

## THE FREE SOIL BANNER.

EDITED BY W. B. GREER &amp; L. WALLACE.

"HE IS THE FREEMAN, WHOM TRUTH MAKES FREE; AND ALL ARE SLAVES BESIDE."

[AT FIFTY CENTS FOR THE CAMPAIGN]

VOL. I.

INDIANAPOLIS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1848.

NO. I.

BUFFALO  
Free Soil Convention.

Reported for the Com. Advertiser by Oliver Dyer.

## FIRST DAY.

WEDNESDAY, August 9th, 1848.  
half-past 8 o'clock.

Long before the hour for the organization of the Convention, an immense concourse had assembled under the tent in the Park to listen to a few preliminary remarks and speeches, and encouragements and exhortations to unity, and expressions of determination "to put the thing through," "no giving up," "no compromising," "free soil and nothing else." The various speeches were received with loud cheers, and excited great enthusiasm among the vast assemblage. At length it was announced that Giddings was present.—No sooner was that name pronounced, than a shout of enthusiasm burst forth, such as we have seldom heard, and loud cries of "Giddings," "Giddings," "Giddings," re-echoed from all sides, but to the great disappointment of the assembly, it was found that Mr. Giddings was not present.

Mr. Peck, of Connecticut, offered the following sentiment for the adoption of the Convention:

"Let men of the deepest principle manifest the most profound condescension, and exercise the deepest humility to-day, and posterity will honor them for the deed."

This sentiment was received with acclamations.

By this time the concourse had become immense. Every available seat and foot-hold on the ground was occupied. The Ohio delegation came into the tent with banners flying, and were received with great cheering. The delegation was welcomed by Col. Miller, from N. H., in a neat and spirit-stirring speech, which was received with applause.

Mr. Earle, of Worcester, Mass., followed in a few remarks which consisted of a repetition of the charge against Gen. Taylor, that he [Gen. Taylor] is opposed to the Wilmot Proviso. Mr. Earle read from Mr. Bott's address to the people of Virginia to prove this charge.

Judge Nye, of Madison county, was here called for, and came forth amid great cheering. He said that he wished to make a few remarks in relation to this "Barnburning" movement. He was one that had voted for Polk in '44 and he was ready to confess that they had been egregiously taken in, but he trusted that repentance would wipe out their transgression. The Northern Democrats made a great mistake in '44, when they admitted the two-thirds rule. They ought to have met the issue at once. [Cries of yes, yes.] Mr. Van Buren received the majority of the votes of that convention, and ought to have been the democratic candidate for the Presidency. But he was sacrificed to the Moloch of Slavery. In '48 the Jeffersonian democracy of the State of New York assembled at Utica, to send 36 delegates to the Baltimore convention. He was one of the "36." They went down there, but the doors of the convention were closed against them. There was another band of delegates there from New York, who claimed to be democrats, but they had no more title to the designation than the devil has to that of christianism. [Laughter.] These men were ready to bow down and accept the pledge required by the south before it was presented to them. [Applause.] Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, said the democrats of New York had raised that Union-killing question, the "Wilmot Proviso" and they had better be kept out of the convention, and they were kept out. The omnipotent south could carry the Presidential candidate triumphantly into the chair, without the aid of the "little State of New York." New York was thrust out of the convention. She had no voice there. She was not heard but once, when Daniel S. Dickinson, with face elongated to its utmost tension, got up and said that if this indignity should ever be offered to New York again, it would excite even the indignation of Hunkerism. [Laughter.] The "36" came home and made a regular democratic nomination, and the democracy of New York and the friends of liberty throughout the vast extent of our country were rallying to their support. [Cries of yes, yes. You shall be supported.] They had nominated the victim of the slave power in '44, Martin Van Buren. [Cheers.]

But he would now speak of another convention. The so-called Whig Convention held at Philadelphia. There was another noble son of liberty sacrificed on the altar of slavery. Henry Clay, the sound of his name the most enthusiastic cheers burst from the assembly. The old, and tried, and be-

loved leader of the Whigs, why was he sacrificed? (A voice, "slavery was the cause.") Yes, both the great popular leaders of the two parties had been sacrificed to slavery. But now the people have taken up the question themselves, and they will never rest nor allow the country to rest till it shall be definitely settled. The Whigs had nominated Gen. Taylor, who was "A Whig but not an Ultra Whig." My friends, what would you say of a man who would proclaim himself a Christian but not an Ultra Christian, "and utterly refuse to be an exponent of Christian principles?" (Laughter.)—Do you think he would be admitted into any respectable Church on such a confession of faith? (No, no.) No, nor will Gen. Taylor get into the Whig party. He may get into a small portion of it, into that portion constituted of men who have sons for whom they wish to get snug places,—whom they wish to have appointed Midshipmen, or to some of the thousand lucrative offices which go to make up the executive patronage. Whigs tell you that you should go for Taylor, and Hunkers say you must go for Cass. There are five of these latter men in the town where I live and where we poll 500 votes. (Laughter.) We must beg to differ from them. (Laughter.)

This convention must be a self-sacrificing Convention. A crisis had arrived when old prejudices had got to be laid aside—sacrificed upon the altar of our common country's good. He had come here to lay down all his former predilections upon this altar—to strike hands even with those against whom he had previously battled. We mingle here with representatives from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, thank God. Here they stood, representatives from the fair fields of the West—an empire in itself, from which slavery had been blotted out by a resolution drawn by the great man of our independence. Slavery had been excluded, and now the west had become the rich granary of the world. He had come with representatives from New Jersey—that battle field of the Revolution. And Pennsylvania, too, that glorious Old Keystone of the Union, is here—firm and true as steel—who cherishes within her bosom the patriot Wilmot. God, raised up a David of old to slay the giant of Gath. So hath David Wilmot with the sling of freedom and the smooth stone of truth struck the giant slavery between the eyes—he reels—let us push him over! Massachusetts is here—and it is fitting she should be. A son of John Quincy Adams was here among her delegates. There was Samuel Adams, first among the statesmen of the Revolution, and he rejoiced that Francis P. Adams was in the front ranks of this great moral revolution.

He hailed this time as a glorious era. He liked this agitation. It was an agony of better things to come. He liked this mingling of heretofore discordant elements—drawn together by the great sympathetic cord of freedom. Vermont, New Hampshire, Missouri, and Delaware, are here. And he was told that Maryland was here, and it was a fact of deeply momentous importance, when in the South they begin to talk of the evils of slavery. Virginia, "the mother of Presidents," was here. The feeling is extending, expanding, not only at the North, but at the South. If we are wrong on the Tariff, it can be righted in twelve hours. If we are wrong on Banks, it can be righted by legislation. But if we are wrong on the subject of slavery, it never can be righted. It will reach down to posterity, inflicting curses and misery upon generations yet to come. Let, then, no preference for men distract our councils. Let all meet upon a common platform, to accomplish a great—a noble purpose.

Mr. Husbands, of Rochester, took the stand and informed the audience that he was one who had had his head taken off politically in '44 for maintaining the principles which they were now assembled to advocate. He had stood by the side of Judge Nye and had been decapitated with him. His heart was in this convention and he was glad to see the respectable portion of all parties. And why was this?—Why did he see Frederick Douglass here? (Three cheers for Douglass.) Why did he see the Whig party here, the respectable portion of it. And why did he see the Democracy here in its strength? Because they were all determined to curb and drive back and overthrow the proud and aggressive slave power, and he trusted that the people would now unite and shoulder to shoulder, fight in firm array till they should triumph. (Here the staging on which we sat went down with a tremendous crash, capsizing ink, paper, table, reporters and all, spoiling our gold pen, rasping the epidermis from our shins, and committing sundry other outrages of a similar nature. We finally succeeded in extri-

cating self and traps from "wreck of matter and crash of boards," and concluded to report no more of Mr. Husbands' remarks, because we couldn't.)

We finally got a corner of the table on which the Speaker was standing, when "Stanton," "Stanton," was loudly called, and came forward amid loud cheering, and gave notice that the Convention would be regularly organized at 12 o'clock, and was about to sit down, when there was such an outcry for him to "just say something," that he consented and said he would make a speech about as long as the ferule of his cane.

He said that the motto of this Convention should be that of the French Republic, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." (Cheers.) They had come up to contend against a movement, on the part of the slave interest, to extend that cursed institution which takes the image of Almighty God on the immortal soul, and blots it therefrom by legislation and stamps in its place, by legal enactment, the name of brute, beast, and property; that that institution now struggling for existence on its own soil, shall be extended to territories where the lower morality and feeble republicanism of Mexico has abolished it.—"This is the issue which the South tenders to this country at the non-day of the nineteenth century. Waiving all my peculiar views, I am for joining issue with the South on that great cause. I am for trying it this year before the American people, and I am for getting a verdict, and entering up judgment, taking out an execution, and levying on the slave power, and taking possession of it, and hanging it up between the Heavens and the Earth where the winds of exorcism shall whistle through it. (Cheers.) In order to fight this battle successively we must be united, and again I say let us adopt the glorious motto of the new-born French republic: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." (Cries of good, good, that's it, go it, give it to 'em.)

The great lodestone principle which has brought us here from the Mississippi to the Aroostook, for it has been ascertained in general committee that all the Northern tier of Slave States are represented in this Convention. [Good, good.] It is the French motto, *Liberty*, the sun of this great movement, around which the other departments revolve, bound to it by the law of gravitation and from which all other subordinate movements receive their light and their heat. Then, sir, we come here to carry out that other principle of the French republic, *Equality*. Whigs, Democrats and Abolitionists, all parties are broken up and resolved into their original elements. Then there is that other word, *Fraternity*, completing the trinity of principles against which the united despotism of the world cannot stand. [Cheers.] Now, gentlemen, I hope we may not divide. [Cries of good, good, we won't, we won't.]

Here a very fat gentleman rested his abdomen on our right shoulder in such a manner as rendered us wholly incapable of recording a word which the speaker uttered. It took us some time to arrange matters with our retund friend, and just as we got ready to resume our labors, Mr. Stanton concluded his speech by declaring that he was ready to go for anybody, with anybody, in favor of the free soil movement, and against anybody that is opposed to it. [Great cheering.]

President Mahan, of Ohio, took the stand, but owing to the necessity of re-building the platform previous to the regular organization of the Convention, the audience was requested to divide into four parties, and each party to retire to a corner of the Park, where temporary stands had been erected, and where there were speakers ready to entertain them. The audience did accordingly, and we left.

## ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION.

Judge Stevens of Indiana called the meeting to order, and proposed NATHANIEL SAWYER, of Ohio as President of the Convention pro tem. Unanimously confirmed.

Mr. Sawyer came forward and ordered the stage to be cleared; and the stage was cleared. The President nominated CHARLES P. WELLS of Illinois, and GEORGE W. FULLER, of Connecticut, as Secretaries. Confirmed.

