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WM. C. HANDY, WM. W. BALLARD, } Proprietors.

"Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God."

WM. W. BALLARD, Editor.

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Address of the National Democratic Executive Committee.

To the Democracy and the People of the United States:

Fellow-citizens: The election of the next President and Vice-President of the United States is at hand. Four distinct organizations are in the field. The Republican party making bold and open war upon the institutions of fifteen sovereign States of this Union. The Constitutional Union party, repudiating all platforms and standing simply on the catch words "Constitution and the Union." Two parties, each calling itself Democratic; one, however, following the fortunes of one man, Mr. Douglas, and differing from the Republicans in making insidious, instead of open, war upon the South. The other, standing inflexibly on the Constitution of the country, makes no concealments as to its interpretation of that instrument, its rallying cry being the equality of the States. We purpose, calmly and impartially, to survey the field, and to give the reasons why the latter party should be considered as the Democratic party, and how the dearest interests of country, race and of human progress, are concerned in its success.

Why is it that the democratic party is disrupted, and its wings arrayed in bitter opposition to each other? Why is it that the veterans who achieved its time-honored triumphs no longer move with the old energy and harmony to meet the antagonists they have so often defeated? What firebrand has been thrown into their midst, lighting up intestine fires, and consuming as with a devouring flame? Let the plain, unvarnished record answer.

In 1856 the democratic party, after a most bitter contest, elected Jas. Buchanan President, and John C. Breckinridge Vice-President of the United States. The new administration was inaugurated and went into operation. Its policy was foreshadowed in the inaugural address. The Supreme Court, in a case before it, the Dred Scott case, gave its decision on the question of difference in the democratic ranks—a decision which previously every democrat had solemnly pledged himself to abide by, as the authoritative exposition of the democratic faith. That august tribunal declared the Missouri Compromise act unconstitutional and void; enunciated the right of the South to take and hold their slave property in the Territories; denied to the Territorial Legislature any right to interfere with such property, and proclaimed that a Territory could only settle the question of slavery at the time it came to form a constitution, preparatory to its admission into the Union as a sovereign State.

This was looked upon by all sound democrats as the final settlement of the question, and it was believed that the agitation of slavery would be forever withdrawn from the halls of Congress. Who has kept up this agitation? Who has resisted this decision? Who has declared that: "It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question, whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce or exclude it, as they please." And, again: "No matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, the right of the people to make a slave Territory or a free Territory, is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill?" Mr. Douglas thus, in his Illinois contest, set the people above the Constitution, and violated his own pledges in the Kansas-Nebraska act.

Now was presented to the country the sad spectacle of our once valiant champion exerting his entire energies to overthrow the party which had so honored him; and, with the flag of rebellion and insurrection in his hand, endeavoring to seduce the party from its principles. His friends have not hesitated to affiliate with the Republican party to compass his ends. In Oregon, they united with the Republicans in the canvass of last year and this, and Mr. Logan, the leading Republican of that State, fought the canvass on the doctrine of squatter sovereignty alone. In New Jersey his friends, Messrs. Adrian and Riggs, were returned to Congress by the votes of the Republican party, and against the regular democratic party. So with Reynolds, Haskin and Clark, in New York; with Hickman and Schwartz in Pennsylvania; with John G. Davis in Indiana. Republicans were returned to Congress over democrats by the opposition, and with the collusion of the friends of Mr. Douglas. Thus was Arnold defeated in Connecticut, Hughes and Ray in Indiana, Taylor and Russell in New York, Phillips, Leidy, Ahl, Gillis and Dewart, in Pennsylvania, Hall and Burns in Ohio, and Wortendyke in New Jersey. Mr. Douglas himself, all the while, has vehemently opposed and denounced the democratic administration in the Senate; has refused to be governed by the voice of his party; has warred upon all his democratic colleagues, with a single exception; has voted against them, not simply on the vexed question of slavery, but against their nominations, and has even joined the Republicans in their efforts to exclude from the Senate the two democratic Senators from the State of Indiana.

