamboul's golden horn!

Is this, oh countrymen of mine! a day for us to sow The soil of new-gained empire with Slavery's seeds of woe?

To feed with our fresh life-blood the Old World's cast-off crir Dropped like some monstrous early birth, from the tired lap of Time?

ew the evil race the old lost nations ran,

Great Heaven! is this our mission? End in this the prayers and The toil, the strife, the watchings of our younger, better years?

Still as the Old World rolls in light, shall ours in shadow turn,
A beamless chaos, cursed of God, through outer darkness borne
Where the far nations looked for light a blackness in the air! Where for words of Hope they listened, the long wail of Despair The Crisis presses on us; face to face with us it stands,

With solemn lips of question, like the Sphinx in Egypt's sands This day we fashion Destiny, our web of Fate we spin; This day for all hereafter, choose we Holiness or Sin; Even now from starry Gerizim, or Ebal's cloudy crown We call the dews of blessing, or the bolts of cursing down

By all for which the martyrs bore their agony and shame; By all the warning words of truth with which the propi By the future which awaits us; by all the hopes which cast
Their faint and trembling beams across the blackness of the Past;
And in the awful name of Him who for earth's freedom died; Oh ye people! oh my brothers! let us choose the righteous side

So shall the Northern pioneer go joyful on his way, To wed Penobscot's waters to San Francisco's Bay, To make the rugged places smooth, and sow the vale with And bear, with Liberty and Law, the Bible in his train; nooth, and sow the vale with grain The mighty West shall bless the East, and sea shall answer tain call-Praise God, for we are free

## Mr. Van Buren on Free Territory.

In reply to a communication from a committee of the radical, or "Barnbuner" Democrats of New York, Ex President Van Buren recently addressed to them a letter of considerable length, touching their alledged obligation to support the nominee of the Baltimore Convention, and also the freedom of the territories of the Union. We copy his remarks on the latter point, and bespeak for them a careful

You desire also my views in regard to the prohibition by Congress of slavery in territowhere it does not now exist, and they shall be given in a few words, and in a manner. which will not, I hope, increase, if it does not diminish, the existing excitement in the public

The illustrious founders of our government were not insensible to the apparent inconsistency between the perpetuation of slavery in the United States, and the principles of the Revolution, as delineated in the Declaration of Independence; and they were too ingenuous in their dispositions to attempt to conceal the impressions by which they were embarrassed. But they knew also, that its speedy abolition in several of the States, was impossible, and its existence in all, without fault on the part of the present generation. They were also too upright, and the fraternal feelings which had carried them through the struggle for independence were too strong, to permit them to deal with such a matter upon any other principles than those of liberty and justice. The policy they adopted, was, to guarantee to the States in which slavery existed, an exclusive control over the subject within their respective jurisdictions, but to prevent by united efforts, its extension to territories of the United States, in which it did not in fact exist. On all sides the most expedient means to carry out this policy were adopted with alacrity and good feeling. Their first step was to interdict the introduction of slavery into the Northwestern Territory, now covered by the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. This may justly be regarded as being in the main, a Southern measure.— The subject was first brought forward in Congress by Mr. Jefferson. Virginia made the cession of the territory upon which the ordinance was intended to operate, and the representatives from all the slave-holding States gave it a unanimous support. Doubts having arisen in the minds of some whether the ordinance of 1787 was authorized by the articles of Confederation, a bill was introduced in the new Congress at its first session under the constillion, recognizing and adapting it to the new organization, and it has ever since been treated and regarded as a valid act. This bill received the constitutional approbation of Pres-

that interest in the States, and they did more. The trouble apprehended at the commencement of the government from this source, began to show itself as early as the year 1790, in the form of petitions presented to Congress, upon the subject of slavery and the slave trade, by the Quakers, of Philadelphia and New York, and by Dr. Franklin, as President of a Society for the promotion of abolition. These petitions were, in the House of Representa-

ident Washington, whose highest and sworn

duty it was to support the constitution under

which it was enacted. Nor was the north back-

ward in doing its part to sustain the policy

which had been so wisely adopted. They as-

sented to the insertion of provisions in the con-

stitution necessary and sufficient to protect

report, as amended in committee of the whole, affirmed "that Congress have no power to intreatment of them within any of the States, it remaining with the several States alone to provide any regulation therein which humanity and true policy might require."

