

Not Decided.

There are many who are still undecided how they will cast their votes on the 7th of November next. Many whom duty urges to break the party with which they have long been bound, and declare themselves free and independent voters, and friends of liberty, are still lingering and hesitating, in dread of the reproaches of some heartless demagogues whose political advancement depends altogether on the strength of party ties. Such men are, verily, to be pitied. They are continually watched by the hawk-eyed political rascals that gamble for office, and whose success depends on the gullibility of the masses, and no expedient is left untried to coax, frighten, or whip these poor men back into the base drudgery of party. We have watched how it works. More than one poor hesitating Whig, have we seen, during the present campaign, backed up against a lamp-post, or cornered up in some bar-room, and *whipped* until his manhood was whipped out of him; and then sneakingly say, "yes, I guess I can do it." Poor, spiritless wretches—if they had the first elements of independence in them, they would tell the gambling scamps thus presuming upon their gullibility, to go to work or starve.

What are our party obligations? Is it true that we *must* stick to party, whether party sticks to principles or not? The Whig party once had a set of well-defined principles—advocated certain measures of public policy; but no definite principles can be claimed for the so-called Whig party now. It has no measures which as a party it seeks to advance. The Northern half professes warm friendship to the principles of the Wilmot Proviso; but the Southern half is known to be most implacably hostile to those principles. Certain portions of the now Whig party are friendly to a protective tariff; but other portions—the South Carolinians in particular—are warmly opposed to such a tariff. Certain men in the Taylor party are decidedly in favor of appropriations by Congress for the improvement of Rivers and Harbors; but others of that party are as decidedly *opposed* to such a policy. There are Bank men and *anti*-Bank men in the party; Sub-Treasury men and *anti*-Sub-Treasury men; Native Americans, *anti*-Native Americans; Land-Monopolists, and *anti*-Land-Monopolists; and so in reference to every other measure of public interest. Now the question is, is it the duty of a Whig, to "stick" to such a party? If it is his duty to help every gambling politician, who finds it convenient to *call* himself a "Whig," to the spoils of office, then it is; but if he allows the claims of his country to be of paramount importance to the claims of shameless demagogues, then is he absolved from all such allegiance.

Why cannot honest whigs look at the Taylor party as it is, composed of all the conflicting elements of American politics. Why can they not see one set of men voting for Gen. Taylor for the furtherance of certain favorite schemes, while another set is voting for him to *thwart* those schemes, and carry out measures of a policy directly *opposite*? One set of men voting for him to secure *freedom* in the new territories, and another to secure *slavery* there? Never was there a grosser and more infamous fraud practised upon the honest yeomanry of the Northern States, than the present game of whig demagogues. Trusting every thing on the gullibility of the masses, and the omnipotence of party, the office seekers of the north are cheating the people out of their very birthrights, and selling their country with all its interests, into the hands of the slave-power, for the spoils of office. Yet there are hundreds with their eyes half open, who are hesitating whether to submit "this once" to be Tylerized once more, or sunder their party fetters and stand up in the dignity of manhood.

Can an independent free-thinking citizen hesitate between Taylor and Van Buren? Impossible. The one is not only committed in *word* against the interests of the north, but his past life, his associations, and his interests, afford the most incontestable proof, that he is a "southern man in habit and in principle," and in favor of extending slavery wherever, and whenever it is practicable to do so. On the other hand, Martin Van Buren is not only pledged in *favor* of northern rights, but his obligations, social and political, his entire interests, his habits, and associations, combine to make him a *northern* man, opposed to the extension of slavery whenever, and wherever it may be proposed. Why hesitate then? Why not choose at once to break the party yoke, and, like free, intelligent, and independent citizens, come manfully over to swell the ranks of the Free Soil army, determined to resist the insulting aggressions of the slave power, and with an unconquerable purpose to "fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions?"—*Northern Citizen.*

"Talk of Massachusetts going for Van Buren. What has he ever done for her people, her manufacturers, or any measure in which she, as a State, has been vitally interested?"

