# AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

JOHN R. BRATTON, Editor & Proprietor.

CARLISLE, PA., AUGUST 24, 1854.


**Democratic State Ticket:**

GOVERNOR:

**WILLIAM BIGLER,**

OF CLEARFIELD COUNTY.

JUDGE OF THE SUPREME COURT.

**JEREMIAH S. BLACK,**

OF SOMERSET COUNTY.

CANAL COMMISSIONER:

**HENRY S. MOTT,**

OF PIKE COUNTY.

DEMOCRATIC COUNTY TICKET.

*Congress,*

J. ELLIS BONHAM, of Cumberland.

*Assembly,*

H. G. MOSER, of Lower Allen.
JAMES CHESTNUT, of Southampton.

*Prothonotary,*

DANIEL K. NOEL, of Upper Allen.

*Clerk of the Courts,*

JOHN M. GREGG, Carlisle.

*Register,*

WILLIAM LYTLE, of Newville.

*Commissioner,*

GEORGE M. GRAHAM, Westpennsboro'.

*Director of the Poor.*

JOHN CLENDENIN, Silver Spring.

*Auditors,*

ISAAC RINGWALT, (1 yr.) Carlisle.
JACOB STEINMAN, (3 yrs.) Shippensburg.

## COUNTY MEETING.

The Democratic Republicans of Cumberland county, are requested to assemble in the Court House, in Carlisle, on MONDAY evening the 28th of August, 1854, at 7½ o'clock, for the purpose of interchanging opinions on the approaching election. A general attendance is earnestly requested. MANY.

August 24, 1854.

LARGE TOMATTO.—Mr. ROBERT ECKELS, of this place, presented us with a Tomatto a few days ago, weighing two pounds, and measured fifteen inches in circumference. Mr. E. assured us that he has a "few more of the same sort."

CROWDED OUT.—We had an article written on the subject of the Democratic ticket, and the importance of all Democrats sustaining it, which we have been obliged to omit for want of room. It shall appear in our next. In the mean time we may mention the fact, that the ticket appears to give general satisfaction in the different townships, and will be generally sustained by the democracy of the county.

ADDRESS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE.—We publish in to-day's paper the third Address of the Democratic State Central Committee, to which we invite the attention of our readers.—Like the two that have preceded it, the present Address possesses more than ordinary interest, and is a paper well worthy the attention of the people, treating, as it does, the great questions of self-government, and the right of the people to make their own State laws, and form their own Constitutions. The arguments of the Address are unanswerable. Read it, one and all!

☞ We can assure the two Whig papers of this county that Judge STUART desires none of their crocodile tears for him. He has received their vile abuse too long to believe in any professions of friendship they may now make; and he knows too, that had he received the Democratic nomination for Congress, they would have emptied their vials of wrath upon his head and denounced him in their former billingsgate slang. No—the Judge is now where he always has been, heart and hand for the Democratic party and the entire Democratic ticket. He asks no favors from his political enemies, and despises their hypocritical sympathy.

EXECUTION.—To-morrow, the 25th inst., is the day appointed for the execution, at Harrisburg, of Courtland Charles Johnson, convicted of the murder of Coyler. It is said he is perfectly resigned to his fate, and appears to have made his peace with his Maker. The execution will take place in the prison yard, between the hours of 12 and 2 o'clock, and will only be witnessed by the Sheriff, his Deputy, a Jury, Physician, Clergy, and a representative of the Press.

### Meeting of Conferees.

As the Democratic Convention in Perry county will be held one week later than was anticipated, we would suggest a change of the time of the meeting of the Congressional Conferees from the 20th inst., to Friday the 1st of September, if that time be fixed by Perry county, and it be convenient for both the Perry and York county Conferees. Bridgeport, in this county, is named as the place, it being central in the district, and accessible by rail-road from each county.

### THE WHIG TICKET.

The Whig Convention met on Tuesday last, and nominated the following ticket:

*Assembly*—Montgomery Donaldson, Westpennsborough; Geo. W. Criswell, Hampden.
*Prothonotary*—W. D. Shoop, Lower Allen.
*Clerk*—S. S. Snyder, Hopewell.
*Register*—Wm. Skiles, Carlisle.
*Commissioner*—Wm. Baughman, Ship. tp.
*Director*—Jos. H. Weibly, Carlisle, (1 yr.) W. W. Frazier, Hopewell, (3 yrs.)

The above ticket does not seem to give very general satisfaction to the Whig party, inasmuch as some of the candidates have on former occasions been trotted over the course and found to be a little *thick in the wind*, and too much dictation on the part of some of the would-be-leaders of the Whig party in and about Carlisle.

CAMP MEETING.—The Colored people of the M. E. Church will hold a Camp Meeting near New Cumberland, in this County, commencing on Friday, the 25th inst. A large turn-out of darkies from Baltimore and elsewhere is expected.