The perseverance and good faith with which both branches of the policy thus adopted have, until very recently, been recognized and carried out, are highly honorable to the whole to be converted into an element of political agitation, as well in the slave-holding as in the non-slave-holding States, may have led to occasional attempts so to employ it, but these efthe good sense and good feeling of the people in every quarter of the Union. A detailed account of the numerous acts of the federal government, sustaining and carrying into full efthe territories, and the steps taken, in the nonundue agitation in regard to it, would be alike instructive and honorable to the actors in them. But it will be readily perceived, that this could not be given within the necessary limits of a slavery in the northwestern territory, down to and including 1838, at least eleven acts of Conwhich have since become States, in all of which the constitutional power of Congress to interdict the introduction of slavery into the territories of the United States, is either directly exercised, or clearly asserted by enactments, which, as matters of authority, are tantamount to its exercise; and that at the only period when the peace of the slaveholding States was supposed to be seriously endangered by aboli- territory. tion agitation, there was a spontaneous uprising of the people of the North, of both parties. by which agitation was paralysed, and the South re-assured of our fidelity to the compromises of In the laws for the organization of the ter-

ritories which now constitute the States of and Iowa, slavery was expressly prohibited. The laws for the organization of the territo- subject. ries of Mississippi, Orleans, Arkansas, Alabama and Florida, contained enactments fully equivalent, in regard to the extent of power in Congress over the subject of slavery in the territories, to the express exercise of it in the other cases. These acts were approved by Presidents Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson and myself. all bound by our oaths of office to withhold our respective approvals from laws which we believed unconstitutional. If in the passage of these laws during a period of half a century, and under the administration of so many Presidents, there was any thing like sectional divisions or a greater or less participation in their enactment on the part of the representatives of the slaveholding, or of non-slaveholding States, I am not apprised of it. I believe the plan devised by the founders of the government, inthe treatment of this great subject, and which has hitherto been so faithfully sustained, and the union of these States, to be not only the wisest which the wit of man could have devised. but the only one consistent with the safety and stations I have occupied is known to the counfurther in this respect than many of my best proudly forth as the great exemplar of the friends could approve.—But deeply penetrated by the conviction that slavery was the only subject that could endanger our blessed Union, I was determined that no effort on my part, within the pale of the Constitution, should be wanting to sustain its compromises as they were then understood, and it is now a source of consolation to me that I pursued the course I

then adopted. vention has presented for the sanction of the my view of the matter, and I say it with unnation, is, in substance, that the laws I have reterred to were but so many violations of the of others, bring a reproach upon the influence constitution—that this instrument confers no of free institutions, which would delight the power on Congress to exclude slavery from the hearts and excite the hopes of the advocates of territories, as has so often been done with the arbitrary power throughout the world. assent of all. This doctrine is set forth in the published opinion of the highly respectable nominee of that convention, who it is well known received that distinction because he avowed that opinion, and who it is equally certain would not have received it, if he had not done so. It is proposed to give this doctrine the most solemn sanction known to our political system, by the election of its declared advocate and supporter to the Presidency. If it receives the proposed sanction of the people of the United States, the result cannot be dcubtful. The policy in regard to the extension of slavery to the territories of the United States, into which it has not yet been introduced, which has existed since the commencement of the government, and the consequences of which have been so salutary, must cease, and every act of Congress designed to carry it into effect be defeated by the veto of the Executive.

The territories now owned by the United States, and every acquisition of territory that may hereafter be made by the United States, whether obtained by annexation, by cession for a valuable consideration; or by conquest, must, as long as this opinion is held, and as far as the action of the national legislature is concerned, be subject to the inroads of slavery. And this consequence is to be submitted to, on the assumption that the framers of the constitution, with their attention directed to the subject, and with a well understood desire to brethren in the slave-holding States, is not as do so, have failed to clothe Congress with the necessary powers to prevent it. I cannot, by my vote, contribute to this sanction. I cannot do so, because I cannot concur in the opinion which we are called upon to sustain.