Hon. Preston King came forward, amid great cheering, and offered the following motion. He said that it was suggested that a committee consisting of as many members from each State as they have electoral votes, should be appointed to draft resolutions, and recommend certain propositions for the consideration of the Convention. The first thing for us to do is to unite. [Cheers.] He would read a resolution which the committee unanimously agreed upon. There is nothing binding in the resolutions. They are for the consideration of the Convention.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the extension or continuance of slavery, whenever that Government possess Constitutional authority, and is responsible for its existence. Resolved, That the States within which Slavery exists, are alone responsible for the continuance or existence of slavery within such States, and the Federal Government has neither responsibility nor constitutional authority to establish or regulate slavery within the States.

Resolved, That the true, and in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into the terri-

try now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by act of Congress.

Mr. Noble was unanimously confirmed by the Convention as the representative of the District of Columbia, and a resolution was passed to the effect that a Committee of one from each State and one from the District of Columbia, be selected to draft a plan for the permanent organization of the Convention, and that each delegation appoint its representative. The States were called and the following gentlemen were appointed as the committee:

Maine—Jabez C. Woodman.  
New Hampshire—George T. Fogg.  
Vermont—E. D. Barber.  
Massachusetts—William Jackson.  
Rhode Island—Wm. G. Hammond.  
Connecticut—Thaddeus Wells.  
New York—Preston King.  
New Jersey—H. M. Conner.  
Pennsylvania—Joseph Neide.  
Ohio—S. P. Chase.  
Michigan—Isaac P. Christianity.  
Wisconsin—Hans Crocker.  
Illinois—Isaac N. Arnold.  
Iowa—William Miller.  
Indiana—Joseph L. Jarnigan.  
Delaware—Jacob Pusey.  
Maryland—William Robinson.  
Virginia—George Craig.  
District of Columbia—L. P. Noble.

The Committee retired to the Court House for the purpose of deliberating upon business to be presented to the Convention—nominating permanent officers, &c.

A committee of five, consisting of John R. St. John, W. Larimer, jr., Dyre Tyllyngtast, Ralph Farnsworth, and John P. Hogeboom, was appointed to select and appropriate seats for the several delegations.

The Convention then took a recess until 3 o'clock.

## Buffalo Free Soil Convention.

[Reported expressly for the MORNING HERALD, by J. V. SMITH.]

WEDNESDAY, Aug. 9, 1848.

## AFTERNOON SESSION.

The Convention was called to order by the temporary President, when Preston King, from the committee on organization, made the following report:

The committee of one from each State on the permanent organization of the Convention, unanimously recommended CHARLES F. ADAMS, of Massachusetts, as President: That there be one Vice President from each State represented in the Convention, and one from the District of Columbia, to be selected by the delegates from the different States. (The Vice Presidents were subsequently appointed.)

C. B. Sedgwick, N. Y., Charles V. Dyer, Ill., Thomas Bolton, Ohio, Ralph Butler, jr., Me., J. E. Snodgrass, Md., A. M. Johnson, N. J., F. Tyler, Penn., be Secretaries of the Convention: That the following be recommended as the mode of representation to be adopted by the Convention:

This convention is assembled in pursuance of a recommendation of the State of Ohio, held at Columbus on the 20th day of June last.

That Convention recommended the appointment of six delegates at large for each State that should choose to be represented, and three delegates from each congressional district.

Several States have followed that recommendation, as to the number of delegates, while in other States, county and district meetings have appointed a much larger number than that proposed and in some a smaller number. The committee appointed by the delegations of the several States to confer upon the subject of organization and representation, have had the subject under consideration and beg leave to submit to the Convention the following rules to remedy, as far as possible, the inequality that would arise from voting in mass, per capita or by States.

1. Each State shall be entitled to six conferees, to be composed of its delegates at large if it have them in sufficient numbers, if not they shall be appointed by the delegates in attendance from said State.

2d. Each congressional district of a State represented, shall be entitled to three conferees. The regular delegates of the district shall be such conferees, if enough are in attendance; if not, the number may be supplied by the delegates from said State, from any persons attending from said State.

3d. The said conferees shall constitute a committee of conference, and shall have full power to sit during the sittings of the convention, and to ascertain and decide finally any question referred by the convention, or any question that shall be originated in said committee of conference, and shall have full power on the subject of representation.

4th. Any question in the Convention shall be referred to said committee, for its final action upon the demand of one hundred members.

The Report was unanimously adopted, when

A committee of two, Messrs. Rathbun, of New York, and Chase, of Ohio, was appointed to inform Mr. Adams of his election and conduct him to the chair. The President took his seat amid deafening applause.

The following gentlemen were named as Vice Presidents:

Wm. Bradbury, Me.,  
L. Brainard, Vt.,

J. Mills, Mass.,  
A. M. Collins, Conn.,  
David L. Rogers, N. J.,  
M. A. Kartland, N. H.,  
E. D. Gazzam, Pa.,  
N. Spindler, Ohio,  
Sam'l J. Lowe, Ill.,  
J. W. Wright, Ind.,  
Byron Kilbourn, Wis.,  
Wm. Miller, Iowa,  
R. S. Wilson, Mich.,  
Robert Gardner, Md.,  
George Craig, Va.,  
W. R. Danforth, R. I.,  
A. H. Dickinson, Del.,  
L. S. Noble, Dist. Col.

The Convention being organized, the President invoked the attention of the audience to the following appeal to the Throne of Grace by the Rev. Dr. Tucker:

"O God, our heavenly father, upon this very interesting occasion we would desire to invoke thy special blessing to rest upon this great multitude, assembled to deliberate upon subjects of momentous importance to our country. Thou hast watched over us with kindness; thou hast been our God and our father's God—the father and protector of our country. We bless thee that in thy providential government over our world thou didst reserve this country as an asylum for the oppressed in this latter day, that here the afflicted of every nation under the whole heaven can find a country and a home; a land of bibles and of bible freedom, with the exception of that dark and foul stain upon our escutcheon, the slavery of one portion of our fellow-men; but we rejoice that in His good providence such a great host have assembled from all parts of this great confederacy to wipe out that dark stain upon our country, and to proclaim liberty throughout all the land.

We bless thee, that when our fathers were oppressed in the land of their childhood, thou didst open them an asylum in this western world—a land that was sung of by the poets and foretold by the prophets of ancient times—a land far towards the setting sun, the El Dorado of human freedom and human greatness, where man was to obtain his whole statue, physically, mentally, and spiritually; and where he was to be a perfect being ere he left his pilgrimage below. Thou didst turn away the prow of every Spanish vessel that they might plant it with the pure seed of republicanism. Thou didst watch over our colonies in their infancy, for they obeyed, loved their God and sought him in prayer—they sought his guidance, and so became great among the nations of the earth. And thou hast made us a bright and morning star for the universal emancipation of man everywhere, so that in this very day thou art overturning the despotism of the earth. Thou art causing men to turn their eyes and their attention to this western world and to copy our example. O, we pray thee to give us wisdom to walk in the light of that word thou hast ordained as the light to our path, and that we may be that people that shall know the joyful sound.

And now that thou hast blest us in times past, O be with us now, especially while in the commencement of this convention, when questions of deep interest, affecting the very vitality of the country, shall be proposed.

O God, we pray thee to give harmony and kind feelings in all the delegates; and though their political feelings shall be as different and various as the physical complexions that compose this convention, we each possess a unity in the spirit and purpose for which this convention was assembled. Grant to guide its presiding officer—grant that the mantle of his father may rest upon him, now that he has been gathered to his fathers. O, may the son rise up with his father's piety; may he fulfill the destiny and the condition and the circumstances his father held in the eye and the councils of his country. May the officers be able to direct all in harmony. Grant that the delegates may come to that result that may receive the favor of all the people. And now we pray thee, our Heavenly Father, to give them calmness of deliberation—may they act as one independent man, and yet be willing to give his private interest to the common good. Into thy hands we commit the cause that is sought to be advocated through these deliberations. God in his mercy cause the sublime result for which many prayers have been offered and much toil endured; and from the breaking up of this convention may the trumpet sound go forth, proclaiming liberty throughout all lands. Into thy hand we commit ourselves. May we love each other as thou hast commanded us, and may we love this beautiful country thou hast given us, and these institutions thou hast given us. And when we shall have accomplished each our duty and our destiny,

in the morning of the resurrection may we ascend with the just. Amen."

At the conclusion of the prayer, which was listened to with profound silence, the President addressed the convention as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS:—It is a matter of deep and heartfelt gratitude to me that I have been selected as an unworthy instrument to preside over the deliberations of this great body. I would apologise for my unfitness were it not that I see in the multitude of speaking faces before me, and I feel in the mass of sympathizing hearts around me, some security that you will all contribute to make my labors light. Fellow-Citizens, you have all assembled here to-day out of pure devotion to a principle—that principle clothed as it has been, in technical terms, which do not express the idea, has yet a regard to its support. The multitude that I see before me, give me assurance of the intelligence and the virtue of the people which I never doubted.

When the Wilmot Proviso went out their instincts told them that human liberty was in danger, and the answer is that they see here. (Cheers.) I have been told, fellow-citizens, by those who do not sympathise in this glorious movement, that the Wilmot Proviso was, after all, nothing but an abstraction. Well, to a certain extent, it is an abstraction. But I am willing to say what it is not. It is not bread and butter—it is not roast beef and two dollars a day—it is not a nice provision under government as a reward for party services. (Laughter.) No: the Wilmot Proviso rises above all these things. It is an abstraction, but so was *Magna Charta*, so the declaration of independence; so it is with truth, and the idea of GOD an abstraction. But it is this abstraction that raises mankind above the brutes that perish. It is this that raises a people, and fellow citizens, it is on these abstractions that we are now rallied to save the country and restore it to that possession which it has deserted.

Fellow-citizens, for my part, I regard the Wilmot Proviso as covering a great deal more ground than you imagine. I regard the Wilmot Proviso as a struggle between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, between the principle of liberty and the rule of slavery. Now, fellow-citizens, is the accepted time, when we all come together to represent what our position is, and how far the government has drifted from the ancient landmarks which our fathers set up. Now is the accepted time, when we are taking a new observation of the national ship—and if she has drifted from her course, we will try to put her back again. (Applause.)

The question which is now before us is one which involves the question whether we shall adhere to the solemn principle of the declaration of independence—whether we shall deduce government from the consent of the governed, and whether we shall extend this government which promotes justice or injustice in the territories of the west. Why, fellow-citizens, these questions rise above all mere common law! Man, by a principle of natural law, and by a principle of the law of God, is free. No people are authorized knowingly to SOW THE SEED OF MORAL EVIL. (Great applause.)

The Constitution of the United States never contemplated that we, as a people, should create a system of injustice; yet it is a fact that the solemn principles that we have professed for several years have been called in question by men in high places—they have been pronounced to be abstractions. Yes, they have been pronounced actually false! It is highly incumbent upon us, if we mean to stand by what our fathers taught us—if we admire the principles of Locke and the characters of Hampton and Sidney, to resist a system which will carry us back of the writings of Sir Robert—

Fellow-citizens, it has some to this, that we are to be tested on these points and upon the results of this election. I firmly believe that the world is about to know whether we are really the devoted sons of liberty, or whether we are going to give up the whole of this western continent to men who denounce our principles. Fellow-citizens, we are obliged, under a necessity which we would resist, to denounce the organization of the old political parties, as no longer worthy of the confidence of a free people. (Prolonged cheers.) They have shown by their actions that they have no system of policy except fighting with each other to get place as the price of the struggle. They are united in one thing, and that is, to put down the principle of liberty and stifle its existence on this continent.

