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The Globe.

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Political.

SPEECH OF HON. H. B. WRIGHT, of Luzerne, On taking the Chair as President of the Mass State Convention held at Harrisburg, July 26, 1860.

Gentlemen of the Convention: I return you my thanks for this manifestation of your partiality towards me. I regard it as a matter of distinction that you have conferred upon me to-day. To stand here in this place, as I do, called upon to preside over that portion of the Democracy of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania which just rises up to vindicate the regular nominations of the National Democratic Convention is not merely an ordinary, but an extraordinary privilege. [Cheers.]

As regards my ability to discharge the duties of this chair, I shall not now consider. I think I can get along with the business. [Laughter.] With regard to the object and character of this Convention, and the causes that have brought us together this day, I shall claim your indulgence, as your presiding officer, to make a few remarks. What is it that produces this uprising of the masses of Pennsylvania this day? What has brought us from the remotest corners of this Commonwealth to meet here in Convention? Simply, gentlemen, because those who held the custody of the rules and regulations of the party have committed an act of usurpation. [Applause.] I measure my language, and know what I say. The reporters will write down just as I say it.

We, all gentlemen, of age. I believe there are no minors in this body—at least, none under my eye. It becomes us, then, as men of maturity, to speak out—to speak frankly—and, above all, to speak with determination; that is, to say nothing that we do not mean to do, and to lay down no programme that we do not mean to carry out. [Long continued applause.] Let me go back a moment. The Democratic party of Pennsylvania, as a part of its organization, has been in the habit, through a long series of years—I have participated in Conventions here for thirty years—to appoint a Democratic Executive Committee, sometimes called the State Central Committee, and sometimes called the Democratic State Executive Committee. As I understand the rules and usages of the party, the duty of that committee has been to call Conventions in case a candidate or a nominee died or declined.

It has been their duty to issue addresses to the Democratic people of Pennsylvania, calling upon them to discharge their duty faithfully and honestly to the party. It has been their duty to exercise a general supervisory power, and to perform ministerial acts. I speak as a lawyer now, but not judicially. But it has been reserved for the year 1856—I am confounding myself with Mr. Buchanan's nomination, and I beg his pardon, [Laughter.]—that in the year 1856, after the Democracy of the nation had met in solemn Convention, after a prolonged session, and by solemn, decided action, had presented nominees for the party of the nation—I say it has been reserved for the year 1860, for the Democratic Executive Committee of Pennsylvania to call in question the act of their superiors. [Cheers.] They have actually met in the city of Philadelphia, as I am informed and do that thing. I have not read their proceedings, and I cannot. [Laughter.] Revolutionary measures I never honor by reading. That committee, I am informed, met in the city of Philadelphia recently, and sent their manifesto out to the Democrats of Pennsylvania—that is to those Democrats who are on the electoral ticket—demanding of them that they should, in the first place, cast their votes for Mr. Douglas, if Mr. Douglas had a majority of the States; and in the second, for Mr. Breckinridge, if he had a majority over Mr. Douglas; and then, if neither could be elected, leaving the electors to vote just as they pleased. Why, that would justify the electors when they met in Convention, to cast their vote for Abe Lincoln, the rail-splitter, and Hannibal Hamlin. [Laughter.]

With my friend Brown, of Philadelphia, with whom I have spent years in the business of legislation in this hall, and who I am happy to see present, I will cast my vote for no such mongrel concern, trammelled with such conditions. [Applause.] I have voted for thirty years steadily along for the Democratic nominees, and if it has come to that point that I cannot cast my vote for them again, I will stay at home, shut up my doors, and weep for the degeneracy of the times. [Laughter and applause.] Why, gentlemen, when your State Convention was in session at Reading, that a minority had seceded from that Convention, and that such minority had pretended to issue their ticket. Suppose they had got a majority of the weak brethren to join them—suppose they had met and nominated a candidate for Governor against General Foster, would you have paid any heed to the calls of their committee, or of a party brought together in such a way, in violation of rules? Certainly not. And the same principle must be regarded as governing and regulating the political affairs of the nation. Let us act with prudence and deliberation, and whatever we resolve on let us do that regardless of risks and fears of consequences. [Great Applause.] It is not for me to lay down any platform of principles. I might say, however, that I would question the propriety of a body like this, called together indiscriminately, to assume to put out an electoral ticket. We have, I know, the right to support Douglas and Johnson to our heart's content, and to shout for them until our throats are sore. [Cries of "good! good!" and applause.] It is a matter of extreme doubt whether this body of men can assume the power of the State Central Committee, so far as the calling of a Convention is concerned. If that committee has abused its power, let not that charge be made against us. We are not here to act as disorganizers, but regularly to support regular nominations. [Applause.] The men who have seceded from the ranks of the