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THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

Heretofore, the delegates chosen by the democracy of the U. States met in National Conventions as brothers, to consult together in a spirit of harmony and concession—to lay down the principles of the party, and to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, not objectionable (in numbers) to any respectable portion of the party, and therefore likely to receive its united and harmonious support. For this purpose, was the two-third rule adopted in the first National Democratic convention that was ever held in this country; and actuated by the motives which begot it, the democracy have repeatedly in national conventions, whenever a respectable opposition presented itself, refused to nominate some of its ablest statesmen, and by the nomination of others less objectionable, have marched on to victory, and the development and enforcement of their principles. It will be recollected that Mr. Van Buren received a considerable majority at the democratic national convention in 1844, yet no one then contended that he, therefore, was entitled to the nomination. On the contrary, the convention, regarding the opposition of the minority to his nomination as entitled to consideration and respect, refused to nominate him, but nominated Mr. Polk, (against whom there was no objection,) and under his banner, the democratic party achieved one of its greatest triumphs. It was this principle of harmony and concession, of respect and consideration for the opinions and views of the minority, which bound the democracy together with bands of steel, and made them invincible on the day of battle. It was the talismanic motto under which we marched to victory—the secret and the key-stone to our success.

Far different was the spirit displayed at Charleston and Baltimore by the friends of Mr. Douglas. They came to nominate *him*, or break up the convention. Many of their prominent men boldly and openly avowed the purpose—"Rule or ruin," was their motto. They met the opinions and views of the seventeen reliable democratic States, almost united in opposition to the nomination of Mr. Douglas, with insult and derision.

The democratic States were wedded to no one man. They had their favorites, but they put forth no claim that even one of them should be nominated. They were willing to take any one of the illustrious and distinguished statesmen of our party, except Mr. Douglas. *He* had made himself obnoxious, to them for the reasons already mentioned, and they asked that he should not be thrust down their throats. Was the request an unusual one? Our history as a party shows that it was not.—Was the request an usual one? Who will say so, when they reflect that upon the States which made it, chiefly devolved the task of electing the nominees of the convention? Yet the Douglas delegates not only turned a deaf ear to this request, but in the most high-handed and reckless manner with sacriligious hands tore down the landmarks of the party, and trampled upon democratic comity and usages, in order to foist that *one man* upon the convention. With any other democrat they could have had harmony and union, and presented to-day the spectacle of a united and invincible party. We put it to the conscience and the judgment of every honest man. Are *they* not guilty of setting up this one man as paramount to the union of the States? Are *they* not guilty of having divided the party? Did they not thus take "the first, fatal and irrevocable stride towards disunion of the States?"—From this unenviable position no ingenuity or device, nor wholesale and reckless charges against others, can relieve them. "Inexorable logic" stamps the grave crime upon their brows. Representing States, nearly all of which are hopelessly Black Republican, they claimed that they were entitled to dictate both the platform and the candidates, and to this end the system of tactics, which we had witnessed outside of the convention, was, for the first time in our history, (and we earnestly hope the last,) steadily and persistently enacted in it. Rules were made and violated at pleasure. The decisions of an impartial President were adopted, and then overruled, as it suited their purpose. The usages of democratic conventions were followed, and then shamefully violated, as it accorded with their designs. Everything was made to bend to the one great purpose for which they assembled—the nomination of Mr. Douglas. It cannot certainly be considered strange that honorable men, unused to such scenes, should leave the convention, and that it was finally virtually broken up.

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EXPOSITION OF THE PLATFORM OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

The first resolution emphatically declares that "the government of a Territory organized by an act of Congress is provisional and temporary," thereby rebutting the conclusions that such a Territory can frame any permanent institutions whatever, or can establish, during its territorial existance, any fundamental law whatever. It is an inchoate and imperfect government, instituted for a brief period—the creature of Congress. This resolution in connection with the third resolution, which declares that "when the settlers in a Territory, having an adequate population, form a State constitution, the right of sovereignty commences; and being consumated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of other States; and the States thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes the institution of slavery," is entirely consistent with the Kansas-Nebraska act. That the government of a Territory is provisional and temporary, that it is the creature of Congress, the history of the Territories conclusively establishes. Congress has always either reserved the veto power over the acts of a Territorial Legislature, or conferred it upon the Governor of the Territory, appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