We know the result of the action of these bodies, and now that we have seen and understand what it is they are contending for, we come forward [Continued on Fourth page.]



# FREE SOIL BANNER.



FOR PRESIDENT,  
**MARTIN VAN BUREN,**  
OF NEW YORK.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,  
**CHARLES F. ADAMS,**  
OF MASSACHUSETTS.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 25, 1848.

PUBLICATION OFFICE OF THE  
BANNER IS ON  
PENNSYLVANIA STREET,  
Three doors north of Washington Street.

## TO THE PUBLIC!

Fellow citizens! we issue to-day the first No. of "THE FREE SOIL BANNER." The flag you observe at the head of our columns is the banner of True Democracy. Its elevation has certainly required the exercise of courage; we have gathered more than was requisite, however, from the truth, the justice, and patriotism of our cause.

In this unfurling a flag, which will probably draw down upon us the double anger of the Old Hunkers of both parties in Indiana, we depend in the contest it will provoke, upon the justice and truth of the cause whose *holy cross* we assume. We are believers in the people. We know their power, their sense of justice, their capacity to perceive truth, and their readiness to punish corruption. We know their common sense will triumph over every prejudice; passion, or political dogma. We have but to expose delusion and they will vanish. Hence we depend upon the strong common sense of the people in the battle we have thus voluntarily braved, as upon the arm of a giant. There are a few by whom that support is deemed weak—who consider that common sense but a withered reed. Not so we. The mystery of self government, the real sceptre of the people, we believe it has no old age. It may sleep temporarily beneath the shadow of clouds; but it has no death. Upon it, therefore, we lean—in it we confide; to it we will address every effort, every argument, every patriotic appeal, and every exposition of fact.

The creed we advocate is that dear to the heart of every virtuous and intelligent northern man. Freedom of the north from southern dictation, and the non-extension of slavery are its grand objects. Our platform is broad; it covers the whole continent. Whigs, Democrats, and Anti-Slavery men—the whole nation can stand on it. Its principles need no concealment. We proclaim them with pride, and dare the opposition to their controversy.

We believe our Constitution was established to maintain justice, promote general welfare, and preserve the liberties of the people.

We believe Congress has a right to legislate for the Territories of the United States, and that the introduction of slavery into them is a violation of the principles of our Constitution.

We believe that slavery, as it now exists in the Southern States of our Union, is dependant upon State laws alone, and wholly independent of the Federal Government: and that, therefore, all interference on the part of Congress, with Slavery within the limits of those States, is an illegal and unjustifiable assumption of authority.

We believe that the only method for the effectual prevention of the extension of slavery, is by an act of Congress absolutely prohibiting its introduction into all Territories now free.

We believe that for near fifty years the South have been laboring by intrigue and strategic measures to extend the area of slavery and acquire the balance of power.

We believe that the demand for new slave states and territories on the part of the slave power has compelled us to join issue upon that great question

—a question greater than any ever agitated since the formation of our Federal government; and that now, or never, is the period for the action and decision of the people upon it.

We believe that the expenses and patronage of the government should be retrenched; that all unnecessary offices and salaries should be abolished; and that civil offices should as far as practicable be within the people's gift by election, not the presidents by appointment.

We believe that grants of the public lands should be free to all actual settlers, making settlements in the wilderness; but that the quantity of those grants should be restrained and suitably limited.

We believe that River and Harbor improvements are subjects of national legislation; "and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor."

We believe that the exigencies of our country demand the immediate establishment of such a tariff as will provide revenue sufficient to defray governmental expenses, and liquidate, by annual instalments, our national debt and the interest thereon.

We believe that the nomination of General Zachary Taylor, by the Whig Convention at Philadelphia, was a base repudiation of their great principles, an ungenerous abandonment of their greatest leaders, and a virtual dissolution of their organization and existence as a party.

We believe that Gen. Cass, the nominee of the Democratic Convention, and the exponent of Democratic principles, has proven false to his constituency and the interest of the north, that he has sacrificed the north for the sake of southern support, and by such conduct has rendered himself unworthy public confidence and elevation to the American Presidency.

We believe that the southern divisions of both the old parties are earnestly desirous of the extension of slavery; that the old abolitionist faction will be satisfied with nothing but its absolute abolition throughout the Union; while the new Free Soil party, throwing themselves back upon the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the extension of slavery after 1800 in all territories of the United States, northern and southern, forms the only true conservative party at this day in America.

We believe, finally, that the sentiments contained in the resolutions adopted by the Buffalo Convention are right in every particular—right morally, religiously, and constitutionally—right in the sight of God, and sanctioned by the consciences of men.

The above are our articles of faith. We publish them in order to convince the public that we battle for *principles*, and principles alone.

A single remark is sufficient as to the manner in which we will conduct our paper. We pledge ourselves to studiously avoid every thing related to fanaticism, vindictiveness, assertions without authority, profitless abuse of past Administrations, misstatements and intentional misconstructions of the doctrines and opinions of the great "wise men" of our republic. As fiery words but kindle passion, abuse excites partizan ire, and ill-natured witticisms strengthen prejudices, we will strive to address ourselves to the common sense of the people calmly, soberly, and as if it were a living intelligence open to reason and conviction.

## The Ball rolls on.

We have cheering news from every portion of our State. Daily acquisitions are being made to our strength. The resolutions of the Buffalo convention, containing our political creed, are of so patriotic a character, so full of noble and manly sentiment, that even our enemies can find no fault with them. With such principles, armed with the invincible panoply of truth we go forth into the contest, anticipating certain triumph.

☞ The Whig and Democratic candidates for the Presidency were selected on account of their military deeds and reputation. Both understand the science of *charging* to perfection. Still there is a wide difference between the charging talents of the two. One charged Annapolis in Monterey, and after taking the city most gallantly, with equal humanity saved thousands of his *yellow horde*; the other made equally terrible charges upon the United States Treasury, but how many *yellow boys* he saved after the contest, God only knows.

☞ HORACE GREELEY subscribed five hundred dollars in aid of the Irish rebellion.

## The Issue.

There has never, perhaps, since the formation of our Union, been a time so interesting to American freemen as the present. A crisis, that statesmen have long seen upon the verge of the political horizon, is upon us, with all its stirring events; and the time has arrived in the history of our country, when sober appeals to our reason and intelligence are to be the effective engines in political reformation, rather than violent invective or public declamation. The public mind, by which is meant the aggregation of millions of free intellects, is prepared for the reciprocity of political knowledge. There is throughout our country a feeling among the masses, prompting them to think and act more for themselves, as men having the ability for, and right to, self-government. A spirit of examination and inquiry into the present and past measures of dominant parties is awakened, and an investigation of the results of their measures and action on the future, considered a sacred and solemn duty required of us by our country. Party ties and political claims, are being loosened before the power of reason. Thought is taking the place of blind enthusiasm and dogged adherence to parties which present nothing but names as issues, and prejudices as reasons for their support. This is as it should be. If the views we have entertained, and the principles we have hitherto cherished, are founded in right, it is our duty still to cherish and defend them. If, on the contrary, they are wrong, or by the lapse of time, or force of circumstances, have become obsolete or impracticable, are we so much greater slaves to party than lovers of truth and country, that though we clearly see their ruinous tendency we still cling to them with stubborn pertinacity? Never. Such is not the action of freemen.

The spirit of inquiry relative to tendencies is not, however, confined to the action of political parties, or the boundaries of our own country. It is the spirit and feature of the age in which we live, and finds its way into and through all the ramifications of society. A feeling of liberality, the natural consequence of increased intelligence, also characterizes the present time, and changes and revolutions, having for their object the elevation of the masses, is the order of the day. Even Europe, so long enslaved by political and religious dogmas, is beginning to think and to act. Old views are being forsaken, and the people, actuated by the spirit of freedom, are giving utterance to sentiments and feelings heretofore considered as rank political heresy and traitorism.

These are some of the few indications of the times, and whither do they tend? To the permanent foundation of parties of enlarged and liberal views in regard to government and human rights.

While these are the feelings of the age, and while the cry of millions is given to the breeze for free speech, free labor, and free men, is it consistent with our position among the nations of the earth that we should, in this universal movement for freedom, be behind all others?

Let us look at our position. Within the last four months we have acquired nearly 300,000 square miles of territory—every foot of which is now a home for a freeman. But a clamor for the admission of the institution of slavery over this territory, has already been heard in our legislative halls, and the question is before us for our final decision. How shall we act? There is no evading the question; it must be answered and acted upon. To meet the issue, the friends of free soil have organized as a distinct party. Their reason for so doing is their firm belief that in the contest which approaches, on this question of questions, they cannot look for succor and aid from either of the great parties of the day, acting as such. From individuals from each party they do expect much in the contest, for they are with us—a part of us. We thus present the first instance, in the history of our country, of a party, powerful in numbers and resources, formed almost instantaneously from elements formerly most discordant, having for its object the preservation of freedom in domain now threatened, and reform in the abuses of various departments of government. We claim to be the conservatives on the question of slavery, for we say to those who have now vested interests, that we make no war on rights heretofore granted. Your rights shall not be interfered with. On the other hand we say, no portion of territory hereafter attached to our glorious Union shall be other than free soil, where free men shall enjoy the free gifts of Heaven. This we conceive to be the great issue of the day, presented to us, the people, for our action.

On which side will you be found? Let every one answer for himself! As for us, we should feel as if we were a firm mark for the slow and unerring finger of scorn to point at, did we hesitate where to be found. We go for free soil, free speech, free labor, and for free men. With this motto on our banner, we fling it to the breeze, saying to the people, come and let us reason together, and anticipate a glorious triumph.

## Mr. Corwin's Speech on the Compromise Bill.

We have read with feelings of admiration for the general sentiments, and arguments set forth therein, the speech of Senator Corwin. We have long been his ardent admirers, and for some time past have watched his course with anxious solicitude. Whatever his own position may be, his arguments are conclusive, both, as we conceive, against the extension of slavery and the election of Gen. Taylor. The last argument we propose to notice, and lay before our readers. We believe, coming from the Senator, it will have its influence for good, and will add to the numbers of the *Free Soil party*. Mr. Corwin says:

"It is a sad commentary upon the perfection of human reason that, with but very few exceptions, gentlemen coming from a Slave State—and I think I have one behind me who ought always to be before me, [Mr. Badger.]—with a very few exceptions, all eminent lawyers on this floor from that section of the country have agreed that you have no right to prohibit the introduction of Slavery into Oregon, California and New Mexico; while, on the other hand, there is not a man in the Free States, learned or unlearned, clerical or lay who has any pretension to legal knowledge, but believes in his conscience that you have a right to prohibit slavery. Is not that a curious commentary upon that wonderful thing called human reason."

Mr. Underwood—it is regulated by a line.