Democratic party would be glad to have us make that false step. Let us not go contrary to Democratic rules and usages. It appears to me fitting that we should resolve that Douglas and Johnson are the regular nominees of the Democratic party for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency of the United States. [Applause.] To resolve that they and they alone are the nominees, and that they and they alone shall have the votes of the true-hearted and gallant Democratic army of this solid old Commonwealth. [Renewed applause.] Let us be true to our party and our principles, and the inevitable effect must be, that like a tornado the miserable man who sneak under Yancey's Disunion banner will be swept into deserved oblivion by the power of the people. [Applause.] Whatever we do let it be with prudence. Let us do nothing that we shall have to reconsider—take no step we shall have to retract. Let our march be always an advance. [Applause.] Let us ratify the nomination of Douglas, who, more than any other is a living embodiment of the noble characteristics of our great Jackson, [cheers,] and pledge ourselves to vote for no other candidate for the Presidency.

I shall not speak of the regularity of the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas. It is beyond doubt. For eleven days, at Charleston, I voted for that man, knowing him to be the choice of my constituents. [Cheers.] Glorious the constituency of Luzerne an opportunity of showing it, and you will see how manfully and gallantly they will endorse him. There they are now, waiting to seize the banner and rush upon the battlement walls, crying victory! [Cheers.] I voted for Douglas last after day at Harrisburg until he was nominated by a two-thirds vote. There is no way in which he can be wrested from the arms of the Democratic party. [Applause.] After Yancey and the Disunionists went out of the regular Convention, it occurred to me that it would be profitable for me to go into the Secession Convention and ascertain for myself the sentiments there proclaimed. I did go into the Yancey Convention, and during the two hours I was there, as God is my judge, I heard nothing but with reference to the expediency of erecting a Southern Republic upon the ruins of the present Union. [Cries of "Down with the traitors!"]

If Mr. Breckinridge be not a Disunionist himself, it must be conceded that he is the candidate of the Disunionists. He is, in the hands of the worst men that this country has ever seen. Those men are fixed upon a dissolution of this Union and the creation of a Southern Confederacy. I do not care what their apologists may say—I have heard their debates and I know that which I speak. [Applause.] Disunion was the cry of the secession movement at Charleston and at Baltimore. Breckinridge is the pliant tool of the Disunionists—the man who proclaims from the housetops that they want disunion. And such are the men that the Democratic party of Pennsylvania are asked to support! For one, I never will submit to such burning dishonor. [Applause.]

One word more. I wish to pay a passing tribute to the Hon. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts. [Laughter.] I want it reported, and I want to send it to him. He became the President of the Convention, how and by what management I know not, but I say this of him—that after he went into the chair, having given to us his pledge to conduct the affairs of that Convention in a proper manner, there never was a man whose parliamentary history is written, who disgraced himself as Caleb Cushing did, both at Charleston and Baltimore. [Long continued applause.] An educated man, he ought to have been familiar, and I presume he was, with parliamentary law, and how did he dispose of the questions presented for his consideration? I will refer you to one or two of them. In the first place, a question of order was raised before that Convention, as to the number of votes it required to result in a nomination. The rule is, that the man receiving two-thirds of the votes cast shall be the nominee of the party. Caleb Cushing ruled that it required, not two-thirds of the votes cast, but two-thirds of the whole Electoral College! [A voice—"The double-dyed traitor!"] From the State of New Jersey a delegation brought in their hands a resolution from their State Convention. That State Convention requested their delegates to vote as a unit. Caleb Cushing decided that that was not a request but an order, and that they were bound to vote as one. A portion of the delegation from the State of Georgia at once withdrew and marched out under the Disunion banner.—The true Union delegates remained in the Convention.