Perhaps the Gardiner Despatch, from which the above is taken, can tell what Zachary Taylor has done for Massachusetts.—*Boston Republican.*

Our Adopted Citizens.

[From the *Troy Budget*.]

The doctrines of the free soil democratic party command themselves with peculiar force to our adopted fellow-citizens, and we rejoice to know that, as a class, they are now arrayed on the side of freedom. They, who have felt the weight of oppression in the old world, and have been subjected to a system of tyranny, which almost equals in rigor that which the southern planter exercises over his slaves, properly sympathize in every movement which tends to alleviate human misery, or to extend that happiness which springs from liberty, as naturally as the fruit succeeds the blossom. Having been, while subjects of the monarchical institutions of Europe, opposed to every form of human slavery, they now, as the adopted citizens of a land which boasts of its freedom, give their hearty approval to the doctrine that "Congress has no more power to make a slave than a king, no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy." But there is another and equally important light in which they view the doctrines of the Free Democracy. They have been invited to our shores by the prospect which our broad domain offers, of being able by that honest industry which characterizes them, of earning not only a scanty livelihood, but a competence, not only the means of paying for the use of the tenement they may occupy, but of becoming owners in their own right of the lands they may till. Hence we see them, on their arrival in this country, wending their way to the West, and selecting from its fertile plains, the richness of whose virgin soil has never yet been taxed, a tract of land, which, upon the payment of a few dollars, they may call their own. There they settle. The sturdy oaks fall beneath their well-wielded axe, a neat edifice arises from amid the clearing, the plow soon discloses the fertility of the soil, and in time, rich and waving crops gladden the eye and rejoice the heart of those who before had experienced the bitterness of that want which so often succeeds the failure of the harvest in the old world. There, happy and prosperous they live, respected for their worth, and held in honor, as the architects of their own fortune. The task-masters who, in time gone by, stood over them to exact the substance of their labor, they no longer fear, and now, when the toil of day is over, they recline "beneath their own vine and fig-tree, and there are none to molest or make them afraid." And to what is their prosperity to be attributed? How is it that they, who were poor and oppressed at home, the tenants of a purse-proud and unfeeling aristocracy, have become men of wealth and influence here? It is because our territories in the West have been preserved from the blighting curse of slavery, by an ordinance which originated with Jefferson, and on which is based the great doctrine of free soil Democracy.—Were it not for this, the fertile fields of our western country would not have been opened to them for the exercise of their proverbial industry. Slavery would have been instituted there, and this would have forever excluded the poor emigrant from what is now his happy and prosperous home. It is to this ordinance of 1878, which excluded slavery from all territory North of lat. 36° 30', and from which has since arisen the large and flourishing States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa, that thousands and tens of thousands of our adopted citizens are indebted for the prosperity that smiles upon their homes and gilds with a golden lustre the crops which wave about them, and which they call their own. Knowing that their prosperity is to be attributed to the ordinance of '87, they are anxious to extend over all the territory we have lately acquired, that shield which has protected them. Under its beneficent influence, they have seen villages and cities arising from the wilderness, and populous States formed, while the most incontestable proof, that he is a "southern man in habit and in principle," and in favor of extending slavery wherever, and whenever it is practicable to do so. On the other hand, Martin Van Buren is not only pledged in *favor* of northern rights, but his obligations, social and political, his entire interests, his habits, and associations, combine to make him a *northern* man, opposed to the extension of slavery whenever, and wherever it may be proposed. Why hesitate then? Why not choose at once to break the party yoke, and, like free, intelligent, and independent citizens, come manfully over to swell the ranks of the Free Soil army, determined to resist the insulting aggressions of the slave power, and with an unconquerable purpose to "fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions?"—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

"With all that's theirs, together they may raise; Brighter plains and more indulgent skies; Where Mississippi rolls her amber tide, And nature blossoms in her virgin pride; Where all that beauty's hand can form to please, Shall crown the tools they've felt with rural ease."

The Free Democracy.