Mr. Corwin—Yes, by 36 deg. 30 min., and what is black on one side of the line and white on the other, turning to jet black again when restored to its original locality. How is that? Can I have confidence in the Supreme Court of the United States when my confidence fails in Senators around me here? Do I expect that the members of that body will be less careful than the Senators from South Carolina and Georgia to form the opinions without any regard to selfish considerations? Can I suppose that either of these gentlemen, or the gentleman from Georgia on the other side of the Chamber, (Mr. Johnson,) or the learned Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Davis) who thought it exceedingly infamous that we should attempt to restrain the Almighty in the execution of His purpose as revealed to us by Moses—can I suppose that these Senators, with all the terrible responsibilities which press upon us when engaged in legislating for a whole Empire, came to their conclusions without the most anxious deliberations? And yet, on one side of the line, in the Slave states, the Constitution reads yea, while on the other, after the exercise of an equal degree of intelligence, calmness and deliberation, the Constitution is found to read nay."

Mr. Corwin has no confidence in Southern Senators, Southern Judges, and Southern Lawyers. They all have the same views of the constitution. He believes they have anxiously deliberated on the matter before they came to their conclusions, and those conclusions were diametrically opposed to the opinions formed by men north of 36 deg. 30 m. The constitution north of that remarkable line, reads yea, south of it nay.

Gen. Taylor reserves the right to veto, where there is clear violation of the constitution? What is Gen. Taylor's position? Does he live in the north, or in the south? In the region where men's honest convictions are, that Congress has power to prohibit the extension of Slavery, or south of the line, where there is so sudden a sunset on constitutional questions! Does the constitution read yea, or nay? Mr. Corwin has no confidence in the constitutional opinions of southern Lawyers and Statesmen. Can you, Free Soil Taylor men, have any more confidence in a Southern General, open to the same objections, from precisely the same cause? Is he any better versed in constitutional law, or questions of State? Certainly not. We think the editor of the Macon Republican, a Whig paper of Alabama, precisely right when he says, a report that Gen. Taylor was a free negro, would be equally worthy of credit as the report that he would not veto a bill containing the provisions of the Wilmot proviso.

## Buffalo Convention.

Believing that a full report of the regular proceedings of the Buffalo Convention would be interesting to most of our readers, we take up a large portion of our paper in publishing a full report.

We shall hereafter, from time to time, publish some of the speeches made during the recesses of the Convention. They are patriotic appeals, and breathe a spirit that can never be quelled until at length triumphant—the spirit of *freemen* aroused to a resistance of continued aggression.

☞ How can a Whig, professing Whig principles, consent to vote for Gen. Taylor in the face of his assertion, that he never would be the exponent of the *principles* of any party?

How can a Northern Democrat, who has the interest of the North at heart, vote for General Cass in the face of his pledge to the South, that he will veto any bill tainted with the principles of the Wilmot proviso?

Let them lay their hands on their hearts, and answer as honest men and christians!

☞ Gen. JOSEPH LANE, has been appointed Governor, and WILLIAM P. BRYANT, Chief Justice of Oregon. They are both from Hoierdom.

## Free Soil Men in Sentiment.

We are met every day by men of both political parties, who tell us that they are with us in feeling. That *our* views, are their views on the subject of the non-extension of Slavery, but that the movement is premature. Wait a little, say they, and we will go with you. Are they honest and in earnest in their declarations? If they are, they will joyfully hail a movement in favor of what they hold to be a vital measure of national policy, even although *they*, under the circumstances, felt constrained to keep aloof from acting fully with us. They certainly would not object to the promulgation of doctrines they hold good, and worthy of all acceptance! But is this the course they pursue!—these furious free soil men in sentiment. Do they regard with favor, or deprecate free soil meetings? Do they encourage or discourage the sentiments there uttered? Do they honestly state their object, or attempt to turn these sentiments into ridicule? Let their acts speak for them.

They say that we are right, but there is no prospect of success at the present time. This is the language of eight out of every ten Whigs and Democrats we meet. They want us to succeed, and at the same time, use every effort in their power to prevent our success. Is this the jewel of consistency? Again, they tell us that the President has nothing to do with making the laws—he is a mere cipher. Congress is the place to look to. See to it that your Congress is right, and all is safe. Brother Democrat, are you forgetting that there is a veto power in the hands of the President? Whig friends, do you remember when you told us that there was danger of our liberties being destroyed by the strength of this very power? And now you, forsooth, tell us that the President can do nothing—we must look to Congress. Such inconsistencies won't do. It is important that we have a President with us—one that we can vote for understandingly—one who is with us in sentiment and will be with us in *action*. We have every assurance that Cass and Taylor are not with us. Believing that the issue presented by the Free Soil party, relative to the extension of slavery, is one of deep interest to our country and posterity—that it brings up the great principles upon which our government is founded, and our independence avowed; are we not right in wishing to be upon safe ground? Should we, as men professing to act from the highest and purest motives of patriotism, vote blindly on this question, and for the sake of a mere party triumph, involving no important issues, jeopard the interests of our country, of posterity and humanity? Never. We would not thus risk our private interests. Is our country to be held in a less sacred light? Patriots may answer.

Let every man who is with us in sentiment on this question, deposit his vote for a man for the chief executive office of our Union, who openly avows his position.—They cannot with consistency do otherwise. Let them stand firm, with stout heart and strong arm, with the motto, no further extension of slavery upon which to take issue, and victory must and will crown their efforts in behalf of their country and human rights.

## Sympathy for Ireland.

There has been a tremendous demonstration in favor of the struggling Irish, at Vauxhall Garden, New York. Never, perhaps, since the incorporation of the city, was there a more perfect abandonment on the part of the citizens, to excitement.

Donations most liberal and munificent, were freely tendered to the committee who asked them. Poor men gave their whole wages to the cause, even to their own deprivation. The clergy, in the person of Bishop Hughes, who was present and made a most eloquent appeal, gave their approbation to the proceedings.

This sympathetic feeling is by no means confined to the city of New York; it is abroad all over the Union. Meetings have been held in Philadelphia and Cincinnati. Stirring appeals are issuing from every press. The heart of the whole nation seems to be throbbing for the brave, yet almost defenceless Irishman.

Where is Indiana on this subject? Why is she not moving to their relief? It will be a burning shame if she do not something.

We hope the good people of our city will look to this matter. No time is to be lost. Why cannot a meeting be appointed for Saturday or Monday evening?

## Union.

Perfect harmony, unanimity, and enthusiasm, pervade the ranks of the Free Soil party.

The Buffalo Courier, a Cass paper, says of our nominating convention: "There has been no voting down of resolutions; no hissing of Speakers; and scarcely any perceptible difference of opinion. All seems to go on smoothly as water."

That was right. Union in feeling, and action will make any party strong, and it is because of this feeling, pervading our ranks, that we look to final victory.

## Consistency.

The whig party, before its dissolution at the late Philadelphia convention, had ever held as one of the vital questions of their political creed, the provisions of the Wilmot proviso.—The other questions upon which there has been a division between the whig and democratic parties, have, by the conjunction of circumstances, become no longer issues before the people, with perhaps the exception of the single question relating to the restriction of the veto power. The whig platform asserts that the veto should not be exercised "except in cases of clear violation of the constitution or manifest haste and want of consideration by Congress." Both parties agree that in case of violation of the constitution the veto should be exercised. Who is to judge of this matter? The President, of course. So far there is no difference. Again, haste and want of consideration, is a relative term. What would be so in one case would not be so in another, and the President is the person to whom such want of consideration is to be made manifest. He looks at a bill that has been passed by Congress—finds something wrong, and comes to the conclusion that the matter has not received proper consideration, from the simple fact of its being, in his opinion, wrong, and deleterious to the interests of the country. He tells them so in a message—the thing is done—the veto consummated. The difference seems to us, to be simply whether the matter shall be made manifest to Taylor or to Cass—the difference between shade and shadow. What doctrine of whig creed is left then to the old fashioned whig? The Wilmot proviso? No, even that was struck from the rolls by the Philadelphia mob. A resolution declaring the principles of that proviso to be whig doctrine was introduced before that body, and amid groanings and hissings, was laid on the table by a large majority.

And now, because we stand consistent with our former professions, and refuse to bow down to the golden calf set up for us by John C. Calhoun and the Taylor party; because we hold up our hands for and give our influence in favor of that measure, which a few short months ago was the darling theme of whig orators and presses; because in consonance with the old doctrine which was paraded at the head of each paper, and inscribed on the folds of every banner, we go for "principles not men," forsooth we are branded with inconsistency, and hear affixed to our names the epithet of traitors.—Reason and reflection will tell the candid and honest mind, who is acting the consistent part.

## Free Soil in New England.

The spirit which actuated their fathers in '76 is awake in the New England States. Party organizations and trammels are broken down, and there is no stopping the people by the instrumentality of party drill. They are wide awake to the interests of Freedom. Every paper brings us accounts full of encouragement. The best of her Democrats are out for Van Buren. The Whigs, too, are moving. Vermont and Connecticut, with their masses of good old Whigs and true, are moving, and the tones are beginning to be heard which roused them in the Revolution. Men of all parties are going for "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR and FREE MEN." Our cause and the principles we avow are calling into action all the noblest energies of the intellect, and the purest sentiments and patriotic enthusiasm of the masses. "THE WORK GOES BRAVELY ON!"

☞ If any individual is in want of something with which to illustrate the relative positions of the three candidates for the Presidency, we think he will be gratified by turning to Marryatt's "Midshipman Easy," and reading that popular character's *triangular* duel with Easthupp and Biggs. Put Matty in the middy's shoes, and we'll bet on him the world over.

☞ The unusual elongation which marks our Journal neighbor's phiz is not at all astonishing. He's been for some weeks under the influence of a powerful pre-sentiment that he and his Old Hunker clique will be *Taylor-ed* in the approaching election.

JOSEPH L. WHITE, of New York, late a Whig Member of Congress from Madison, Ia., has "taken the stump" for Van Buren and Adams.—*Journal*.

Good! White's a talented fellow. He won't fail as terribly as did Cass when he took the stump!



The Matter Settled--Gen. Taylor--Wilmot Proviso.

We give below a portion of an address published by John M. Botts, a prominent Whig member of Congress from Virginia, to the Whig party of the United States, dated: Washington, March 30, 1848.—The nature of the evidence he gives is such as cannot be doubted. It proceeds from the Chairman of a committee of Gen. Taylor's warm supporters, and admirers, and fixes the Position of the old Hero on the subject of the Wilmot Proviso and the War. Here it is—read it—

"A short time since the legislature of Mississippi appointed a committee to wait on Gen. Taylor, and invite him to Jackson (the seat of State Government), to partake of the hospitalities of the State. Rumors of an extraordinary character reached my ears as to the nature of the conversation reported by that committee to have taken place with Gen. Taylor, on the subject of the tariff and the war. At my instance, a member of Congress from Mississippi addressed a letter to the chairman of that committee, to ascertain precisely what was said. Here is his answer:—

"In regard to the conversation had with Gen. Taylor, I have to say, we did not talk on the tariff—we did on the war. He expressed himself in FAVOR OF THE WAR, he said he was DECIDEDLY IN FAVOR OF PROSECUTING IT VIGOROUSLY, and they should yield to an honorable peace. HE WAS FOR INDEMNITY CERTAIN, AND THAT TERRITORY was not wedded to any line particularly, but thought perhaps as a kind of compromise with the Wilmot Proviso men, he had better go up to the 32d degree, making the Rio Grande the western boundary up to that degree, and said the SOUTH SHOULD NEVER AGREE TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO. THE CITIZENS SHOULD BE LEFT FREE ON THAT SUBJECT. HE SAYS ALL MEXICO WILL EVENTUALLY COME INTO OUR GOVERNMENT BY DEGREES; THAT IT CANNOT BE AVOIDED.—On the subject of politics, he said he was no politician; had been three-fourths of his life in the army; devoted his time and mind to that service, and paid but little attention to anything else."