In calling the roll, when the secretary had reached, in order, the State of Georgia, the question was raised whether the remaining delegates could cast the vote of the State or not. Caleb Cushing decided that the voice of the State should be mute. I could have—I don't say what—but if I had been in his vicinity, in health and strength—well, I think I could have resented the deep injustice. [Applause.] When we got to the city of Baltimore, after the Convention had been organized, we kept out Secession men, and admitted pure, honest party delegates into the Convention. We had adjourned from Charleston for the express purpose of allowing the Democracy of the Southern States to fill vacancies at Baltimore, and had become organized, and the Convention was in favor of the nomination of Douglas, Mr. Caleb Cushing rose in his place, and said he thought the time had come for him to resign his position. God knows we were glad enough to get rid of him. [Laughter and applause.]

In making his remarks, he stated that in his view, it would be improper for him longer to maintain his place in the chair.—He sneaked out and did not again return, but united his destinies with Yancey and that party, which had raised the sword to cut the band of the Union in twain. I hope the Convention will make a bold and decided declaration in favor of the great principle of non-intervention. I want to see that principle of popular power in the Territories incorporated as an article in the creed of the Democratic party of Pennsylvania, in addition to the platform laid down at

Cincinnati in 1856. [Cries of "Good!" and applause.] With that platform, with that glorious principle of popular sovereignty which was established in 1848, affirmed in 1852, and reaffirmed in 1856, and with Douglas and Johnson, I defy opposition. [Applause.]—There is yet truth and honesty in the heart of the people to uphold the right and strike down the wrong.

Appealing again to you, gentlemen, I trust you will be cautious, that you will act deliberately, but what you do, do effectually, so that it cannot be undone. [Applause.] I am reminded that I have not said a word of our candidate for Governor, Hon. Henry D. Foster. It affords me great pleasure to say that I believe him to be in every way worthy of the support of the Democratic party. [Applause.] The election for Governor was the Presidential election. It is the thing upon which the latter turns, and I regard it of vast importance that we should secure the election of Gen. Foster. [Three cheers and a tiger for Foster.] The Convention is now ready to proceed to business.

The Fusion Electoral Ticket. Every true Democrat desires, of course, that the men and measures of his party should be the choice of the people, and is therefore willing to do anything in reason to produce this result. But there are some things that no true Democrat will do, because he cannot even think of them with any degree of patience, or attempt them without dishonor. One of these things is the novel and startling proposition to pack up the whole Democratic vote of the Keystone State, like a bundle of dry goods, to be handed over after the election, not as the people of the State have directed, but as the people or the politicians of other States may happen to render necessary for a certain purpose. Now, there are at least three good reasons why no good Democrat can ever consent to this. In the first place, the candidates named in this compromise do not represent the same principles, and cannot therefore both be Democrats.

Douglas is most clearly the representative of "Congressional non-intervention" in the local affairs of the Territories, while Breckinridge is as clearly pledged to "active intervention on the part of every branch of the General Government" for the protection of slave property outside of the slave States. Douglas believes that that which is property by the common consent of the whole nation requires no other protection in the Territories than that which the people there will cheerfully accord to it, and that that which is property solely in virtue of local laws will be protected by them as soon as they desire it, but should neither be established in opposition to the will of those who are adverse to it, nor withheld from those who are willing to adopt it, while Breckinridge is solemnly pledged to a creed that deprives the people of the Territories of the right of self-government on a most important point, that would compel the representatives of the whole nation to recognize and protect as property that which is only property in certain portions of the country, and by force of certain local laws, which laws are repudiated by the local legislation of other portions of the country equally respectable, and equally entitled to national recognition and support.