"A LITTLE MORE GRAPE, CAPT. BRAGG!"—The Whig press have spiked their guns in the North Carolina battle. The Democratic candidate, BRAGG, has a majority of over two thousand for Governor.

☞ Gen. Lane, of Oregon, has been lying ill at the President's house since the adjournment of Congress, but is now convalescent. It is said the President, on hearing of his indisposition at his boarding house, sent for him and made him a guest at the Executive Mansion during his sickness.

## HENRY S. MOTT---KNOW-NOTHINGISM.

It having been shown conclusively, that Judge POLLOCK, the opposition candidate for Governor, is a member, in good standing, of that bigoted faction, called Know-Nothings, the Whig-Know-Nothing papers of the State are attempting to draw attention from POLLOCK, by charging the Democratic candidate for Canal Commissioner, Mr. MOTT, with being a member of the same order also. Whig editors of course ought to know, for nearly every mother's son of them are Know-Nothings, and they can therefore speak with positive knowledge. But, they merely make the charge against Mr. MOTT, without producing a particle of proof to sustain the accusation. They fail to tell us when and where Mr. MOTT joined this detestable faction of mid-night conspirators and enemies to order. No, they give us no circumstances connected with his initiation into the order, but merely make the naked assertion, that "Henry S. Mott is a member of the Know-Nothings."

We cannot believe this assertion of our opponents. We have been too long accustomed to their boog-a-boo stories, to credit them now.—But, for one, we promise them—and to this promise we shall faithfully adhere—that as soon as they produce tangible and conclusive evidence that Mr. MOTT is a Know-Nothing, we shall hurl his name from the head of our columns, and oppose his election with the same zeal that we have heretofore advocated it. Prove him a Know-Nothing, and we shall have nothing to do with him except to denounce his apostacy and infamy, and we venture to say that every Democratic editor in the State will endorse the sentiments we here express. If our opponents can produce this evidence—if they can prove that HENRY S. MOTT has so far degraded himself as to join NED BUNTLINE'S miserable and abhorred sworn faction of intolerant bigots, we venture to say that his name will not be found at the head of a single Democratic paper in the Commonwealth, one week after the expose is made. Democrats are not opposing Know-Nothingism as a mere matter of expediency, but from a conviction of duty—from a conviction that the doctrines advocated by this dangerous combination are in conflict with the Constitution, and against the spirit of our free country. The very fact that NED BUNTLINE, of New York, who, it will be remembered, is now confined in the Sing-Sing prison, on the charge of bigamy, is the father and founder of Know-Nothingism, should prevent any man who has the least regard for his own character, from giving countenance to the snake-like approaches of this detestable faction. Just think of the Whigs, whose leaders have been Hamilton, Adams, Clay, Webster, Jones, &c., now following the lead of that Five-Points New York b'hoy, NED BUNTLINE, now in the iron grip of the law for the perpetration of a horrible crime! Is it not humiliating to see the disciples of Clay and Webster, thus to forget their self-respect, and to degrade themselves in the eyes of the people?—Oh, could Clay and Webster rise from their graves and witness the degradation of their former followers, how they would recoil, as from a leprosy, the contamination that now surrounds the once Whig party!

But, we are digressing, our object being when we commenced this article to merely ask our political opponents to establish the charge that Mr. MOTT is a Know-Nothing, and to promise them that if they can do this that he cannot receive the votes of Democrats for the office for which he has been nominated. The name of no one shall remain at the head of our columns for any office, whether State or county, who has so far degraded his manhood as to join the Know-Nothings.

### J. ELLIS BONHAM, Esq.

The Democracy of this Congressional district have good reason to feel proud of their candidate for Congress, Mr. BONHAM. In the event of his election, (and of this there is no doubt whatever,) he will occupy a commanding and enviable position in the councils of the nation, and give tone and character, not only to his own district, but to our entire State. Possessed of extraordinary powers as a public speaker, and backed by a thorough and complete classical education, he will be enabled to leave his mark, deep and indelible, upon the national archives. Mr. BONHAM is well known, not only to the people of this Congressional district, but his name is familiar in every portion of Pennsylvania. During the two sessions he represented, in part, this county in the State Legislature, he attracted the universal attention of the democracy of the State, by his bold, manly, dignified, and upright course on all public questions that came before that body. But, more anon—on future occasions we may refer to our candidate for Congress more at length. In the meantime we publish the following complimentary notices, taken from papers published out of this district:

In the Cumberland district the contest for Congress was between Judge STUART and Mr. BONHAM. The former is known to many Democrats in the State as a very reliable and upright gentleman, and one who would make a faithful representative. The successful candidate, J. ELLIS BONHAM, Esq., is known, generally, throughout the State, as a gentleman of a high order of intellect, and varied information. He represented Cumberland in the Legislature a few years ago, and was one of the leaders of the Democratic side of the House. He is the Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. Of his addresses we have before spoken. They have elicited the highest commendation of the Democratic press of the State.—Mr. BONHAM may be regarded as the nominee, as York and Perry have conceded the candidate to Cumberland. That he will be elected there is no doubt, and that he will honor his constituents and his State, is equally certain.—*Harrisburg Patriot.*