Entertaining these views of the constitution, I could not, by my vote, contribute to the proposed sanction of this new principle in the administration of the federal government, withont, at the same time, avowing myself to be in favor of the extension of slavery in the abstract, and this I can never do. Those who agree with me in regard to the existence of the power and the expediency of our exercising it, and can still bring their minds to dissent from this conclusion, must have more light upon the sub- are disappointed, it will still be a consolation Once they were divided upon questions of tives, referred to a committee of seven, all but ject, or have greater powers of discriminating to know that you have done nothing unneces- principle or rather upon great questions of pub-

approve the course you propose to pursue, in tions which may then become incurable. withholding your votes from Governor Cass, terfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the and shall do so myself. If no other candidates than those now before the country are presented, I shall not vote for President. The manner in which our political brethren in other non-slave-holding States shall dispose of their suffrages, is for them to determine, and with it we have nothing to do. But that they accord with us in the opinion as to the existence of the power in question, and the expediency country. The peculiar liability of the subject of exercising it whenever the occasion for so doing arrives, we have the best reasons to know.

late day, denied, is, in my opinion, fully forts have been very successfully frustrated by granted to Congress by the constitution. Its language, the circumstances under which it was adopted, the recorded explanations which accompanied its formation—the construction it has received from our highest judicial tribufect the policy of its founders upon the subject | nals, and the very solemn and repeated conof slavery in the States, and its extension to firmations it has derived from the measures of the government-leave not the shadow of a slave-holding States, to suppress or neutralize doubt in my mind in regard to the authority of Congress to exercise the power in question. This is not a new opinion on my part, nor the first occasion on which it has been avowed. Whilst the candidate of my friends for the communication like the present. It must Presidency, I distinctly announced my opinion therefore suffice to say, that, from 1787, the in favor of the power of Congress to abolish date of the ordinance for the prevention of slavery in the District of Columbia, although I was, for reasons which were then and are still satisfactory to my mind, very decidedly oppogress have been passed, organizing territories | sed to its exercise there. The question of other. Four years ago, the immediate annexpower is certainly as clear in respect to the ation of Texas, and the consequent war with territories as it is in regard to that District: Mexico, were depending and were known to and as to the territories, my opinion was also made known in a still more solemn form, by At the same time there were other issues begiving the executive approval required by the tween the parties—and particularly the quesconstitution, to the bill for the organization of tion of protective duties. Eight years ago, the territorial government of Iowa, which pro- there was not only the question of protective hibited the introduction of slavery into that

The opinion from which we dissent was given in the face of, and directly contrary to independent treasury. Twelve years ago, the the views expressed, in forms the most solemn parties stood confronted on the question of reand explicit, by all or nearly all the non-slaveholding States, and we are not at liberty to suspect the sincerity of these expressions. Honest and well meaning men, as we know the Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, masses of our political friends in those States to be, are incapable of trifling with so grave a

Our ancestors signalized the commencement of this glorious government of ours, by rescuing from subjection to slavery a territory which is now covered by five great States and peopled by more than four millions of freemen, in the full enjoyment of every blessing which industry and good institutions can confer They did this when the opinions and conduc of the world in regard to the institution o They did so before Great Britain had even commenced those gigantic efforts for the suppression of slavery, by which she has so greatly distinguished herself. After seventy-four years enjoyment of the sacred and invaluable right of self-government, obtained for us by the valor and discretion of our ancestors, we their deis too strong a word, to expose to the inroad of cluding the fathers of our political church, for slavery a territory capable of sustaining an abolished by the existing government. We are called upon to do this at a period when the prosperity of the whole country. I do there- minds of nearly all mankind have been penefore desire to see it continued so long as slavery trated by a conviction of the evils of slavery, exists in the United States. The extent to and are united in efforts for its suppression, at try. I was at the time well aware that I went it has ever been, and when our republic stands

Who can believe that a population like that which inhabits the non-slaveholding States, probably amounting to twelve millions, who, by their own acts, or by the foresight of others, have been exempted from the evils of slavery, can, at such a moment, be induced, by considerations of any description, to make a retrograde movement of a character so extraordinary The doctrine which the late Baltimore Con- and so painful? Such a movement would, in feigned deference to the conflicting opinions

world in the science of free government.