Candidates thus representing adverse principles cannot be run together without gross inconsistency. In the second place, only one of these candidates can be the "regular nominee" of the party, even if the platforms were the same. There cannot be two regular Democratic Conventions, nor two regular Democratic nominations—one or the other must be irregular and spurious. The regular National Convention, presenting all the States, met at Charleston, and as regularly adjourned to Baltimore, while there was no regular Convention either called at Richmond or adjourned from Richmond to Baltimore.

The Convention, which was regularly called at Charleston, did not adjourn sine die until it had formed a platform and nominated candidates. That platform is the one we had in 1856 at Cincinnati; and the candidate nominated on that platform is Stephen A. Douglas—a very consistent friend of it. Those who did this did not "secede," because majorities never do secede—they vote their way through. If, then, the old plan of submitting when out-voted is wrong—if the modern idea of seceding when you happen to be in the minority is improper and destructive of all order, then the assembly which nominated Mr. Breckinridge was irregular, and it is not the regular nominee of the party. Now, all true Democrats believe in "regular nominations," when made by "regular Conventions," or "regular Democratic platforms," and they frown indignantly on all irregular movements, as subversive of all order and organization, from that of the township up to that of the nation. They will not—cannot, therefore, with any consistency, consent to this arrangement.

The former body is bound by party rule to pledge the latter to vote for the nominees of the National Convention, who, in its turn, is, by the same rule, bound to obey or to resist. Instead of this, they unite in this proposition to defeat the will of their masters. They are told by the National Convention, "Here is the creed of the party for this campaign; it is the same on which we triumphed in 1856, and has been deliberately reaffirmed. Here is the candidate of the party, the faithful advocate of our party creed. Put now in motion the machinery that will give to them both the party vote." The committee and electors reply: "We hear you; but we choose not to obey; we choose that a man who denies the party creed and opposes the party candidates shall have an opportunity of defeating both; of turning the whole vote of this State in favor of the

groed and the men that have been repudiated by it in solemn conclaves, even though that repudiation may be ratified by every Democrat in the Commonwealth. We hear you; but we choose that a seceding minority shall have as good a chance of carrying the State or nation as the regular majority can by any possibility have; that those who depart from the party creed are as good Democrats as those who adhere to it; that he who can muster but eighty seceding votes in a Convention but call on Baltimore is as much entitled to an office on the Democratic ticket as he who has received one hundred and eighty regular votes in a regular National Convention.

"In short, the States and National Convention may do as they please—we will do as we please. We will hold the vote of the State in our hands, and watching the other States with one eye, and our own private interests with the other, we will throw her votes, not as those who elected us wish, but as circumstances may require. Who bids? and how much? We are pledged to no one—the highest bidder shall be the buyer!" The plan deserves nothing but contempt. It is a cheat from beginning to end. No Democrat who believes in "principle" and in the binding obligations of "regular nominations," will touch it. There will be but one Democratic and one Democratic candidate in the field in the coming campaign.—Those who oppose them may call themselves Democrats, and ring the changes, on this good old much-perverted name; but how any one can claim the name, while he spits upon the platform which he gloried in and triumphed on in 1856; who prefers as a candidate the man who openly denies the Democratic creed, secedes from the Democratic nomination, and throws his whole force against them both, is a matter which is entirely beyond our comprehension.—*Trans.*

Stephen A. Douglas—Who and What is He?

Among the distinguished speakers at the Douglas meeting in Philadelphia, Saturday, 21st inst., General Dodge, of Iowa, ex-governor of that State, ex-minister to Spain, and chairman of the Iowa delegation in the Baltimore convention. In the course of his remarks, the General said: I know that Henry Clay relied upon him more than any other man, entrusted to him the drawing of the compromise bills, and called upon him, when his voice became so feeble that he could no longer fill the senate, to take his place and fight the battle for the admission of California, Utah and New Mexico, [great applause,] and for the establishment of the principle that the people shall be left free to shape their own domestic institutions and control their own destinies. Who was it that lashed Sumner, Seward & Co., and triumphed over them in the great debate upon the Kansas-Nebraska bill, which established a living principle by which the matter of slavery is to be settled, and the vexed question to be forever banished from the hall of Congress?