J. ELLIS BONHAM, Esq., of Carlisle, has been nominated for Congress in the district composed of York, Cumberland and Perry counties, now represented by Hon. William H. Kurtz. Mr. Bonham is a radical Democrat, and possesses intellectual abilities of no common order.—*Reading Gazette.*

JOHN VAN BUREN has shown more good sense since his arrival in London than his too ardent friends on this side of the water gave him credit for. He has requested the *Advertiser* of that city to contradict the report that he will attend the anti-slavery conference at Manchester, and adds, that though he freely expresses his feeling on the subject of slavery at home, he entertains no idea of taking part in the discussions on that subject elsewhere. A very praiseworthy conclusion.

☞ The Directors of the New York Crystal Palace, have authorized their President to sell the entire concern—gas fixtures, iron fence enclosing the place, and all the property of the association, delivered on and after the 1st of November next, for one-half its actual cost.—The first cost is understood to have been about $700,000.

## THE MANNER OF VOTING IN CONVENTION.

Voting by ballot in our Democratic County Conventions is not only wrong, but cowardly; and we hope to see the practice abandoned in future. The gentlemen who are candidates for office before a Convention have a right to know how the Delegates who are sent here voted.—Nor will any Delegate, if he be honest and fair, attempt to conceal his vote by the reprehensible mode of depositing his ticket in a hat. If he be an up-and-down fair and honorable man, he is ready to speak out boldly, and vote for the men of his choice when his name is called. Had we the power, we would also have the *viva voce* system of voting adopted at our general election—for, as we have said, no honest man could object to it, and it would be the means of unmasking the sneaking treachery of those who are "all things to all men." That there is deception practised in the County Conventions of both parties in this county, very frequently, is a well known fact, and it is time that the men who practise this *hocus-pocus* mode of forming a ticket should be exposed to the public gaze. We hold that a man who is dishonest in politics is tricky in every thing else, and for one we desire to expose his treachery to those he misrepresented. We have no notion that he shall enter our Conventions, and bargain and sell, and vote against the men his township elected him to support, and then go home and express surprise at what was done. We desire to unmask all traitors, and to speak of them in terms of merited condemnation.

Some men who are sent to our County Conventions as Delegates, when cornered and discovered that they voted against the voice of their township for certain officers, attempt to palliate their offence by that miserable plea of "expediency," and that they voted for such and such a man for office, not because his constituents desired him to do so, but for the purpose of reconciling that interest, and satisfying this and that man! Beautiful excuse for a man of sense to make. What right, we ask, has he to set up his opinion against the voice of his town or township? What right has he to bargain and sell, and misrepresent the sentiments of his people? Such an excuse for his treachery is as untenable as it is dishonest and contemptible. Besides it is a cowardly course, against which no man, we care not how strong he may be in the affections of the people, can guard against. A man who intends to be a candidate before a County Convention for some post of honor or profit, may have strength enough to carry nearly every ward and township in the county, and yet he may be defeated for the nomination by one who had not popularity sufficient even to carry his own township—and all this is brought about by the contemptible plea of "*expediency.*" We never did like that word "expediency," for it is made the excuse for nearly all dishonorable practices.

Now, we submit, shall this mode of voting be continued in our County Conventions in future? We sincerely hope not, and we trust the Democratic County Committee, at its first meeting, will not only order that the *viva voce* system of voting shall be practiced in all Conventions hereafter, but that the Conventions shall sit with open doors, so that their proceedings may be witnessed by all who please to be present. The delegates representing the people—or mis-representing them, if you please—have no right to lock themselves up in a room, and hide themselves from the light of day, as though they contemplated some treason against those who appointed them. They have no right, we say, to adopt any such arbitrary rule, and when they do so they usurp their own duties, and offer an insult to the people of their party. Let everything be done fair—let the Delegates in future vote out boldly, that all may hear them, and let them throw open the doors to the people. We desire no concealment, and have no sympathy with those who prefer darkness rather than light.

## FALSE RUMORS, WE HOPE.

We hear it whispered about that one or two of the candidates on the Democratic ticket are members of the Know-Nothing order. We know not how much truth there may be in these rumors, but for the purpose of putting an end to all doubts on the subject, we would suggest that all the Democratic candidates deny the accusation over their own signatures. We cannot believe that any man who aspired to a nomination by the Democratic party, could ever have been guilty of so imprudent an act as to join a bigoted faction, the whole object of which is to break down the Democratic party. And if any one of the gentlemen on the Democratic ticket has committed this error, he must take the responsibility on his own shoulders, for the Democratic party can have no sympathy for him or with him. The times and the crisis demand bold words and deeds, and for one we fearlessly declare that we will support no man for office who belongs to or sympathises with Know-Nothingism, nor shall his name remain at the head of our columns one hour after we discover him.