Holding these opinions, you have duties to the first place you should adhere inflexibly to your opinions, as long as you believe them to be right, and no longer. This you will do. In the next place you should present your views in regard to them, calmly and distinctly, but firmly, to your political brethren of the slaveholding States, with a full statement of the reasons on which they are founded, that those reasons may be controverted if they are not sound. This you have done. In other important respects your positions are unassaila-

ble. The movement to advance the principle you desire to promote, was commenced in the right place, though, perhaps, not at the most desirable moment, and was not accompanied by partizan measures or founded on political designs of any description, as far as I know or have reason to believe. One thing more, and your whole action will, in

the end, attract the attention and enlist the good feeling of all just and generous minds. Let your farther proceedings in this whole matter, be distinguished by moderation and

forbearance. Injustice must be resisted—indignities repelled; and all this can be done with decency, and without impeachment of the motives of whole communities, on account of the conduct of individuals. The situation of your political favorable to calm discussion and dispassionate consideration as yours, and more will, therefore, in this respect, be expected at your hands. If your differences must continue, do you at least sustain your views without vituperation, or unnecessary excitements of any description. Exemplify your firmness and your confidence in the justice of your cause, by the best of all tests-the dignity and moderation with which you uphold it. When the election is over, and reason resumes her empire, the ground which has been taken by your southern brethren will be reviewed with calmness, and, if whigs have any chance of being, in any cirfound to be untenable, you are bound to be- cumstances in a majority. We see then what lieve that it will be abandoned. If in this you it is for which the parties are contending.

one of whom were northern members, whose | than I possess. I do, therefore, unhesitatingly | sarily, which could serve to exasperate aliena-

Accept, gentlemen, my warmest acknowledgments for the obliging expressions contained in your letter, and believe me to be,

Your friend, M. VAN BUREN.
To Messrs. Samuel Waterbury, David Dudley Field, and others, New York.

#### Dissolution of Parties.

THE NEW ENGLANDER for the present month contains an article entitled The Ethics of the Right of Suffrage, from which we The power, the existence of which is, at this make the extract below. It shows in the clearest possible manner, that the time has come for a complete "disintegration" of the old political parties, and for a new organization upon a better basis. The voice of the New Englander is at all times worthy of being listened to with attention and respect, expressing as it does the best thoughts of some of the best of New Eng-

> "It is worthy of serious consideration whether the complete disintegration of existing parties is not the very thing which the country needs, and which the country is now ripe for. What questions are at issue between the two great parties whose nominations for the presidency have just been presented to the country? There have been in other days great questions on which the parties were in opposition to each be depending on the result of the election. duties, but the question of the distribution of the funds accruing from the sales of public lands, and the question of what was called the chartering the Bank of the United States. But what question is there now between the convention which met in Baltimore and the convention which met in Philadelphia? What does either propose to do, which will not be done if the other party is successful? The annexation of Texas is a fact of history, and is no hore to be disputed than the purchase of Lou-