But, as in the Cincinnati platform, the third resolution emphatically declares that when the people come to form their permanent institutions; when they come to lay down their fundamental law, which shall govern not only the people, but their legislative bodies and their judicial tribunals, then they are to decide for themselves whether slavery shall be an institution or not amongst them. Is the second resolution inconsistent with the first and third? It is in these words: that "it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, and wherever else its constitutional authority extends." Why is government instituted at all? Is it to raise armies? Is it to create navies? Is it to establish a postal system? Is it to collect revenue? Is it to build up a magnificent capitol, adorned with works of art and extensive and beautifully arranged grounds, and imposing edifices of granite and marble? Is it instituted to raise $100,000,000 in order to expend it—to bring annually together, at the national capital Senators and Representatives, and then to send them home again—to establish courts and build prisons?—No; nothing of the kind. Such are not the objects of government; but they are the instruments of government. These are purely the appliances, by means of which government accomplishes its purpose. The object of government is to protect persons and property, and nothing else. Thus we see, in order to accomplish what seems to be a simple and plain purpose, resort is had to the largest and most complicated means, in order to effect it with certainty and success. Various countries have differed about their form of governments; but with all these differences, the purpose has ever been the same—the protection of persons and property.

The second resolution stands inflexibly upon this proposition. Our Government has done much, from our earliest history, to protect the lives and the property of its citizens on its public domain. Where are our armies sent? To protect our Territories. For what? To protect persons and property, and nothing else. The citizens of our Territories who have been environed by Indian foes, and have fought their way through Indian wars, realize the importance of this protection. Why was our Navy sent to Paraguay? It was on account of a citizen of one of the free States—a citizen of Rhode Island. It was a case of offense to property; and the Navy was sent there in order that our government might do its duty in protecting that property. A Government is derelict to the very purpose of its institution; it is derelict to its obligations to the individual citizen, if it fails or hesitates in acting promptly to protect the property as well as the person of that citizen.

These resolutions, taken together, do not establish slavery in the Territories, or recognize the principle of the establishment of slavery; but they declare that the rights of property of the citizens of the several States shall be protected by the Federal arm. They declare, in substance, that if a citizen of a Southern State shall go to our common Territories with his slaves, his property in those slaves shall be protected. They declare, in substance, that this provisional and temporary government of a Territory shall not molest or interfere with the right of a southern man to hold his slaves as property in the Territory. They declare, in substance, that if the Territorial Legislature thus interferes, it is the duty of the Federal Government to interpose and prevent this unauthorized, unconstitutional action. But there is no intimation, there can be no interference, from the three resolutions, that the old policy, that Congress can neither establish nor prohibit slavery, has been departed from in the slightest degree. It is purely a question of property; it is purely a question of the protection of rights of southern men equally with the rights of northern men. It is not a concession of the North; they yield none of their rights. It is simply an act of equal justice upon the part of the North; it is a demand of right upon the part of the South.

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CONSTITUTIONAL UNION PARTY.

But in our survey of the field we must not neglect the Constitutional Union party. It is an old party, under a new guise. In 1856 they had a platform of the strictest kind, and a secret organization protected by tests and oaths. Then they waged war upon our foreign citizens and upon a certain religious creed. The same leaders now come forward repudiating platforms, announce themselves as the only Union party, and ask for votes without any declaration of their principles. Their platform is the "Constitution and the Union." The Republicans assert they are for the Constitution and the Union, yet their platform gives an interpretation to the Constitution which will destroy that Constitution and break up this Union. For which we have high authority—Mr. Fillmore, the candidate for the Presidency, in 1856, of the very men who constitute the Constitutional Union party of the present day. The Douglas Democrats avow they are for the Constitution and the Union; yet their platform, as interpreted by their standard bearer, Mr. Douglas, tramples under foot the decision of the Supreme Court, proclaims a higher law, and permits the first squatters in a Territory to exclude the people of fifteen sovereign States therefrom; reducing them to a condition of vassalage, and doing little less injury to the Constitution of the country than the platform of the Republicans.