FARMER'S HIGH SCHOOL.—A preliminary meeting of the board of trustees, in accordance with the provisions of the act to incorporate "The Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania," was lately held, but not much business transacted. A committee was appointed to procure further legislation and to issue an address. Another committee was appointed to solicit subscriptions for the purchase of a farm. Judge Watts is chairman of both committees.

THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.—The receipts the Pennsylvania Railroad for the month ending July 30th, exhibit the most gratifying results. For the month ending on the 30th, the receipts were $209,299.87, against $157,244.90 for the same month in 1853, thus showing a gain of $52,054.96 in favor of the past month. The increase in the receipts of the year 1854 over those of 1853 is also most encouraging.—The figures stand thus: For the year 1853, $1,603,376.53; for the year 1854, $2,125,348.56. The excess of 1854 over the preceding year 1853, is $506,970.99. These facts speak well for the management of the road, and also exhibit the vast increase of trade and travel on this State thoroughfare.

WHO MAY BE A KNOW-NOTHING?—The following extract from article 2 of their constitution, answers this question:

"No person shall be proposed a member of this order unless he be a white male, of good moral character, of the age of twenty-one years, a believer in the Supreme Being, *and born within the limits of the United States of America.*"

"The *parents and at least one of the grand parents* of all candidates must have been born within the United States."

## PHILADELPHIA MARKET COMPARED WITH OUR OWN.

Until recently it was considered, true economy to live "in the country" in preference to the city, because of the high prices of all kinds of marketing in the latter. But of late years the reverse is the case, nearly every article in our market commanding a higher price than is asked or received in Philadelphia. The fact is there is not a town in this section of country, where all kinds of marketing command as exorbitant prices as our own. The people of Carlisle are fairly robbed of late, and it requires a man to be doing a good business to be able to purchase the necessaries of life. Not only have we to pay higher for two-thirds of our marketing than is paid in the city, but everything is of inferior quality, such as would not sell in Philadelphia at any price. If this imposition is to be continued, we think our citizens would do well to charter a car, and hire a trusty man to do their marketing for them either in Philadelphia or Baltimore. For one, we are tired of submitting longer to this robbery and imposition. Below we give a list of prices of *good* articles offered for sale in the Philadelphia market, compared with the prices of *bad* articles sold in the Carlisle market:

| *Philadelphia Market.* | | *Carlisle Market.* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Roast Beef & Steaks, per lb. | 12½ | Roast Beef & Steaks per lb. | 12½ |
| Corned Beef, per lb. | 8 | Corned Beef | 10 |
| Mutton & Lamb, per lb. | 8 | Mutton & Lamb per lb. | 10 |
| Ham, per lb. | 12½ | Ham | 14 |
| Potatoes, per bu. | 50 | Potatoes | 100 |
| Sweet do. per bu. | 100 | Sweet do. per bu. | 200 |
| Beets, per bunch | 3 | Beets, per bunch | 6 |
| Cantelopes, per bu. | 25 | Cantelopes, pr bu. | 200 |
| Corn, per doz. | 10 | Corn, per doz. | 14 |
| Apples, per bu. | 75 | Apples, per bu. | 100 |
| Watermelons, each | 8 | Watermelons, each | 20 |
| Butter, per lb. | 31 | Butter, per lb. | 20 |
| Eggs, per doz. | 18¾ | Eggs, per doz. | 12½ |
| Tomatoes, per half peck | 6¼ | Tomatoes, per half peck | 15 |
| Cabbage, per head | 4 | Cabbage, per head, | 10 |

### Those who are not For us are Against us.

In many instances how true is this! It is the touch-stone by which the friends and the opponents of the Democratic party may be tried. Whenever you find a man who is not willing to acknowledge he is a Democrat, put him down as an opponent, says the *Western Star.* It is preposterous for any one to suppose that he can be a Whig, or, if you please, a Know-Nothing, and a Democrat at the same time. The principles entertained by each are directly at variance. It is as impossible for these parties to affiliate, as it is for oil and water to unite without the introduction of a third ingredient. The principles of each are as opposite as the North is to the South pole. Know-Nothingism seeks to cripple and palsy our institutions, while Democracy is ever pointing to their preservation. During the long series of years which the Democratic party has been administering the affairs of government, she has never resorted to a secret organization, for the purpose of being sustained, but has stood the test of time without exhibiting the least symptom of decay. Her pure, republican principles stand every assault of the enemy, without the aid of new-fangled notions to which they cling with tenacity; and which, were they permitted to be in the ascendent, would sap the very foundation of our government.