"The South should never agree with the provisions of the Wilmot Proviso." What say you, ye voters of the North? Are you prepared to give countenance and support to the man who thus avows himself? Or are you prepared to oppose by your influence and vote the doctrines thus promulgated? What say you?—What think you, brother Whig? Think you these are not views to be carried out by old fashioned Whigs? Answer for yourselves.

Gen. TAYLOR thus approves of the sentiment, that the extension over the continent beyond the Rio Grande of the Ordinance of 1787, is an object too high and permanent to be baffled by Presidential veto."

"I trust you will pardon me for thus briefly replying to you, when I do with a high opinion and APPROVAL of the sentiments and views embraced in your editorial."—Gen. Taylor's letter to the Signal.

We clip the above from the Indiana State Journal. The first clause is a portion of editorial appearing in the Signal, a copy containing which was sent to Gen. Taylor. The last clause is his reply acknowledging the receipt of the paper. What was Gen. Taylor's intention when he thus expressed himself? The Journal says it was to approve the sentiments contained in the Signal's editorial. What does Gen. Taylor say? Let the following letter, written to the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) Monitor, answer:

HEAD QUARTERS ARMY OF OCCUPATION, Camp near Monterey, Nov. 5, 1847.

SIR: Your letter of the 4th ult. has been received. In reply to your remarks concerning a letter which I addressed some time since to the editor of the Cincinnati Signal, I have no hesitation in stating that it was not my intention in that communication to express an opinion either in concurrence with, or in opposition to, any of the views embraced in the editorial article to which it refers.

The letter itself, like most other letters of mine on unofficial matters which have found their way into the newspapers, was not intended for publication, but simply written as a matter of courtesy in answer to one which I had received from the gentleman in question. For this object, it was entirely sufficient; though, under the belief that it would never go beyond this point, it is quite probable that it may not have been prepared with that care and critical accuracy which appears to be so much required by politicians. It was simply my desire, on that occasion, as has been my custom uniformly through life, to express my respect for opinions which I believed to be honestly entertained, and as long as thus held, my approval of his maintaining them.

Should it ever become my official duty to give my opinions on any or all of the political questions referred to in the article above mentioned, I shall discharge the duty to the best of my judgment. Until then, my opinions on such matters, are neither necessary nor important.

I need hardly add, in conclusion, that this communication is not intended for the public prints.

I am, sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
Z. TAYLOR,  
Maj. Gen. U. S. Army.

To Esq. Tuscaloosa, Ala.  
You have the word of the Journal on one side and the word of the Gen. on the other. Which will you believe? Bro. Defrees, the Gen. and yourself are at issue on this question, and if you have any respect for the Old Hero you should not attempt to make him stand in the attitude of a liar. Take down that portion of your remarks and try it again, Johnny. If the General does have to contradict you, he will think, perhaps, that your stories originate in a little too great zeal in his cause, and will be ready, therefore, to forgive the deed from the motive that prompted it.

POSITION OF CANDIDATES.—Cass is pledged to veto a bill restricting slavery—Van Buren to veto a bill permitting it—and Gen. Taylor very properly says that the people, through their representatives in Congress, may settle the matter as they please, and he will not veto it. Which is the true republican? Let the people determine.—La. Journal.

When did Gen. Taylor authorize the editor of the Journal, to declare that he would not veto a bill passed by Congress to restrict slavery? If Defrees has received no late communication from that distinguished individual, how dare he promulgate an assertion like the above! We call upon the public to reperuse and attentively ponder a sentence of Gen. Taylor's letter to McConkey, in Cincinnati, which the man of the Journal must certainly have read. Read it!—then ask whence Mr. Defrees derived authority for his assertion. Here it is:

"In reply to your inquiries, I have to inform you that I have laid it down as a principle, not to give my opinions upon, or prejudice in any way the political parties of the country, nor to promise what I would or would not do, were I elected to the Presidency of the United States."

That Democrats should support Mr. VAN BUREN, is not at all strange, but that Whigs should so far forget the past, and disregard all their former professions, as to vote for him, is an act of such gross inconsistency that few will be disposed to do it.—Journal.

John D. Defrees is the last man we wot of, who should tax either Whigs or Democrats with inconsistency. Inconsistency indeed! Is it possible he can so soon have forgotten the past? Can he disregard such former professions as the following?

"A REGARD TO WHIG PRINCIPLES FORBIDS THE NOMINATION OF GENERAL TAYLOR."—Indiana State Journal, April, 1848.

FOREIGN NEWS.

The foreign news is absorbed in the feeling of interest felt for Ireland. The crisis in the revolutionary movement of that country, is at hand. Blood has been shed. The people are in arms, and the next arrival will bring us news of a sanguinary struggle for freedom. Some of the Irish leaders at the head of 30,000 troops are preparing for the contest.

In France everything is moving on quietly. The question of interfering with Italian affairs so as to procure the evacuation of the country by the Austrian troops appears to excite considerable interest. It is reported that England will join with France in procuring this result.

The Austrian troops have been repulsed after twelve hours hard fighting, by the Italians at Stelvio.

Venice and Sardinia have become incorporated, and Manin has been elected by the people as President.

OREGON.—Speaking of the passage of the Oregon Territorial Bill, passed at the recent session of Congress, the N. Y. Courier says:

The peculiar circumstances which gives interest to the bill, is that it embodies, in respect to that territory, the provision of the famous ordinance of 1787—which forbids slavery forever in the territories north-west of the Ohio—and the wise foresight of which prohibition has been proved by the growing up already in that territory of six great and prosperous States, within which slavery can find no foothold.

There was a strenuous contest in the Senate especially, to exclude this provision, but it was found, after two or three successive trials, that on each occasion the House of Representatives became more and more determined to let Oregon remain without a Government, rather than consent to any compromise adverse to freedom—and finally the Senate yielded and the bill was passed, and is now a law, with the clause prohibiting slavery within the borders of Oregon.

The Journal of the 23d, contains the following:

"We understand an Abolition paper, to advocate the election of Martin Van Buren, will soon be established in this city."

This is about on a par with the story he tells weekly, in regard to the approval, by Gen. Taylor, of the "Signal's" views of the Ordinance of '87.

Arguments we always feel like meeting,—palpable lies, such as the charge of this being an Abolition paper, we meet only by saying in the language of another, "Lie on, and our revenge shall be, To tell the very truth of thee."

Senators Benton and Butler.

It appears that a challenge has passed between these two distinguished individuals, growing out of language used by Mr. Benton in Senatorial debate. A hostile meeting was prevented by the interference of the police, who are ever ready to keep great men from hurting each other. The Senators were each bound over to keep the peace for a year, and not to leave the District of Columbia within that time for the purpose of a hostile meeting. We hope that by the end of that time they will have cooled off.

TO YOUR TENTS, O ISRAEL!!

The State Convention to select an electoral ticket for Indiana, and a mass meeting of the friends of Free Soil for the purpose of responding to the nominations of the Buffalo Convention, will be held at Indianapolis on Wednesday, Aug. 30th. Lewis D. Campbell, John C. Vaughn, S. P. Chase, J. R. Root, E. S. Hamlin, and others from Ohio have been invited, and are expected to be present. A number of distinguished speakers from our own State will be there also.

The ablest politicians of the Union have decided that the principles of the Wilmot Proviso present the only question now before the public. What section of the country is more vitally interested in it than the people of Indiana? When all the other northern States are on fire with enthusiasm, will they fail to give it a response?

Come up then, friends of the Wilmot Proviso! Come you also who are halting between two opinions! Let not even those who are opposed to us stay away! The question is the property of the WHOLE NATION; it should be canvassed by the WHOLE PEOPLE.

HURRAH FOR IRELAND!

We clip the following from the Daily Cincinnati Gazette of the 23d inst.:

Additional from Ireland.

Tribune's Correspondence undoubtedly correct—Great Excitement in the Eastern cities—A Letter from Dublin—American Packets searched at Liverpool.

PHILADELPHIA, August 22, P. M. The Irish news published yesterday is producing great excitement, and the friends of Ireland everywhere seem to have bright hopes for the success of their friends who are struggling for freedom with a most powerful foe.

The secret correspondence of the Tribune must have had some foundation, but the English censorship is very stringent.

A letter from Dublin dated Aug. 2d, says six thousand troops under McDonald and McGregor, tried to force a pass to the mountain Slevanamoon, seven miles south of Cork, but were met by the insurgents. The troops fired, the Irish having fallen flat on the ground, let the fire pass over and then charged, shouting triumphantly, while other insurgents attacked the rear of the British forces, cutting them tremendously.

The mountain of Slevanamoon is well supplied with provisions and ammunition. It is seven miles in circumference, and three miles from base to summit, surrounded by a bog, and it would require a greatly superior force to take it.

American packets arriving at Liverpool are diligently searched by the police, for the Irish brigade and armed sympathisers with the Irish confederates.

FRIENDS OF IRELAND!

Now or Never!

The blow is struck. The contest is now waging; It is ten days old. Smith O'Brien, denounced as a Traitor, with a price set upon his capture, maintains unequal war on the heights of Cahirmoyle; Doheny is at Slevanamoon; O'Gorman is raising Limerick; Dillon and Meagher are struggling for Waterford.

Why sleeps the Irish blood in America? Precious hours are being wasted; precious blood is flowing. The dying call for vengeance—the living hope of redemption from your aid. Let us promptly answer the call.

Awake to instant action! Ask no questions, but remit funds at once to Robert Emmett, our Treasurer. Trust to our zeal, determination and prudence, and neither you nor Ireland shall be disappointed.

ROBERT ENNETT, CHARLES O'CONNOR, HORACE GREELEY, FELIX INGOLDSBY, JAMES W. WHITE, MICHAEL T. O'CONNOR, THOMAS HAYES, BARTHOLOMEW O'CONNOR, JOHN MCKEON.

Directory of the Friends of Ireland. New York, August 14, 1848.

\*\* The Editors of all American papers friendly to the situation of Ireland are entreated to give this one immediate insertion.—N. Y. Tribune.

State Elections.

In North Carolina, the majority for Manly, whig, for Governor, exceeds 800. There is a whig majority on joint ballot.

In Illinois, the democrats have the Governor, Legislature, and six out of seven members of Congress.

In Missouri, the Democrats carried the Governor, Congressmen, Legislature—everything.

In Arkansas, from the returns, which are few, we suppose that the democrats have carried everything.