The true Democratic party stands on the Constitution and the Union, and their interpretation recognizes the perfect equality of the States, and maintains inviolate the genius of the events, necessities and history which brought into one confederacy so many independent sovereignties. Which of these three interpretations is the interpretation of the Constitutional Union party? Or will they scorn each and all, and fall back upon their repudiated and odious platform of 1856? We feel that an intelligent people will demand at the hands of men asking their favor a frank avowal of their principles. We feel that they will recognize as a true Union party the organization which stands boldly on the Constitution of their country, and proclaims the just doctrine of the equality of the States.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

We have referred to the warnings of Mr. Fillmore against this party. The public mind has become alarmed. The mischievous effect of its doctrines has been shown in the John Brown raid, and the recent burnings and pillages in northern Texas.—Bold, unscrupulous, and vindictive leaders are at its head. They have adopted the once scorned dogma of Garrison, that slavery is a covenant with hell and an agreement with death. Sumner proclaims the barbarism of slavery. Burlingame the necessity of an anti-slavery Bible and an anti-slavery God. Seward and Lincoln, the irrepressible conflict. They, with a fanaticism rapidly getting intense as that of Peter the Hermit, are fanning the flames of sectional strife soon to break out in intestine war. They are practically leading a crusade against the South. Thanks to the mercies of the Almighty, brotherly love, the memories of a glorious history, the common sacrifices of our fathers, the unparalleled progress to empire and renown of our people, have not lost their influence. Honest and true men all through the North have determined to crush out the monster of northern disunion and fanaticism. A paralysis has come over the energies of the inciters of servile war. The common sense of the people revolts at the consumation of their foul designs. Good men and true are rallying from the mountains and the plains, from city and country, from the farm, the shop, and the busy marts of trade, to preserve and perpetuate the glorious heritage bequeathed to us by our fathers.

DOUGLAS AND REPUBLICANISM.

But where is Mr. Douglas in this struggle of good men and true for the perpetuation of the faith of their fathers? He is allied with the Constitutional Union party of the South, and quasi allied with the Republican party of the North. He, like Seward, has proclaimed the higher law. At Springfield he declared that the citizen of a Territory "DOES NOT DERIVE POWER FROM CONGRESS, FOR HE HAS ALREADY DERIVED IT FROM GOD ALMIGHTY." One of his principal supporters, Mr. H. L. Seymour, in his recent speech at Rochester, New York, said: "AFTER ALL THAT HAS BEEN SAID ON THE SUBJECT, THERE IS A HIGHER LAW. ITS FIAT IS GIVEN IN THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY IS THE EXPRESSION OF THAT LAW." Mr. Hickman, the boldest and clearest intellect of the followers of Mr. Douglas, now upbraids him for his timidity and treachery, has manfully cast off the mask, and is now an avowed leader in the Republican ranks. His fugleman, Forney, openly advocates a coalition with the Black Republicans to defeat our candidates. We see presses, and leaders, and orators pulling down the Douglas and raising the Republican flag. We say to the Democrats of the olden time and to the young Democrats of the present day, beware of the insidious advances of the enemy. Beware of the first fatal step towards Republicanism and towards disunion. Rally to the old flag. Rally on the tried leaders. Be not sloughed off in the Abolition camp with Hickman and others.—We implore you to weigh these facts, and we believe you will be satisfied of the tendency of the Douglas organization towards Republicanism. Indeed the entire organization will melt and is melting away. The free-soilism of it is now being absorbed in the Republican ranks, and the true Democrats, of whom there are large numbers, are falling back into line with the old comrades, with whom they have achieved the triumphs of Democracy.

BRECKINRIDGE AND DOUGLAS.