The Know-Nothings have in view the destruction of the Democratic party, and seek to make inroads by appealing to the passions, and the most ungenerous and unfounded prejudices. Why need any man desire to be connected with a greater political organization than the *National Democratic Party?* She it is that *must* preserve the existence of our government.—Whenever traitors belch forth their treasonable anathemas, there will be found members of our party ready to defend the Union of the States, and meet out a portion that will prove as bitter as gall—that will sting them as with the poisonous fangs of an adder. Does any man, and particularly any Democrat, wish to be connected with a greater party, than that which the illustrious Jefferson, Jackson and Polk fought for? Whoever becomes connected with the Know Nothings throws away his freedom—that sacred boon which should be treasured above every thing else.

☞ A shocking affair occurred in Carter county, Tenn., a few days ago. It appears a man named Nelson, a member of an influential family, was charged with outraging, in his store, the person of a girl named Hamilton. The father of the girl soon after threatened to shoot him, and on his hearing of the threat, it is said, he walked into the street, called Hamilton out, and deliberately shot him down in the presence of his wife and several citizens. Hamilton was alive at last accounts, but it was thought was mortally wounded. Nelson was arrested, and two revolvers, two horse pistols and a bowie knife found on his person.

NEBRASKA.—The editor of the Council Bluffs (Iowa) *Bugle* has recently made a three days' trip into Nebraska. He says he saw one elk, thirty-seven turkeys, thirteen deer, three wolves, and wild ducks a plenty; found a plenty of the finest raspberries and strawberries he has ever seen, and caught some fish. He speaks of a new town called Omaha, at which a weekly democratic paper is soon to be issued. The streets are all laid out one hundred feet wide, and alleys through each block twenty feet wide; a large square of nearly ten acres upon a central and commanding eminences, is laid out for capital square. The lots contain about a fourth of an acre each, and farther out they are five and ten acres. There are five or six houses, mostly frame, already erected, and many more in progress. There is to be a commodious and elegant brick house erected immediately for the convenience of the territorial legislature.

THINGS FORGOTTEN BY KNOW-NOTHINGISM.—When King George of England, during the Revolution war, demanded forty thousand men of Ireland to send to America, the Irish Parliament peremptorily refused to vote men or money. Although the Know Nothings may forget this, Franklin said *America* would not; nor will she.

When Catholic Carroll, of Carrollton, signed his name to the Declaration of Independence, John Adams said it was worth 'half a million.' Know Nothingism considers it a reproach to associate, in 1854, with Catholics in the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the right to worship God according to the dictates of conscience; but it forgets that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Hancock, and Henry considered it no reproach to consult with Catholics about the liberties of the colonies and of the world.

The Whig victory in North Carolina grows beautifully less.

## ADDRESS

### OF THE STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE---NO. 3.

*TO THE PEOPLE OF PENNSYLVANIA:*

FELLOW-CITIZENS—The manner of organizing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, you will agree with us, is not necessarily an issue in this contest—it is not a subject connected with the duties of a State Executive. It is scarcely possible that the election of a Governor, whoever may succeed, is to have any practical bearing upon the future policy of those territories—and surely no man will be so unreasonable as to hold the Governor of Pennsylvania accountable in any official sense for what Congress has already done on this subject. It is a subject with which that officer has had, and can have, officially, nothing whatever to do. As a member of the Democratic party it must be presumed that he takes an interest in public affairs, and has not been an inattentive observer that there has existed a diversity of opinion in relation to certain features of this measure.

Since the origin of our government, with occasional intervals, the question of slavery in some of its phases, has been a subject of violent and at times dangerous controversy in Congress, menacing the peace of the people and the existence of the national confederacy. Its adjustment within the territories has led to the most threatning struggles. These were invariably renewed by every new acquisition of territory. In 1820, the act of Congress fixing the Missouri line was adopted interdicting the extension of slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., as a means of settling the controversy growing out of the acquisition of Louisiana from France in 1803. In 1845 this line was extended over Texas, which had just been annexed to the United States and seemed to answer the purpose of an adjustment. In 1848, however, when it was proposed to extend this parallel of 36 deg. 30 min. from the Rio del Norte to the Pacific, it was defeated in the House of Representatives, after having passed the Senate by a majority of ten votes. The agitation in the country soon became general, and by 1850 it had assumed an alarming aspect. The good and great men of all parties, forgetting former differences and constrained by a noble spirit of patriotism, united in a common effort to allay the mighty surging of an excited public sentiment. Foremost in this great work was the eloquent and patriotic Clay, sustained by Cass, Webster, King and others. A series of acts were passed, familiarly known as the Compromise Measures, which were acceptable to the people and were ardently maintained.

One of these acts organized the territories of New Mexico and Utah, on the principles of non-intervention—on the plan of allowing the people to decide for themselves whether they would have the institution of slavery or not. The whole country seemed satisfied with the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress, in the regulation of the domestic institutions of the territories, including that of slavery. Without stopping to inquire into the constitutional power of Congress to legislate on the subject or to what extent that power might be exercised, the people regarded it as wise and politic to remove this topic of angry and dangerous controversy out of Congress, and confide it to those who may occupy the territories. We may however remark that the question of authority in the passage of the Ordinance of 1787 under the old Confederation, is a very different one from the passage of the Missouri Compromise or any slavery restriction whatever, under our present Constitution. Under the Confederation the institution of slavery was not recognized—under the Constitution it is, in three several particulars:

1st. In fixing the basis of representation and direct taxation.