slavery, were very different from what it is now. with which the great doctrine of commercial freedom has wrought itself into the minds of the American people. There is no possibility, or thought, of creating a national bank; to charge such an intention on the whigs of the Philadelphia convention, would be as preposterous as to charge the democrats of the other convention with a design to dismantle the nascendants are called upon to doom, or if that vy and to restore the gunboats and the embargo. Whichever party may be in power, it will not venture on the establishment of any new equal number of new States to be admitted to fiscal institution, unless impelled by some our confederacy—a territory in a great part of nopeless confusion in the finances of the genwhich has proven so successful in preserving which slavery has never existed, in fact, and eral government. The proceeds of the land from the residue of which it has been expressly sales are virtually mortgaged for the payment of the public debt created by annexation and our conquests and purchases of territory; and for the same reason all other questions about surplus revenue are pretty effectually disposed of, for at least two presidential terms to come. As which I have sustained it in the various public a moment, too, when the spirit of freedom and for the improvement of the harbors and rivers reform is everywhere far more prevalent than of the West, and the opening of those great av enues of commerce which the West demands, neither party will do much before 1850; but after the census of that year the west will have whatever it may choose to demand. What is it then for which these parties are contending? Offices—offices—the spoils of victory—nothing in the world besides. The question who shall be president-involves not only the question who shall be the heads of the departments, but who shall be embassadors and secretaries of legations, who shall be consuls and commissioners, who shall be clerks in the public offices and midshipmen in the navy, who shall be collectors and postmasters, who shall be tidewaiters and penny-posts. If the nomince of the Baltimore convention is elected, every appointment directly or indirectly in the gift of the general government is sure to be disposed of with a view to the interests of the party by perform as important as they are delicate. In which he has been elected; every functionary from the Secretary of State down to the veriest menial in a custom. house, will have his appointment either as a reward for party services already rendered, or as a stimulous to effort in the next campaign. If the nominee of the Philadelphia convention is elected, the least that can be anticipated is that every incumbent who has made himself obnoxious by efforts in behalf of a defeated candidate for the presidency, will be removed from office, and that every vacancy however created, will be filled from among those who have been active in the canwass for "old Rough and Ready." Here then we see the great prize to be contended for. Here is the cohesive power that can agglomerate parties and hold them together, even when no great national interest, and no question of public policy is involved in the result. Nor is this all. If the democratic candidate is elected, the democratic party acquires new strength for the state and municipal elections; it will be able to elect senators and representatives in Congress; it will be able to elect governors and other state officers: it will be able to elect mayors and common-councilmen; and by its control over the appointing power, constables, justices of the peace, watchmen and scavengers shall hold their places in consideration of services rendered and to be rendered to the party. So on the other hand if by the efforts of the whig party in the state of New York, the votes of the electoral college in that state shall be given to the candidate of the whig convention, and if those votes shall help to swell a triumphaht majority for the "hero of Buena Vista," then it is reasonable to expect that the whig party of New York will be strengthened in that triumph, and that the government of the state and perhaps of its great cities will be for a while in the hands of the whigs. The same might be said of Ohio or Vermont or of any other state in which the

lic policy; and they contended for measures | The people, sir, will hear you patiently, and in which the welfare of the country was believed to be involved. Now they are contending only for offices\_"the spoils of victory." Is not the complete disintegration of both these parties far more to be desired than the success of either ?"

## The Declaration of Independence.

MR. CALHOUN, unlike some of his northern allies, has the nerve to look the consequences of his doctrines in the face, and carries them out without hesitation. In his recent debate on the Oregon bill, in support of the principle that the people of that territory shall be disabled from prohibiting slavery, he entered into a labored refutation of the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. Those who are willing to aid him in his attempts to abolish freedom in the Territories of the Union, should be preparing themselves to disown the fathers of the Republic. As a specimen of his refined logic, take the following, and some idea may be gained of the extent to which fanaticism can go. The Honorable Senator, we apprehend, will make few converts in New England, and it may perchance occur to some few, whether the bold advance of measures that rest on a total erasure of the "title deed of our liberties," is not more worthy of resistance than the most pestilent form of "federalism" or "locofoco-

"Mr. President, if this Union is to share

the fate of so many governments that have

gone before us; if it is doomed to fall, the

historian who records the event, will devote

his first chapter to the ordinance of 1787.