It was Stephen A. Douglas. [Cheers.] You all know him. [A voice, "and love him." Cheers.] I knew him when he was an honorable pioneer, with his pack upon his back. [Cheers.] I knew him when he pushed the jack-plane in a village in Illinois—[Cheers.] I knew him as a village school teacher; as the attorney general of this State; as a Judge upon the Supreme Court bench, and subsequently when he was elected to the lower branch of Congress and from there to the Senate, where he is now serving his third term. [Applause.] And gentlemen, if the bolters and political tricksters who are now at work to defeat the choice of the people for the highest office in their gift succeed, he will grow upon their hands just as old Hickory did, when he was defeated for the same position, and by the same means, in 1824. [Cheers.] The familiar name by which he is known among his countrymen, is that of the "Little Giant," but if he is cheated by these Secessionists and Disunionists, he will be known in the future as the "Big Giant," before whom intriguing politicians will fly, as from the wrath to come. I tell you, that he ever comes down on any of these unfortunate men will think he weighs more than a ton. [Great Applause.]

If he is beaten now his success in the future is certain; while those who oppose the party because he is the nominee, will be consigned to oblivion. [That's so, and cheers.] The people love him because he is true to them and maintains their rights. They have watched with interest the prosecution to which he has been subjected; they have seen him removed from the chairmanship of the Committee on Territories by a tyrannical majority, because of his independence, and they have seen those who should have sustained him and strengthened his hands, resort to every trick to disgrace him, because they were jealous and envious of his hold on the popular heart. The result of those attempts is before you. Without patronage, without power, he has stood forth in the Democratic Convention at Charleston and at Baltimore triumphant and victorious. He received from that convention the greatest honor it could pay him, the regular, legitimate nomination for the Presidency, and if you are true to yourselves, you will ratify that nomination at the ballot-box.

TRUE AS HOLY WRIT!—Col. James W. Harris, of Georgia, making a speech at a Douglas meeting in Atlanta, on the 17th inst., in the course of which he reviewed the action of the Douglas delegates at Baltimore, and defended them from the aspersions of the secessionists. He said: The Seceders made no efforts at Baltimore to defeat the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas, or to modify the minority report adopted at Charleston. Their only object being in going to Baltimore to withdraw from that Convention those delegations from the border Slave States which refused to secede at Charleston. They did not go to Baltimore for harmony, but for the purpose of sectionalizing the Democratic party, forcing the election of Lincoln, and then to consummate the ultimatum of their hopes—a dissolution of the Union.

No Compromise. This is now the cry from the lips of every loyal Democrat in the land. The true, faithful and consistent Democrats cannot compromise with Traitors, Seceders and Disunionists. To do so would be utter ruin to our noble party. Upon this subject the editor of that faithful old organ of the Vermont Democracy, the Vermont Patriot, very pertinently says:

The inflated Breckinridge supporters, in the Free States, may as well understand, first as last, that they have got to face the music. Their ambition is first, to retain their offices, and next to retain insides seats in the Democratic wagon. They propose to retain their offices, by abusing Douglas and his friends, and denouncing the Baltimore Convention. They propose to keep in the party, by getting the party to stretch its covering so as to enclose them. They want "union electoral tickets" in New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and some other States—a sort of half-way endorsement of secession and treason—and an admission on the part of the regular Democracy that a slave code and slave trade may, after all, be Democratic "institutions."