2d. In tolerating the foreign slave trade until 1808.

3d. In providing for the rendition of fugitives from labor.

If it even be clear that Congress is possessed of ample power to legislate on the subject (and this is stoutly denied by Gen. Cass and other eminent men of the country) it was proper to forego its exercise. The resort to this mode of adjustment in 1850, seemed most auspicious for the honor, the dignity, and peace of the States—for the happiness and prosperity of the people, and above all, for the stability of our National Union.

And is not this policy right and just in itself according to all our theories of government?—Indeed we should never allow ourselves to fear the consequences of trusting any question of politics or morals with the people, whether they be residents of a State or territory. This mode of adjustment rests on great principles, which in their application will be co-extensive with all the territory we now have or ever can have, and which are as enduring as the race of man. It is a principle in beautiful harmony with our republican institutions—the principle of self-government—the basis of our entire system. It was for this doctrine that our forefathers peril-ed their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor in the Declaration of Independence—that they struggled and bled, and left their bones to bleach on the battle fields of the Revolution:—It was for this principle of self-government that they invoked the interposition of heaven and accepted the proferred aid of the generous stranger. For seven long years did they labor to impress upon Lord North and George III, the virtue and power of this great fundamental truth in the science of government. The attempt of that monarch "to bind the Colonies in all things whatsoever," and to impose taxes without representation, gave this principle growth and vigor, and cost him armies and an empire. Since that day to the present time it has been gaining strength in all civilized countries. American experience has fully solved and settled the problem of man's ability for self-government.—Where can be found the instance in which governmental affairs have been submitted to, or intrusted with the people, that the results have not been salutary? Who will then at this day doubt the fitness of the American people to dispose of any question of governmental policy found within the limits of the Constitution?—Who will contend for the absurd idea, that a man loses his capacity for self-government by emigrating from a State to a territory? Who will say that a man residing in Massachusetts should, through his representatives in Congress, be permitted to adopt and regulate institutions of local government for his fellow man in Utah, New Mexico, Minnesota, Nebraska or Kansas? Will our Whig or Abolition friends agree that when they shall have emigrated to any of these territories, their Democratic fellow citizens whom they leave behind, shall decide for them what kind of local institutions they shall have?—that their judgment and not that of the emigrants themselves shall control as to the institution of Slavery? Or who will contend that the people will be careless of their own true interests?—that their government will be feeble or injudicious? Whoever says these things doubts all the principles of our republican institutions, and disregards the lessons of experience and the teachings of the sages of the revolution.

We have already intimated, that we will not discuss the abstract and somewhat difficult questions of Congressional power, which have grown out of the slavery controversy in the Halls of the National Legislature. We care not to decide, where so many eminent men have differed, whether Congress has the power to establish or abolish the institution in the territories. Be that as it may, we assert that it was wise in 1850, as in 1854, to refer the whole question to the soverign will of the people, to be settled through the action of the local governments, as all other questions of domestic policy are settled. The rights of property, the relations between husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, are so confided, and we can conceive none more sacred and important in the social state; and we see no good reason why the question of domestic slavery, the relation of master and servant, should alone be withheld from the action of the people.

It must not be forgotten, that we have not the creation of circumstance for ourselves, but that we must deal with existing facts. The same difficulty occurred in the early history of the country. We had the institution of slavery entailed upon us, and the only matter of enquiry has long been, how it was to be managed to the greatest advantage of both the white and black races. The latter number several millions, and we are forced to the dilemma of retaining a large portion of them in bondage, or make them our companions and equals, and permit them to share the honors of the State and intermarry with our daughters and friends. In the forcible language of Mr. Jefferson, "we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him nor safely let him go."

And yet much has been done in a legal and constitutional way for the amelioration of this unfortunate race of people. The men of the revolution had to deal with the institution of slavery as they found it, and they so acted in the formation of the government. When these States were colonies of Great Britain every one was a slave-holding province. At the time the Constitution was framed, twelve out of the thirteen were slave-holding States. Six of the original thirteen have now become free, not by abolition agitation in Congress, but by the action of the people of the several States in their sovereign capacity at home.

This leaving the question to the people was first adopted by Congress in 1850, and was intended to be general in its application to all territories thereafter to be organized—that it was to be a finality as to the principle to be invoked, but not a finality as to its application—for that would imply that no more territories were to be organized. This position is sustained by the fact, that in forming the boundaries of Utah and New Mexico, no respect seems to have been paid to the act of 1820, fixing what is termed the Missouri line, nor the act of 1845 extending that line to the Rio Del Norte. The larger portion of territory included in these acts of organization was taken from the Mexican acquisition, but they include also a portion of the Texas territory north of 36 deg. 30 min., and a part of the Louisiana purchase, which was covered by that line. This territory was taken from under the act of 1820, interdicting slavery north of 36 deg. 30 min., and subjected to the action of the principles of the Compromise of 1850, that the territory thus embraced should be admitted into the Union as States with or without slavery as the people thereof might determine. These facts are claimed as a precedent for the act organizing Nebraska and Kansas. It is for these reasons, and in this sense also, claimed that the principles of non-intervention as adopted in 1850 should be regarded as a finality.