That will be set down as the origin of the

deed of separation. His next chapter will be

devoted to the Missouri compromise, and the

next to the proviso of the present time. Whether there will be a chapter beyond this. we cannot tell. If the historian be of a philosophical turn of mind, looking into remote and recondite causes, he will tsace the disaster to a proposition which as now understood is a most dangerous and fatal error, but which was originally a truism. This fatal error is the universal idea that all men are born free and equal. Now sir, I propose to examine this, and I am not afraid to meet the strong prejudices in its favor. There is not a word of truth in the proposition, as commonly understood, all men are born. No, sir, men are not born; infants are born, and they grow to be men. (Laughter.) They are born free and equal; not so - they are born subject to their parents and guardians; and so they continue till they grow up to be free gentlemen. May I ask, if this is not the language of the declaration of Independence? No such thing; that declaration, in more simple terms, says all men are created equal; but this is equally erroneous. According to the Scriptures, only two of the human race were created—one man and one woman. (General laughter all round, the idea universally suggesting itself, that the rest of mankind were propagated ) Mr. C., unmoved, went on. We may trace this error of equality to Locke and Sydney. They claim that all men in a state of nature are equal. This is a truism; but it is of no great value. It is only hypothetically true; what is it? There are states and conditions of man. In the first, man lives as an individual, and partly independent of his fellow man. This is called a state of nature. In that state he is free, and every man is a sovereign; but it is a misnomer to say they are all equal. The next is the social state. The philosopser in this, will trace out all the rights belonging to both conditions; but equality is still further removed than in the first. The political, blending the two, is the only state adapted to the wants, the progress, and the development of the powers of man. His social state cannot exist without sovereignty; hence the necessity of government. In his state of nature, man cannot exist at all; yet it is strange that the state in which man never did exist, and never can exist, should be called the natural state; while the only state in which he can exist should be called the artificial. This is the great misnomer. This only natural state is that in which he best exists with this false doctrine-that all men are born equal. Then comes up the idea in the mind, that these natural rights are the highest rights; that the rights of individuals are higher than those of society, and then society rests upon a false basis until those imaginary individual rights are restored. This is all false. Political rights are the highest of all rights of the individual-but supplemental to the rights of the community. No man is entitled to any natural rights at the expense of the community. What then becomes of the error that all men are born free and equal? It vanishes. Yet to this error we may trace every struggle against government for individual rights, however just, or however fallacious. This error is the very origin of abolitionism and its dangerous offspring. It is this error which threatens to give to the revolutions, which it has excited in Europe, a tendency to anarchy and all its confusion. This error of equality is all powerful to pull down, but impotent to build up. It can destroy fast enough, but cannot reproduce -It is an error which unless detected and discarded, all Europe, and all Christendom many fall into hopeless anarchy, as the first result, to be terminated in military despotism."

#### "Save me from my Friends." A FARCE IN ONE ACT.

PERSONS REPRESENTED.

LEWIS CASS, a candidate for President. REUBEN WOOD, a late Chief Justice of Ohio. Citizens, Soldiers, &c.

Scene. The street in front of the New England Hotel, Cleveland. Enter Cass and Wood on the Balcony. A crowd below. Wood .- Fellow Citizens, I have the honor

of introducing to you General Lewis Cass, of that Gen. Taylor has said of the veto power, Michigan, a candidate for the highest office in the gift of the people.

Then turning to Cass-Sir, your political opponents charge that you are opposed to the improvement of Western Rivers and Harbors by the General Government, and that, if elected President, you would lend the influence of your administration to the extension and perpetuation of Human Slavery. We, your friends, have denied these charges, and I call your at- hand-aye, it bids fair to crucify freedom in

with the greatest pleasure.

Cass .- Sir, I will tell you how old I was when I crossed the mountains .- how long I have lived in the Northwest; and by adding the two sums together, you can ascertain my present age-a most important piece of information! I can tell you how many inhabitants the Northwestern territory contained fifty years ago, and how many more it contains now, from which you will be able to discover the laws of population! I can exhort you, fellow citizens, to cling to your glorious institutions while you have strength-for I am the most beautiful illustration extant, of their genius and character! All these things, fellow citizens, I can tell you and be distinctly heard. But when you ask for my views on the subject of River and Harbor Improvements, or the extension of Slavery, my voice grows feeble-the noise and confusion which pervades the crowd will prevent my being heard. I know they will and it's no use

From the Northampton, (Mass.) Courier.

Dayton Jour.

## Gen. Taylor and the Wilmot Proviso.

to try. [Exeunt.]

There are those among the supporters of Gen. Taylor at the North, who seem resolutely bent on blinking the Slavery issue altogether. Though they made loud professions of opposition to the extension of slavery, they find it convenient to forget the whole subject, and are zealously engaged in deprecating "sectional issues" and "parties founded on geographical divisions." They are appealing earnestly to all true patriots to be magnanimous towards the South, and enter into the contest in a spirit of 'concession," and all that-as if we had not been conceding for fifty years, while the South has conceded nothing at all.