The capital distinction between Truth and Falsehood is, that the one is not afraid of the light, while the other skulks away into shadows and darkness. It is finely exhibited in the conduct of the several parties which now solicit the votes of the people. The Whigs, afraid of any open declarations of what they intend, hide their real aims behind ambiguous phrases and vague generalities. All their speeches and addresses may be summed up in a "Hurrah for Gen. Taylor, the hero of Buena Vista." While the conservative faction, which, with an amusing audacity, strives to usurp the name of Democracy, professes to be all things to all men. In New England and the West, it opposes the extension of slavery, but at the South it is in favor of it—condemning the Wilmot Proviso in one latitude with as much vehemence as it is supported in another.

How noble and generous of the free or real Democracy, when contrasted with the sinister double-faced policy of the Whig and Conservative apologists of slavery. It has no concealments to make. From the first, its course has been open and above board. Having once put forth its platform of doctrine, it has only been anxious to bring it to the knowledge of the whole people.—It meets fairly, all the great issues of the day; and it relies for its success, not on the ardent management of party machinery, nor on the doubtful tricks of availability, but upon the goodness and rationality of its principles and aims. More than all other parties, it appeals directly to the integrity, the honor, and the good sense of the people.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

A Good Idea.—We hear through channels that enable us to state with confidence, that the leading hunkers of our State meditate the withdrawal of their Electoral Ticket at the polls, in favor of that of the Regular Democracy, which is pledged to Van Buren and Adams, thus ceasing to distract the democratic party, so far as the Presidency is concerned. This is the most sensible scheme that has entered their heads this season. If they will just make a clean thing of it, by pitching overboard their spavined State ticket as well, and giving us a fair old-fashioned fight between Fish and Dix, Patterson and Gates, they will make the contest close enough to be interesting, and bring out the voters. As they know by this time that the people won't vote for Cass, and that their only chance is in the House, they may as well stop their disorganizing, third-party nonsense, in Massachusetts and Vermont also, making over their scattering votes to the Free Soil democracy, and thus partially concealing their weakness. The game is a good one, but unless played boldly and thoroughly it will fail.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

"Gen. TAYLOR NEVER SURRENDERS,"—We never fully appreciated the beauty of the foregoing, which some letter writers put into the mouth of young Crittenden, until that beauty was pointed out to us by a friend from the country. "What the deuce does these whigs mean?" said we, "by saying that Gen. Taylor never surrenders?" "Why, it's clear as daylight," said our friend. "The whigs refer to Gen. Taylor's commission in the army!" They mean that he will never surrender that commission so long as he lives! He will not surrender \$6000 a year until he is certain that he can get more! That's what they mean when they say Gen. Taylor never surrenders." Perhaps our friend was right.—*Nashville Union.*

Contradictory.—NORTH.—"There is no Whig at the South more favorable to the principles of Free Soil, than General Taylor."—*Rochester Daily American.*

SOUTH.—"There is no man in the South more bitterly opposed to the Wilmot Proviso, and the principles involved in it, than General Taylor."—*N. O. Picayune.*

The Lowell Advertiser says: "Gen. Taylor's political principles being unknown with any degree of certainty, his position is somewhat like that of a fellow supposed to have committed some grave offence. He's 'arrested' or 'taken up' (by the whigs) 'on suspicion.'

BUFFALO PLATFORM.

WHEREAS, We have assembled in convention 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 slaveholding 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 denied 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 issue, 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 territories 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 firm answer is, no more slave States, no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domain be kept free for the early 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 repented.

Resolved, That we demand freedom and established institutions for our brethren 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 not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other cases 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 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 practicable 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 installments 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.

Resolved, That we do now adjourn.

FALL & WINTER FASHIONS FOR 1848.

THE undersigned has received his Fall Style of Hats, comprising an assortment of Beautiful Beaver, Silk, and Moleskin Hats, for durability and style of manufacture, are equal, if not superior to any he has ever offered. Also, a large variety of Boots, Shoes, Leather, Shoe findings, and Trunks. For sale low for cash. 6 J. K. SHARPE

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PROSPECTUS

OF THE 3131 1848 EDITION.

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:

The Banner will be furnished to clubs of four, or more, from this time until after the Presidential Election at 25 cents per copy.

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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