As Pennsylvanians we are not the advocates of the extension of slavery, and we deny that the principles of the Nebraska and Kansas bill produce that effect. It merely leaves it to the people to determine this question for themselves. But the soil, climate and productions of that region are not adapted to slave labor. It is our firm belief that slavery will not enter those territories. Those who are sensitive on this point should not close their eyes to the evidence that surrounds them. The indications are all opposed to its extension to that country. Such is the belief of the ablest men in the nation, those who advocated and voted for the Nebraska and Kansas bill, as well as those who voted against it.

Mr. Douglas said:

"I do not believe there is a man in Congress who thinks it would be permanently a slave-holding country; I have no idea that it could."

Mr. Badger said:

"I have no more idea of seeing a slave population in either of them (Nebraska or Kansas) than I have of seeing it in Massachusetts."

Mr. Edward Everett said:

"I am quite sure everybody admits that this is not to be a slave holding region."

Mr. Hunter said:

"Does any man believe that you will have a slave holding State in Kansas or Nebraska? I confess that for a moment, I permitted such an illusion to rest upon my mind."

Mr. Bell said, that as respects the South, "it was a contest for a mere abstraction."

Mr. Benton said in his first speech against the bill:

"The question of slavery in these territories, if thrown open to territorial action, will be a question of numbers—a question of the majority for or against slavery: and what chance would the slaveholders have in such a contest? No chance at all. The slave emigrants will be out numbered and compelled to play at a most unequal game, not only in point of numbers, but also in point of States."

In his second speech, Mr. Benton again said:

"I believe in the futility of this bill—its absolute futility in the slaveholding States, and that not a single slave will ever be held in Kansas or Nebraska under it, even admitting it to be passed."

Gen. Houston said:

"There was no more probability of slavery being introduced into these territories than into Illinois."

Even Mr. Seward, who is astute on this subject, thus expressed himself:

"I feel quite sure that slavery at most can get nothing more than Kansas; while Nebraska the wilder region will escape, for the reason that its soil and climate are uncongenial with the staples of slave culture—rice, sugar, cotton and tobacco. Moreover, since the public attention has been so well and so effectually directed towards the subject, I cherish a hope that slavery will not be able to gain a foothold even in Kansas."

But to render assurance double sure, we have even a stronger opinion from Judge Pollock himself, the Whig candidate for Governor, who says in a letter dated June 19th, 1854: 'Slavery can have no legal existence in those territories, either by act of Congress, or under the false pretence of popular sovereignty.'

It may in fact be safely said that of all the acquisitions of territory from Mexico, there will not be a slave state added to the Union, and that the territory embraced in the Louisiana purchase not already admitted, will come in as free States.

It should also be borne in mind, that any territory that the United States may hereafter acquire must be South of 36d. 30m., and that this principle of popular sovereignty may drive the institution farther south than any positive act of Congres could do. Nor should it be forgotten that the interdiction of slavery north of 36d. 30m. is a virtual dedication of the territory south of that line for slave purposes. This has been the moral influence of such legislation, and it would no doubt continue to have that effect. It would in all probability have been a happy event for the country, had this doctrine of popular sovereignty in the territories been adopted in 1820. We should most likely have had a larger proportion of free states than we now have.

The Missouri line was never a favorite measure with the old Democratic statesmen. It suited a temporary purpose, and quieted agitation for a time, but it was manifestly wrong in principle, and legislation of a dangerous character, calculated to divide the country into geographical sections, and create dissensions and divisions among the States and the people.

Thomas Jefferson once said:

"This Missouri question, by a geographical line of division is the most portentous one that I have ever contemplated."

In 1820 he wrote to John Holmes:

"A geographical line coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated."

James Madison said:

"I must own that I have always leaned to the belief that the restriction was not within the true scope of the Constitution."

James Monroe said:

"The proposed restriction as to the territories which are to admitted into the Union, if not in direct violation of the Constitution, is repugnant to its principles."

We might swell the list of authorities on this same point, from eminent American statesmen, living and dead.