The Daily Gazette (Cin.) says, the following statement was made by the Washington correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce. It followed a reference to the action of Congress on the Slavery Question at the close of the recent session —

"The southern men, generally, of both parties, and more particularly the Calhoun men, leave this day with a fixed determination to recommend to the South some decided and separate action on that subject."

Do not the Democrats of the north perceive that all the great issues which once were bones of contention between themselves and the Whig party, have been finally buried; and that the all absorbing question before the American people at this time, is the Wilmot Proviso? Why, what is the Veto power, what the Bank, the Tariff even if they were not obsolete, in comparison with this issue, whose importance can only be realized by a consideration of its consequences upon our future prosperity? Can a northern Democrat hesitate where to throw his influence and vote, when he studies the position Gen. Cass has assumed upon it? The southern Democracy will go for him, and why? Read the Southern papers, and you will see. You will find it is because he stands solemnly pledged to Veto any bill containing the principles of the Wilmot Proviso!

Great Fire in Albany N. Y.

The New York Tribune, speaking of the great fire in Albany, says: "It is impossible to estimate the loss. Two millions of dollars may cover it, but this is guess work. The number of buildings of all kinds destroyed cannot be less than Five Hundred!" The insurance is also large, but it is doubted whether all can be made available.

A rumor reached us a few weeks ago, from Baltimore, that the stout old barque Democracy had been Cass'd away somewhere. Has any body heard of it lately?

Taylor in Louisiana.

The Red River Republican, heretofore Democratic, has hoisted the Taylor and Fillmore flag. La Patria, the Spanish paper at New Orleans has done the same.

Officers for Oregon Territory.

The Senate has confirmed the following appointments for Oregon:

Kintzing Pritchett, of Pa., Secretary of the Territory; James Turney, of Illinois and Peter H. Burnett, of Oregon, Associate Judges of the District Court; Isaac W. R. Bromley, of New York, District Attorney; Joseph S. Meek of Oregon, United States Marshal; John Adair of Ky., to be collector of the port for the district of Oregon, in the Territory of Oregon.

The Louisville Journal perpetrates the following hit at the different "Lives" of Gen. Cass:

"One of the Boston transcendentalists says that 'too much life is death.' If that's the case, we apprehend that Cass's seven lives will be the death of him."

The Tribune of the 19th, has the following:

"Mr. Butler, Senator from South Carolina, in his place in August 10, 1848, is reported to have said:—

"Sir, pass your law excluding Slavery from New Mexico and California. I would advise my constituents from South Carolina to go out there with their Slave property, and with arms in their hands to protect their rights in those territories." "I would recommend them to go out there ARMED TO THE TEETH to defend themselves." "How would you out them from those territories." \* \* \* \* \* Again: "Sir, whatever law you may pass excluding Slavery, I would advise our brethren of the South to set aside that law, and go armed into the territory, ready to defend themselves and their property. You may call this Nullification, or whatever else you please, but this is what I should do." "Gentlemen propose to admit IRISH, SCOTCH, GERMAN, ALL THE REFUSE POPULATION OF EUROPE, if they choose to go and settle in those territories. But a GENTLEMAN from the South and his NEGROES are to be excluded."

More Annexation.

A correspondent of the National Intelligence asserts that Gen. Shields is at the head of the organization for the establishment of the new Republic of Sierra Madre, to be composed of Mexican provinces west of the Rio Grande, with a view of ultimate annexation to the United States. It is stated that many have gone from New Orleans to aid this movement, and that not less than five thousand Americans will be in the country to support it. San Louis will be the capital, and Tampico and Matamoros the seaports. If the Mexicans are as favorable as is represented, and if Gen. Shields takes the lead in the new Republic, there can be little question of its success.—N. Y. Universe.

We would be happy in exchanging with such papers as receive copies of the Banner.

Who can tell us what's the matter with the Journal man? He's been ailing ever since the Buffalo Convention. Wonder if he hasn't been overtaken by a herd of Buffaloes somewhere! If he's so easily frightened, we advise him to take chloroform until after the election.

FATHER MATHEW.—The proprietors of the Marlboro' Hotel, Boston, having tendered to Father Mathew its hospitalities, a reply has just been received from him, expressing the gratitude with which he shall avail himself of the invitation, on the occasion of his intended visit. He adds, however, that although his health continues to improve, his physicians have not decided to allow him to take his departure in August.

PROSPECTUS OF THE FREE SOIL BANNER.

EDITORS William B. Greer and Lewis Wallace.

The first No. of the Banner will be issued on Friday, August 25th, 1848, and will be published regularly every week, until the 25th of November. It will be printed on an Imperial sheet, and furnished to subscribers at the following rates:—

One copy \$0 50  
10 copies to one address 4 00  
20 copies " 7 00

The object of the paper is to disseminate and advocate the doctrines set forth in the resolutions of the Buffalo Convention, and to aid in doing all that can be done during the campaign towards electing

Five thousand names should be sent in, and that many can, and will be obtained, if the friends of Free Soil make proper efforts.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.	NO. COPIES.
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John Q. Adams.

We see it stated in several of the Whig papers, that Mr. John Q. Adams was favorable to the election of Gen. Taylor. The Salem Gazette first published the rumor. The Boston Whig noticing these rumors, says:

"We had supposed that Mr. D. P. King was the authority relied upon originally for the statement here made. But it turns out by Mr. King's letter, that Mr. Adams merely stated an impression of what might prove a fact, without signifying the smallest favorable opinion of his own upon the subject.

We are now authorized to state that the same idea was expressed to his son, but it was in connexion with some observations upon the utter profligacy of the organization of the late Whig party, and with a strong recommendation to him to secede entirely from it.

We will further state that we have made earnest inquiry of the members of Mr. Adams' family, whether he was ever heard to express such an opinion of Gen. Taylor as is now attributed to him, and uniformly not only with a negative reply, but with the manifestation of surprise that such a falsehood should be advanced.

But we shall not let this matter rest here. Since the issue is made by profligate politicians, we shall accept it.—As soon as we can obtain the consent of the gentleman to whom certain letters of Mr. Adams were directed, we trust we shall be able to show to the satisfaction of all who are inclined to see the truth, that whatever may be the "ultra come-outer political notions" of the younger Adams, as alluded to by the Salem Gazette correspondent, they met with the cordial sympathy and strong approbation of his father."

Pledges and So Forth.

"Necessity is the mother of invention." This adage not less true than trite, sufficiently explains the ardor with which Taylor presses scout the idea of requiring pledges from their Presidential candidate. They seem to have the same disgust for them that Jack had for his supper, and for the same reason doubtless. The Cincinnati Gazette, for instance, which stoutly opposed Gen. Taylor's nomination, on the ground that he was not a safe man on the question of free territory, and advocated that of Judge McLean, because his opinions were in favor of the limitation of slavery, has now, under the pressure of a regular nomination, discovered that the position of the former is the only one consistent with the interests of the country. It says: "If, like General Cass, he holds that Congress has no constitutional power to prohibit Slavery in the Territories of the United States, he will, as President, be bound by his pledges, to use his official influence to prevent the passage of a law to that effect; and if all other means to that end fail, to veto any such law. If on the other hand, like Mr. Van Buren, he is opposed to the extension of Slavery, and is elected on that ground, he will not fail to attempt, by every means in his power, to sway Congress to its prohibition.—In either case it requires no extraordinary sagacity to perceive that the President is the President of a section, and not of the whole country.

This is sublime. Does the Gazette mean to say that if Gen. Taylor thinks the prohibition of Slavery in free territories unconstitutional he will not veto it? Or merely that he does not think it either constitutional or unconstitutional? That he is willing to see the constitution violated, or that he is capable of forming no opinion? This is a disagreeable alternative for either an honest or a sensible man. The Gazette would have a candidate, neither in favor of nor opposed to the extension of slavery! This is not the first instance of cunning folks: pretending to be proud of an irredeemable humiliation. We recollect hearing of a sly fox who was caught in a trap and escaped with the loss of his tail. Instead of slinking away to hide, he marched boldly among his comrades and commenced laughing at them for maintaining the antiquated fashion of wearing tails. But their jeers soon drove him to his hole and its solitary meditations. Our sly neighbors of the Gazette are in a similar category.—This fashion of taking Presidents upon trust has been tried. Those who were caught in the Tyler trap, are not likely to run into it again; but we commend the philosophy which makes a virtue of necessity.—Cincinnati Signal.

Mr. Van Buren's Letter—His Position. The letter from Mr. Van Buren to the New York delegation in the Buffalo Convention is one of the most eloquent, touching and dignified productions of his pen. The feeling which his language exhibits on the great question of the extension of slavery, and the dignified grace with which he submits himself to the action of the Buffalo convention, loudly testify to his sincere and disinterested devotion to the principle with which his name is now so honorably identified. The circumstances attending its reception, greatly add to its interest. We give them from the lips of a delegate.

When the conferees had assembled with closed doors to proceed to their nominations, B. F. Butler, Esq., was called upon to state the position of the New York democracy. He took the stand and gave a history of the circumstances that made it necessary for the Free Soil democracy of New York to organize themselves independently at the Utica convention. When they met there, they had not expected to nominate Mr. Van Buren, for although he was with them in feeling, he had a very strong repugnance to be drawn again into political life. It seemed, however, to be the spontaneous and universal wish of the masses at Utica, to be represented by Mr. Van Buren, and they took the responsibility against his known desire, to nominate him. Mr. Butler was deputed to inform him of this, and after a lengthy interview, succeeded in inducing him not to disavow their use of his name. At that time, they contemplated nothing but an organization in their own State. It was not expected that the free soil movement would become so general and imposing as it subsequently did. When they found that the Buffalo convention had been called, and that it would be attended by large masses from all the free States, and some of the slave States, of all political parties, they found themselves in a new embarrassment, they had already nominated their candidate, under very peculiar circumstances, and the question arose, how could they co-operate with the Buffalo convention—how could they consent in any circumstances to support any one else than Mr. Van Buren? Impressed with this difficulty, Mr. Butler determined frankly to state all the facts to Mr. Van Buren, and let him suggest what course he thought due to himself. For this purpose, he wrote a letter to him, but not satisfied of their right to put Mr. Van Buren in such a position, he destroyed it and determined to attend the Buffalo convention, uncommitted to its action. When they reached there, they were most agreeably surprised to find waiting for them a communication from Mr. Van Buren himself, perfectly spontaneous and unsolicited, in which with rare delicacy, he had foreseen and removed the embarrassment of their position. He then read Mr. Van Buren's letter.

This certainly reflects great credit on Mr. Van Buren's head and heart, and will be the means of removing a great deal of prejudice which has existed against him, and while it serves to attach him strongly to the thousands of new friends now flocking to the glorious standard he has reared, will give his old friends and supporters additional reason for their devotion.

Mr. Butler proceeded to state, that the democracy of New York were ready to co-operate with the free soil voters of every party name, on the great question of the day—that they had come to bury all political animosities, to forget all past differences—that they would cheerfully unite in a declaration of common principles suited the crisis, and to support with all their strength any candidates the convention should think it best to nominate.

It is needless to add that this statement and Mr. Van Buren's letter produced a profound impression throughout the assembly. They were responded to with the most enthusiastic and long continued cheers.—Cin. Herald.