But this sort of gammon will never do in Massachusetts, and the Taylor leaders know it. They very well understand that when the Whigs of the Bay State vowed uncompromising opposition to the further aggrandizement of the slave power, by the extension of slavery beyond its present limits, the mass of them meant what they said, and will not now eat their words. They know that unless the people can be somehow convinced that the Wilmot Proviso will be safe in Gen. Taylor's hands, they will never be induced to vote for him. Hence the effort that is made to represent him as a man with whom this question may be very safely trusted. We have seen so much of this sophistry-for it deserves no better name-that it becomes a matter of interest and importance to examine his real position.

It is urged that as Congress alone can legislate for the territories, the Proviso must be left with Congress, and that Gen. Taylor is virtually pledged not to veto it. On this peg hangs the whole weight of argument by which many are drawn to the support of the Philadelphia ticket. Let us see.

In his celebrated Allison letter, Gen. Taylor thus defines his position on the veto: "The power given by the Constitution to the executive to interpose his veto, is a high conservative power; but in my opinion should never be exercised, except in cases of clear violation of the Constitution, or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress." That is it. We ask, in all candor, what veto was ever penned by any, the most arbitrary, executive, that was not justified by a parade of constitutional argument? At all events, the slavery-extentionists claim that the probibition of slavery is unconstitutional, and until we have some further indication of Gen. Taylor's views, who shall assure us that he does not hold the same opinion? And if he does, there is nothing to hinder the application of the veto on this subject, in perfect consistency with this confession of faith.

But in answer to this we are referred to a bsequent passage of the letter : al opinions of the individual who may happen to occupy the executive chair, ought not to control the action of Congress upon questions of domestic policy; nor ought his objections to be interposed where questions of constitutional power have been settled by the various departments of government, and acquiesced in by the people."

Sundry northern Whigs have seen in this declaration, enough to satisfy them that the slavery question is all safe in Taylor's hands, and hereupon have enlisted under his flag with great confidence. They point to the Ordinance of 1787, and the Missouri Compromise, and triumphantly ask if the power of Congress over slavery in the territories is not "settled" by such precedents? Surely, they say, Gen. Taylor's declaration covers this point. We are not so sure, and for several reasons.

Southern men take the ground, almost uni-

formly, that the Wilmot Proviso is unconstitutional, in spite of these precedents, and for aught we know, Gen. Taylor agrees with them. Again, Mr. Calhoun, in his recent speech, denied that these acts are conclusive precedents. He says that the Ordinance of 1787 was passed before the adoption of the constitution, and cannot, therefore, be conclusive of any question under the constitution. Mr. Calhoun, then, might consistently declare that the President should respect constitutional precedents, and yet veto the Wilmot Proviso in spite of the Ordinance of '87. Why may not Gen. Taylor do the same? Then as to the Missouri Compromise, Mr. Calhoun denies that the South ever 'ACQUIESCED" in it. If he had set himself to make a formal commentary on these significant words of Gen. Taylor, he could not have taken his ground more adroitly. The coincidence is too striking to pass unnoticed. For one condition of refraining from the exercise of the veto, in Gen. Taylor's creed, is that the precedents shall have been "ACQUIESCED IN by the people." The very word "compromise," applied to the Missouri bill, implies that the parties merely waived the question of constitutional power, and hence the slavery-extensionists claim that the question was not concluded or "settled" in any degree by that act. Until, then, we learn what are Gen. Taylor's views on this point, what assurance have we, what assurance can we have, that he will not sternly veto any bill prohibiting slavery? We have seen that Mr. Calhoun might affirm all and yet exercise it in this case, without sacrificing his consistency. And it must be remembered that Gen. Taylor has been as silent as the grave on the question of slavery, and for aught we know he may be as decisively proslavery as the great nullifier himself. Everything depends on his views of the veto, and we are compelled to believe that this is a broken reed, whereon if a man lean it will pierce his tention to them on this occasion, that you may this great republic, before the gaze of the speak for yourself, and confound your enemies. whole world.