We risk nothing whatever in saying that these gentlemen cannot be accommodated. They can hold their offices until the 4th of March; they can abuse the Democratic nominee, and the Democratic Convention, and the Democratic platform, and the Democratic party to their heart's content. But they are out—and they can't come in! The Democracy will make no bargains with outsiders, no compromises with traitors. The people have set out to preserve the integrity of the party and they will do it, though every State in the Union should be lost to their candidate. "But there is no prospect of any great losses. The probability is that Mr. Douglas will carry more Northern States than have been carried by the Democracy since 1852.—The more conservative of the Republicans are coming to them every day, and already it is certain that in the North, at least, they will gain more than they will lose by the Breckinridge movement. Many States will be re-democratized; many Democratic Representatives to Congress will be elected in districts now controlled by Republicans; and best of all, a gang of Northern politicians who have proved themselves to be as corrupt as corruption itself, will be everlastingly disposed of."

"No—we say again—there will be no compromise between the regular Democracy and the men who have bolted the nominations.—The Democratic party has never yet left its high position to trade with renegades, and it never will. In all present cases of objects to the manner of holding, to the ballot platform, to the bolters' candidates, and to the bolters' themselves. The motive of the leaders is too plainly written on their foreheads. You can go your way gentlemen; but you cannot harness to the Democratic team."—*State Sentinel.*

The Seceding Movement Dying Out in the South. It is evident that the Secession movement is wiling and dying out in the South. The people of that section of the country are not desirous of contributing to the election of a Republican President; neither do they want a dissolution of the Union, to both of which ends, vote against the regular Democratic nominees will tend. As speakers of how things are working, read the following from the Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle and Sentinel: "Consequently the Democratic people are fast abandoning the seceders' ticket, the residuary legatee of all the corruption and abominations of the present outrageous Administration—the supple tools of the camp-followers and placers."

"In this (Richmond) county, it is said by those who ought to be posted, that there are only thirty-eight Breckinridge men out of a voting population of near two thousand. Gentlemen from Columbia inform us that there are seen, out of eight hundred in that county. From Lincoln we hear of none. In Wilkes there are a goodly number, but they are very anxious to compromise. The Franklin Democracy, we learn, are almost unanimous for Douglas and Johnson, and the same news comes also from Hall and Habersham. The seceders did fair in Georgia, according to present appearances, to die out before the first frost."

A State Convention is to be held in Tennessee at Nashville, next Saturday, 25th inst., to perfect a Douglas electoral ticket. The Memphis Appeal, a leading and influential journal, has the following upon the subject:—"The people desire discussion; and there is besides a strong effort being made by the leaders in the secession movement, to forestall public sentiment, which must be met at the earliest day possible. We are assured from the best information we can get from all quarters, that a great reaction is even now going on in favor of Douglas and Johnson.—The great masses of the people cannot be persuaded that it is their duty as patriots to follow up the secession movement at Charleston and Baltimore, and thus complete the work of destruction to the great National Democratic party. They will rather prefer to do battle with the party of the regular organization, and in support of the regular ticket."

Out of the Party. The editor of that old and able organ of the Rhode Island Democracy, the Providence Post, with great force and truth says that the men who support John C. Breckinridge for President have gone out of the Democratic party. Nothing can be plainer than this.—In the first place Mr. Breckinridge was nominated by a Seceders' Convention. It was neither regularly called nor regularly held. It embraced only one hundred and eighteen delegates, and had majority delegations of any sort from only eight States, and the delegates from only three States had been authorized to act in it. It was, thus, in its composition and organization, an unauthorized Convention of Bolters from the Democratic party. In the second place, the Convention, if Convention it may be called, refused to stand upon the Democratic platform, but adopted a platform which had been distinctly repudiated by the Democratic party in its National Convention, while that Convention was unquestionably an authoritative body. Nobody will dare deny that the Convention which met at Charleston on the 23d of April was the National Democratic Convention. Every State, every Congressional District was represented in it; and while they were represented—before a single delegate had bolted—a platform was adopted, and that platform was adopted by the Seceders was distinctly and emphatically repudiated. Yesay, then, that the men and newspapers which stand upon that repudiated platform, and support its nominees, ARE OUT OF THE PARTY. Their talk about Democracy is mere twaddle. No man is a Democrat who stands upon any other than the Democratic Platform, and support any other than the regular nominees of the party.