It is difficult to force from the mind the belief that this whole subject of slavery in the territories is greatly magnified. The right of a sovereign State to control this subject, is not disputed even by abolitionists. The right to establish or abolish the institution is admitted. The only effect that the legislation of Congress can possibly have must be confined to the territorial probation of a State, during which time it can exercise but a limited influence upon the social or political affairs of the country. When once admitted into the Union with slavery, a State can abolish it—or admitted without it, she can establish it. Should the people north of 36d 30m in Nebraska become numerous enough to be admitted as a free State, they could afterwards establish the institution, even if the Missouri line or the act of 1820 had not been disturbed. Suppose, for example, that any of the States covered by the ordinance of 1787, were at this time to establish slavery, where would be the remedy? There would be none. If the people of a territory should desire to have the institution, but perceiving that Congress might object to their admission into the Union, they could forbear to establish it until after their admission, and then do as they might deem best. Hence the wisdom of allowing that power to control in the beginning, that will most certainly control in the end, or at a subsequent period.

It is not to be denied that there is a most violent and unwarrantable spirit evoked by this slavery conflict, that should be discountenanced by the good men of all parties. It is one of the enigmas of human nature, that it can become so unreasonable in some of its manifestations. Our Anti-Nebraska friends should take care lest the mania of a wild and ungovernable fanaticism should possess them as it has already possessed many others. The inflammatory, and treasonable proceedings of an abolition convention in the City of New York, not long since, calls for the earnest condemnation of every lover of our national Union.

Wendell Philips said:—

"The Union sentiment is the great vortex which swallows up the great minds, and they have power enough for the time being to influence the people. The only remedy for the slave is the destruction of the government. I challenge any man to tell me what the Union has done for us."

Wm. Loyd Garrison proposed the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the one grand vital issue to be made with the slave power, is the dissolution of the existing American Union."

Henry C. Wright spoke to the resolution and said:

"I like that resolution very much. This country denies God, or if it believes in God, I do not. The Christian God is the most accursed of demons. No man's rights can be ascertained by reference to a Bible, a law, or a Constitution. I dont care that (snapping his fingers) for any such book or Constitution, when the question of liberty or slavery is to be considered. The only thing of importance is that the mass of the people venerate the Constitution. We should endeavor to do away with this. I thank God that I am a traitor to that Constitution. I thank God also that I am an infidel to the popular religion of this country and of all Christendom."

The Hon. Edmund Quincy said that: "The Constitution displayed the ingenuity of the very devil, and that the Union ought to be dissolved."

This was during the pendency of the Nebraska and Kansas bill before Congress. At the same time the leading Abolition journals were loud in their denunciations of the bill itself, and treasonable in their opposition to the action of the government. Horace Greeley, through the New York Tribune, said in reference to the contemplated passage of the bill:

"Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the National Councils—better that Congress should break up in wild disorder, nay, better that the capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury all its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins, than that this perfidy and wrong be finally accomplished."

There were many treasonable exhibitions also, by the same class of men, during the recent Anniversary of American Independence. At some places the bells were tolled, as if mourning for some great National calamity. At Farmingham, Massachusetts, treasonable speeches were delivered, after which Garrison, above named, burned the Constitution of the United States and the Fugitive Slave Law, amid the applause of men of as little patriotism as Benedict Arnold or himself.

Such are the incendiary and inflammatory sentiments with which despicable fanatics are endeavoring to indoctrinate the minds of the Northern people. Such sentiments are the fit precursors of the recent riots and murder in Boston, trampling the Constitution and Laws under the foot of violence.

Let us therefore, fellow citizens, discard the doctrines of the Abolitionists and anti-slavery agitators, and look upon the opinions which they have promulgated and are now promulgating, as the false lights thrown out by the ancient Federalists, during the Missouri controversy, to mystify the people and regain lost power.

We have great confidence in the doctrine of popular sovereignty, and in the justice and wisdom of the people. They have saved the country in many important crises in our affairs. It was the people that settled the government upon the republican platform after the Federalists of 1798 were driven from power. It was the people who sustained Jackson against the mammoth bank. It was the mass of the people who have always upheld the country in time of war. It is to the people that we must look for protection against the miserable treason and despicable wiles of the enemies of the republic. The people of Pennsylvania will be true to their constitutional obligations, and their triumph in 1851 and 1852, are evidences that they are not only willing to be so, but also that they have the power to be so. The day of wild fanaticism and stolid bigotry on the question of slavery has passed by in this State, and her Democracy and her people generally have planted themselves upon the principles of the Compromise of 1850, and there they will continue to stand, whether victory or defeat awaits them. They are willing to see the citizens of the territories determine in their primary assemblages, the question of domestic slavery for themselves, without the control or dictation of the Central Government, which may by a usurpation of power pretend to define the lines of freedom and slavery by degrees of latitude and longitude, or by geographical boundaries. The Democracy of Pennsylvania guarding the destinies of the great central Commonwealth of this Union, will adhere faithfully to the principles of the Constitution, the sovereignty of the States and of the people, and the stability and repose of the nation. The people of Pennsylvania are unselfish and unambitious, but they are just—they are modest and unpretending, and slow at arriving at conclusions, but they are powerful for good. The people of Pennsylvania are patriotic by instinct, and will crush to atoms all the feeble barriers, to a healthy flow of public sentiment. Pennsylvania has always been a pat