We will devote a small portion of our paper to advertising. Insertions will be made upon the usual terms.—Editors.

DOUGLASS & ELDER, BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS, Indianapolis, Ind.

Office in Blake's building, on Washington street, opposite Brownings Hotel.



and act accordingly. Fellow-citizens, what a different spectacle is presented to those who turn their eyes to where a true principle is to be carried out.—We claim to be of those, who, though we may desire success, yet with that success, we mean to carry out principles with us. (Cheers.) The eyes of the whole country are upon your action this day, and there are many ill-disposed persons who are eagerly looking for some manifestation of distraction and division which shall succeed in defeating, as far as any human power can defeat, our men.

Looking at the result of their own conventions, in which they have presented a mortifying spectacle of division, they suppose that we who come here are in just the same position with themselves. (Laughter.) They do not understand the difference between themselves and us yet. They do not understand that they are fighting only for expediency, and expecting nothing but place.

But here have we come together with an anxious and an earnest desire to mark out a platform on which we shall arrive at truth, and then to unite in its support. They do not understand that we come here to set up a standard of freedom and truth. EVERY THING FOR THE CAUSE AND NOTHING FOR MEN! (Loud applause.) Let your deliberations, then, proceed, and may the divine blessing rest upon the result, so that we may here make one step forward towards the consummation of a model CHRISTIAN REPUBLIC.

The address of the President was listened to with deep attention, and in conclusion was responded to by enthusiastic cheers from countless thousands of human voices.

Mr. Butler, of New York, moved a committee of three from each State, and the same from the District of Columbia, to report resolutions for the consideration of the convention. The committee is as follows:

New York—B. F. Butler, Joseph L. White, H. B. Stanton.

Maine—D. Farnsworth, Alfred Johnson, Jas. C. Woodman.

New Hampshire—J. G. Hoyt, W. A. Marston, G. J. Fogg.

Massachusetts—S. C. Phillips, Charles Sedgwick, Joshua Leavitt.

Vermont—J. Poland, Ashbel Peck, Daniel Roberts.

Connecticut—W. H. Burleigh, C. W. Philleo, F. P. Tracy.

Rhode Island—W. G. Hammond.

New Jersey—John W. Stout, W. Dunham, Geo. Updyke.

Pennsylvania—E. D. Gazzam, Jno. C. Wells, John Dougherty.

Ohio—S. P. Chase, E. S. Hamlin, W. A. Rogers.

Maryland—Edwin Thomas, J. E. Snodgrass, Thos. Gardner.

Virginia—George Craig.

District of Columbia—C. L. Noble.

Indiana—S. C. Stevens, S. A. Huff, Samuel Hoover.

Illinois—J. N. Arnold, Wm. Lovejoy, Thos. Richmond.

Wisconsin—I. Coddling, Hans Broecker, I. C. Mills.

Iowa—Wm. Miller.

Michigan—H. R. Clarke, H. N. Ormsby, S. P. Mead.

Delaware—Jacob Pusey, A. H. Dixon.

Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, being called for, addressed the convention, and was followed by E. D. Culver, and Benj. F. Butler of this State. These speeches were admirable in the main, and elicited much applause. We shall publish them hereafter.

The President assuming that variety would be pleasing to the convention, suggested a song from a member of the Hutchinson family, who was present, which was received with unbounded applause, many of the members joining in the chorus.

After the announcement that the conferees appointed by the delegates of the several States, in obedience to the recommendation of the committee on organization, would meet at the court house at 7½ o'clock, the convention, at 6½ o'clock adjourned to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

## SECOND DAY.

### MORNING SESSION.

President called to order at 9½ o'clock, and called upon Rev. Mr. May of Syracuse, who opened the convention with prayer.

Mr. Tracy, of Connecticut, remarked that he had been placed on the Committee of Resolutions, thus superseding a member of the late Whig party.

J. G. E. Larney was appointed in his place.

Mr. Briggs, of Ohio, next addressed the Convention at great length, in a vein of much humor.

Mr. Cummings, of Massachusetts, succeeded in a speech of considerable ability, but his speech like that of his immediate predecessor, was so long as to be tedious—and made every body impatient.

Mr. Berkshire, of Virginia, was called for and said he was one of the rude sort of Virginia barnburners, and could not speak much. Virginia was full of barnburners; he wanted to have his "say" about this matter, but when the nomination was made he would go it. He had been through western Virginia, and he knew the feeling there was consonant with his own. Should Van Buren be nominated, he would receive much support from that quarter. He

knew no difference between Gen. Cass and Gen. Taylor. Both went for slavery extension. Gen. Taylor was watching this convention more closely than ever he watched the movements of Santa Anna on the plains of Buena Vista.

After Mr. Berkshire had concluded, Mr. Jesse Hutchinson was called for and came forward, and in company with others, sang a song with much effect.

Michigan was now called for, and Mr. R. S. Wilson came forward. He came, he said, from the State of Cass—from a small State, but small as it is, three hundred of her sons are here.—He was one who was at Baltimore in 1844, and was made to believe that Mr. Van Buren could not be elected—that the candidate must be acceptable to the South. The same principle of truckling subservience to the South, had prostrated every Northern man, true to Northern interests—it had prostrated, also, the loved and cherished chief of the Whig party, Henry Clay. When the platform shall be established, we must all unite on the candidate. If any other than one name can give the cause thirty-six electoral votes to start upon, let it be produced and the Barnburners would go him; but see where it can be obtained before we act. He had himself been a feeble instrument, acting unconsciously for the South, at Baltimore in 1844, and he desired to do what he could to atone for his mistake. He spoke of Cass as the man who had sold northern rights for office—a man who had not been able because of "noise and confusion," to let the people know his principles on vital questions, but who will be troubled with "noise and confusion" in November. He said the people of Michigan would repudiate her recreant son.

Mr. Sedgwick of Onondaga, said he had been a Whig during the whole existence of that party. He had heard of the nomination of Taylor with mortification and regret. He went on at great length, showing why no Whig—no Northern Whig could, with any degree of consistency vote for Taylor. His speech was throughout, energetic and impassioned.

Mr. Giddings was again called to the stand, and promptly responded with his usual ability, but gave way for the report of the committee on resolutions.

Mr. Butler, of New York, then came forward, and after stating that the committee on resolutions had unanimously agreed on the report he was about to submit, presented the following resolutions:

### THE PLATFORM.

Whereas, we have assembled in conventions as a union of freemen, for the sake of freedom, forgetting all past political differences in a common resolve to maintain the rights of free labor, against the aggressions of the slave power, and to secure free soil for a free people:

And whereas, the political convention recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency, entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the national party organizations heretofore existing, by nominating for the chief magistracy of the United States, under slave-holding dictation, candidates neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension, without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self-respect:

And whereas, these nominations so made, furnish the occasion, and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of free democracy, in a solemn and final declaration of their independence of the slave power and of their fixed determination to rescue the federal government from its control:

Resolved, therefore, that we the people, here assembled, remembering the example of our fathers in the days of the first declaration of independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking his guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the national platform of freedom, in opposition to the sectional platform of slavery.

Resolved, That slavery, in the several states of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon state laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the federal government, and for which laws that government is not responsible. We, therefore, propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery after 1800, in all the territories of the United States, southern and northern; the votes of six States and sixteen delegates in the Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three States and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery from the northwestern territory, by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the nation, not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

Resolved, That our fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty; but expressly de-

nied to the federal government which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due legal process.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king;—no more power to institute or establish slavery, than to institute or establish a monarchy;—no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the constitution, or derived by any just implication from them.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery, wherever that government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved, That the true, and in the judgment of this convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territories now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave States, and slave territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave states, no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be ever kept free for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the committee of eight, in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know that a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof, to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage in hot haste by a majority of the Senate, embracing several Senators who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the people to see to it, that their representatives be not suffered to betray them. There must be no more compromises with slavery; if made, they must be repealed.

Resolved, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the slave power to the establishment of free government for free territories, and not only for them, but for our new brethren in New Mexico and California.

And, whereas, it is due not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of national policy, therefore,

Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the federal government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the government, so far as the same may be practicable.

Resolved, That River and Harbor improvements, whenever demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations, or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor.

Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses incurred in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefit resulting therefrom of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States in this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American people.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practical payment of the national debt; and we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties, as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the federal government, and to pay annual instalments of our debt and the interest thereon.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner, "FREE SOIL, FREE SPEECH, FREE LABOR, AND FREE MEN," and under it will fight on, and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

The resolutions were then submitted to the convention, by the President, and adopted by acclamation, and then the convention adjourned to meet again at 3 o'clock.

### MEETING OF THE CONFEREES.

After the adjournment of the Convention, the conferees met at the Universalist Church, on Washington street, for the purpose of agreeing upon candidates to be presented to the Convention. Mr. Chase, of Ohio, was called to the chair. After the organization, Mr. Butler, of New York, was requested by the committee to give any information he might possess in regard to the action of the Convention, whereupon he addressed the committee at length on the movement of the real democracy of New York, and the

posture in which they stood towards Mr. Van Buren as the nominee of the Utica Convention. In the course of his remarks he read the following letter, which elicited the most rapturous applause:

### LETTER FROM MR. VAN BUREN.

LINDENWALD, Aug. 2, 1848.

Gentlemen—It has occurred to me that a direct communication of my feelings upon a single point may, in one event, serve to remove embarrassment in your action at Buffalo. You all know from my letter to the Utica Convention, and the confidence you repose in my sincerity, how greatly the proceedings of that body in relation to myself were opposed to my earnest wishes. Some of you have also had opportunities to satisfy yourselves, from personal observation, of the sacrifices of feelings and interests which I incurred in submitting my future action to its control. None of you need be assured of the extent to which these feelings were relieved by the consciousness, that in yielding to the decision of that body, that the use of my name was necessary to enable the ever faithful democracy of New York to sustain themselves in the extraordinary position into which they have been driven by the injustice of others. I availed myself of an opportunity to testify to them my enduring gratitude for the many favors I had received at their hands.

The convention, of which you form a part, may, if wisely conducted, be productive of more important consequences than any which has gone before it, save only that which formed the federal constitution. In one respect, it will be wholly unlike any political convention which has been held in the United States, since the present organization of parties. It will, in a great degree, be composed of individuals, who have all their lives been arrayed on different sides in politics, state and national, and who differ in regard to most of the questions that have arisen in the administration of the respective governments, but who feel themselves called upon, by considerations of the highest import, to suspend rival action upon other subjects, and unite their common efforts for the accomplishment of a single end—the prevention of the introduction of human slavery, into the extensive territories of the United States, now exempt from that great evil, and which are destined, if properly treated, to be speedily converted into a wilderness of free minds. I need not say, however cordially I concur in the sentiment, which regards this great object as one sacred in the sight of Heaven, and the accomplishment of which is due to the memories of those great and just men, long since, we trust, made perfect in its courts, who laid the foundations of our government, and made, as they fondly hoped, adequate provision for its perpetuity and success, and indispensable to the future honor and paramount welfare of our entire confederacy.