Consider the spectacle presented to us by the democratic and the Douglas candidates for the Presidency.—Mr. Breckinridge has retired to his quiet home in Kentucky, there calmly and with dignity to await the verdict of the people. Mr. Douglas is traversing the country, especially in the North and East, doling out the panacea of "squatter sovereignty" as a remedy for all our ills, appealing to the "higher law," and endeavoring, with the magic of his words and his presence, to cajole the people to his support. In this he will miserably fail. In the exalted position of President of these United States, the people will exact something more than the qualities of a traveling mountebank. Mr. Douglas in his recent letter has averred that his object was to take the question of slavery out of the halls of Congress; and yet during this whole administration he has kept up the slavery agitation with a persistency and a fierceness amounting almost to insanity. It has caused him to neglect every other duty in Congress except the defence of his consistency, and the advocacy of his views in regard to slavery. He has been remarkable for his facility in dodging votes, and when he did vote, for his votes with the Republicans.—With that party not only did he vote on the Lecompton question, but on most incidental questions, in total inconsistency with his former votes.—With that party he coalesced, not simply in his votes on such minor questions as the election of a public printer, &c., but in determining the two happy persons on that train in the Senate of the United States were the representatives of the sovereign States of Indiana. He has been a rebel, both to the organization and to the principles of the party. He has voted against its platform and its candidates.

To conciliate Republican votes, he has indulged in vulgar flings at the South. He prefers the clams of Rhode Island to the niggers of the South. "I have much more fondness for your clams than I have for their niggers." These things have sunk deep into the hearts of the American Democracy; and even if he should extend his clam-baking operations to the coasts of Labrador, trying on his way the infinite relish of freshly-caught mackerel, halibut and cod, he will find that whilst the people are pleased with the jovial qualities of the hail, well-met fellow, they will despise and reprobate the public man.

Words cannot express the magnitude of the blessings which a benignant Providence has showered upon us—a vast and extended area, spanning the entire continent, and reaching from the cold North down even to tropical heat—a population now large and most rapidly increasing—the enjoyment of abundant comforts and even great luxuries of life—a union of industrial interests, varied by soil and climate—a paternal and kindly government, founded on the principle for which we have ever and shall ever contend. Shall discord enter this magnificent abode? Shall the Union be broken up? Shall poverty, anxiety, distress, and internal wars take the place of wealth, content, and successful enterprise? Our countrymen, do not close your eyes to the danger of this! When the danger comes, it will come from the selfish ambition of individuals whose talents enable them to sow the seed of strife in a party which, for many generations, has supported this glorious government, founded on political and social rights to every citizen—a government distinguished alike for its benignity, its wisdom, and its strength—the glory of the age, and the admiration of the friends of freedom, and of the rights of man throughout the habitable globe.

Fellow democrats, to the work! Stand on your platform, and cling to your candidates. You are contending for the Constitution of your country, and for the union of these States. Let us fight the good fight, as our fathers did. Our candidates have been baptized in blood in the wars of the country, and have in every act of their lives signalized their patriotism and self-sacrifice.—The crisis of the times has placed them before the people. You know their principles. There is no silence as in the case of Bell and Everett. There are no shuffling disguises as in the case of Douglas and Johnson. There is no war upon both the Constitution and the Union, as in the case of Lincoln (the sympathizer with Mexico, and now the sympathizer with fanaticism) and Hamlin.—But their motto and our motto is—"*The Constitution and the Equality of the States: these are symbols of everlasting Union. Let these be the rallying cries of the people!*"

In behalf of the National Democratic Executive Committee.

ISAAC I. STEVENS, Chairman.

One morning last week a scene occurred on the train from New York south, which for a time created quite an excitement among the passengers. Among those on the train was a lady about thirty years of age. She was good looking and attracted much attention from her air of melancholy. At Princeton a sun-burnt but very handsome gentleman entered the car in which the lady in question was seated. No sooner had the parties glanced at each other than the lady swooned. On recovering herself, it appeared that the gentleman in question was her husband, whom she had not seen for ten years. He had started for California when the gold fever first broke out. The parties at that time resided in Princeton, N. J. The husband was taken sick and did not recover for some time. Prior to his convalescence the lady had gone South in the capacity of a governess, and wrote that fact to her husband, who, unfortunately, did not receive her letter. No answer to his letter reaching him, he thought his wife was careless of his welfare. A feeling of home came over him and he returned to the States a few days ago. Meantime the lady had fallen heir to a large southern estate left her by a member of the family in which she had been teaching. These explanations being made, the once more united couple started on a southern trip together. There was a certainty of there being at least two happy persons on that train.

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