It may happen, in the course of the deliberations of the Convention, that you become satisfied, that the great end of your proceedings, can, in your opinion, be best promoted, by an abandonment of the Utica nomination.—You will not, in that event, want assurances of my uniform desire, never again to be a candidate for the Presidency, or for any other public office; but you may apprehend, that it might not be agreeable to me, to be superceded in the nomination, after what has taken place in regard to it. It is upon this point, that I desire to protect you against the slightest embarrassment, by assuring you, as I very sincerely and very cheerfully do, that so far from experiencing any mortification from such a result, it would be most satisfactory to my feelings and wishes.

Wishing the convention success and honor in its patriotic efforts, and begging you to accept for yourselves, assurances of my unfeigned respect, I am, very sincerely, your friend and servant, M. VAN BUREN

To the New York Delegation in the Buffalo Convention.

Mr. Butler, of New York, followed its reading with a speech of some length, in which he approved most cordially of the resolutions adopted by the Convention, and expressed the belief that Mr. Van Buren, if nominated by the Convention, would accept the nomination.

Mr. H. B. Stanton, of New York, then announced that Mr. Hale was willing to submit to the action of this Convention.

The conferees then proceeded to an informal ballot for President, with the following result:

Whole number of votes, - - -	466
For Martin Van Buren, - - -	244
For J. P. Hale, - - -	181
For all others, - - -	81

Mr. Van Buren's majority over all, 22. When the result was announced, Mr. Leavitt, of Massachusetts, made a most eloquent speech, and moved the unanimous nomination of Mr. VAN BUREN, which was seconded by Mr. Lewis, of Ohio in an appeal to the friends of Hale, which we have seldom heard surpassed. The motion was adopted by acclamation. The cheering at this moment was terrific. The conferees adjourned for tea.

On their re-assembling it was agreed to proceed to the nomination of Vice President. The name of Mr. Giddings was withdrawn, when CHARLES F.

ADAMS, on motion of a conferee from Ohio, was nominated for Vice President by acclamation. Shortly after, the conferees adjourned to make their report to the Convention.

### AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President called the Convention to order at 3½ o'clock. The conferees having retired to their place of meeting to agree upon candidates to present to the Convention, there was no business before the Convention, and the afternoon was entirely devoted to addresses from a number of distinguished gentlemen.

In the evening the Convention again assembled, when it was announced that the conferees committee were prepared to report.

Mr. Chase, chairman of the conference committee then appeared upon the stand and read the report of the conferees, which was reported to the name of MARTIN VAN BUREN, of New York, for President—a name always illustrious, but rendered doubly so by the conduct of his friends in this Convention. (Tremendous cheering.)

He was also instructed to report the name of CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Massachusetts, for Vice President—an honored name—honored by the bearer of it, but honored still more by the "Glorious News," which was reported to the name of MARTIN VAN BUREN, of New York, for President—a name always illustrious, but rendered doubly so by the conduct of his friends in this Convention. (Tremendous cheering.)

At this moment (9½ o'clock P. M.) the scene from the stand was grand. The tent was filled to its utmost capacity. All were cheering, swinging their hats and handkerchiefs. Scarcely had the report been made, when a band of music marched into the tent, followed by persons bearing a splendid banner on which the names of VAN BUREN and ADAMS were inscribed. At the same time a beautiful banner appeared on the stand with the inscription:

"78 and '48."

JEFFERSON AND VAN BUREN.

No "Compromise."

At the request of the President, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, discharged the duties of the chair.

On motion of Mr. Noble, of the District of Columbia, Benjamin F. Butler, Joseph L. White, and S. P. Chase were appointed a committee to apprise the candidates of their nomination and to solicit their acceptance of the same.

A delegate from Pennsylvania then made a motion that Mr. John Van Buren be requested to take the stump in favor of the nominees of this Convention, which was unanimously adopted.

Joseph L. White, of New York, was now called for. He took the stand and addressed the Convention with great ability.

At the call of the Convention Mr. Field was requested to speak, but declined, saying it was too late. He would add, however, in the language of the noblest of English poets:

"Now is the winter of our discontent  
Made glorious summer by the son of York,  
And all the clouds that lowered upon our house  
In deep bosom of the ocean buried."

He would add further, before moving an adjournment, that they had that day laid their hands on freedom, and raised their standard, and respecting it, he would repeat the words of one of our own poets:

Forever float that standard sheet,  
Where breathes the foe but falls before us;  
With freedom's soil beneath our feet,  
And freedom's banner waving o'er us.

Saying this he moved an adjournment, which was carried.

### A Fine Picture! Look upon it.

If the public would know how Southern men regard the Philadelphia nomination, they should read Southern papers, and hear Southern men talk.

Imagine, by way of illustration, a scene in Alabama.

News arrives at the Capitol of the State, of the nomination of TAYLOR and FILLMORE, by the Philadelphia Convention. Democrats say, at once to Whigs, "you have an Abolitionist on your ticket; that Fillmore is for Free Soil; you are traitors to the South, allies of Northern Fanatics, if you support him."

Off start these Whigs to the knowing ones enquiring "what shall we do or say to these charges?" "Taylor is all right," they answer, "and all that we have to do is to swear that Fillmore is so." Well, this is done.—Calhoun Democrat charges upon Taylor men recreancy; Taylor men retort by charging upon Cass men a more daring desertion of the South, and thus the battle is fought.

This is an imaginary picture. But the reality surpasses it. Read the following from the organ of Taylorism in Alabama, the Journal of Montgomery, and say if it is not so:

"Glorious News.—THE UNION PRESERVED.—Reputation of the Wilmot Proviso by the Whig Convention.—The friends of the South, as well as of the Union, will learn with inexpressible satisfaction that the whig convention PROMPTLY MET THE QUESTION OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO AND REPUDIATED A RESOLUTION ADOPTING THAT DOCTRINE AT ONCE BY AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY. IT WOULD NOT TOUCH THE UNCLEAN THING! How different this generous and patriotic action from the dangerous sectional fanaticism of the democratic convention. It will be recollected that a resolution was introduced there by Mr. Yancey to repudiate the proviso, which the convention refused by a vote of 216 to 39. This vote aimed a death blow to the rights of the South, and its effect has been to cast gloom and dismay in the hearts of those who struggle for the preservation of our glorious Union. Doubts and fears began to overwhelm the public mind, lest even the whigs, the great conservative party of the Union, ALSO MIGHT BE INFECTED WITH THIS HERESY, and have yielded to the 'progressive' notions of the locofocoism of the age. Thanks to a kind Providence, which has always watched over our beloved land—a party still exists determined to regard the Compromises of the Constitution, &c., and those just and equal rights to all sections, without which our glorious Union cannot exist one moment. THEY HAVE MET THIS INCENDIARY AND DESTRUCTIVE PRINCIPLE AS WHIGS—in the old whig spirit of enlightened patriotism of the patriotic fathers and on which the party is founded. THEY DARED TO STAND UP AND MEET THIS FIREBRAND OF UNPRINCIPLED FACTIONISTS, boldly (as the democratic convention

did not)—to meet it as men aware of their duties, like their great leader at Buena Vista, 'asking no favors and shrinking from no responsibilities'—to cast it out of their convention in the teeth of those infuriated fanatics—and to declare that it was no part and should be no part of the whig creed. This the democratic convention would not do. We congratulate the South—we congratulate the Southern whigs who have never appealed to the fidelity, honor, patriotism and generosity of their Northern whig brethren in vain. We congratulate the Union that there is still one great patriotic party which is determined to resist the mad and malign influences which, if unchecked, would soon leave off its sacred rights, but the name."

"Glorious news"—is the first announcement of the Alabama Journal. "The Union preserved," its second. "Repudiation of the Wilmot Proviso by the Whig Convention," its third and last.

Where were Ohio Whig Journals before the meeting of the Philadelphia Convention? For this Wilmot Proviso! Out and out for it. Is this Alabama paper wrong? Strange if it be. For it is keen-scented, and keen-sighted, as regards all that touches slavery directly or indirectly. But let us consider its reasoning.

That is summed up in its first paragraph—

"The friends of the South, (first,) as well as the friends of the Union, will learn with inexpressible satisfaction that the Whig Convention met the question of the Wilmot Proviso, and repudiated a resolution adopting that doctrine, at once, by an overwhelming majority. It would not touch the unclean thing."

Was this so? The fact cannot be denied. The Convention rudely insulted those delegated who offered the Proviso, and, amid a clamorous opposition, rudely ordered it upon the table. The Alabama Journal, then, is right as to fact. Is it wrong in inference? We suppose not. Slavery was declared at the Convention to be, "not a debatable question." By act, that body said we will not touch it. The only conclusion, therefore, to which the South could come, is that drawn by the Alabama Journal. But this Southern paper does not stop here.—It asserts, aye, and in its way proves, too, that the Whig Convention was more pro-slavery than the Democratic Convention. Hear it:—

"How different this generous and patriotic action from the dangerous sectional fanaticism of the Democratic Convention. It will be recollected that a resolution was introduced there by Mr. Yancey, to repudiate the Proviso, which the Convention refused to do, by a vote of 216 to 36."

The fact is again rightly stated.—The inference is all wrong. The Democratic Convention went as far in reality as the Whig Convention. But it is not at all strange that the Alabama Journal should argue as it does, for the absolute rejection of the Proviso by the latter body was prompt and marked.

Well, reader, what say you to all this? If you be a consistent Whig, how do you regard this 'glorious news'? Mark the language, (and it is common to the Whigs of the South,) which is used—"The Whigs, as Whigs, have dared to stand up," exclaims the Journal, "and meet this firebrand (Wilmot Proviso) of unprincipled factionists." And yet the organs of the party in the Free States declare to the country, "all is safe—Gen. Taylor will not interfere—he is opposed to an extension of slavery—no danger from him."

If independent citizens can be satisfied with action which authorizes Southern Journals to talk in this way, if, on so great and grave an issue they are content to leave the main point at loose ends, if for success or party, they are willing to have new territory from the Nueces to the Pacific, trod by slaves, and thus sacrifice enslaver and enslaved, wresting our Government from its true sphere, by making it a trafficker in serfs, instead of the diffuser of freedom—if, we say, independent voters are prepared to do, or risk the doing by others, of this mighty and monstrous wrong, they are prepared to surrender every fundamental right of the constitution, and of human liberty.—We will not believe it of them. We cannot. Although silent now, although uncertain as to what they should do, yet, when the hour of action arrives, they will rally in behalf of the Constitution, of Freedom, and of Freemen.—*Cin. Campaigner.*

EXTRAORDINARY OMISSION.—We have hitherto neglected to give to our kind readers the pungent and powerful resolutions passed by the Philadelphia Whig Convention, previous to its adjournment. They are to the point, and while they may be regarded as the Whig Platform in the coming campaign, present at a glance all the opinions of Gen. Taylor upon all mooted points of national policy. They are as follows:

Resolved,

Resolved,

Resolved,

We hope that these startling opinions will have full weight with the public. In supporting old Zack, we know exactly what line of policy, in case of his election, will be carried out in the administration of the government Ed—Zack—ly!—J. Donkey,