

And break poor Rocky Fremont's back, That's so, too. John C. F. did a travel take, That's so, that's so, And he discovered Great Salt Lake, That's so, too. But the next election he'll "diskieer,"

That's so, that's so.

That's so, that's so, Another stream-the great Salt River, That's so, too.

Friend Millard marle a foreign tour, That's so, that's so. 'Ere he was nominated sure,-That's so, too. I have no doubt he felt quite tickled, That's so, that's so, But next November he'll be pickled,

That's so, too. Friends Democratic, then, all rally, That's so, that's so, We'll at the work no longer dally. That's so, too. I'll give a toast before I'm dong, That's so, that's so,

"A health to Pennsy's Favorite Son?" That's so, too.

FLOGGING WHITE MEN.

12-27 Win. L. Dayten, the Black Republican candidate for Vice President, whilst a meniwas before that body, VOTED FOR FLOGG-

here is no reason to believe that the public mind, will not use the intermediate time in almly considering the great issue before it. We are perfectly willing that whatever we nimity and fairness to the weaker sectiondates.

posals to enact a Bankrupt law-no word of opposition to the Independent Treasury. All these questions are settled agreeably to the remocratic opinions upon them. The rise, the prosperity, and the fall of the great Whig party, are themes for the historian, and full non them now. It is the present duty of the Democratic party to stand over the Constitution, and "shield and save it, or perish there, too." It is our

task in the campaign to heat its enemies, sep-arate of combined, just as they choose to meet ceded. us, to conquer them with an overthrow which will be a warning to them for many a year .---And it must be done, or else this Union is not. sate for a day.

We know very well how easy it is to sneer at any suggestion of danger to the Union. But we know also that the federal relations of the people, nor qualified in any way to be our this Government are so delicately constructed, equals. This race was then held in slavery, 10 of the United States Senate, when the that they may be ruptured at any time by a or involuntary servitude, by the laws of all Magistrate. The States of the Union are not mumbers were few, and the climate unsuited with reference to the new States. held together by physical force like the deun ted by the gentler law of mutual attraction. was by agreeing that each State should deter-This law, operating on their own free will, discipline, his brave countrymen, who amidst | made the Union ; and when it ceases to operate the Union will be unmade. Let a Presi- | agreed that the Federal Government should dent of the United States be elected exclusivey by the votes of one section, and on a priniple of avowed hostility to the men, the either directly or indirectly. And all the measures, the domestic institutions, the feelings, and the interests, real or supposed, of he other section, and what must be the consequence? We do not say that it would certannly or necessarily dissolve the Union. Perhaps the good genius of the Republic, which has brought us through many perils, might save us again. But that man inust be intellectually blind who does not see that it would put us in fearful danger. For this reason the election of a sectional candidate must be egarded as in itself a great public misfortune. The party that avows opposition and hatred owards a certain class of the States as its notive and rule of action, is entitled to no aid ar comfort from any who loves his country, or desires to be faithful to its government. -The greatest, the wisest and the best-men this country ever produced, have warned us that the Union could not last under the concrowd in the evening. Judge Morton, of New | trol of a geographical party. Need we refer you to Washington's Farewell Address? Need we remind you of the admonitions which Jefferson and Jackson have given? If the olemn voices which come from the tomb at Mount Vernon, from the sepulchre at Monticello, and from the grave at the Hermitage, have ceased to be regarded, then we are lost The most illustrious statesmen of later times felt the same fears for the Union, and assigned, for those fears, the same reason. Clay and Webster, and their great compatriots, overbut had received no reply. He again called looked all other considerations in the efforts upon him publicly, and in such terms that they made to avert this one portentous calamity. Even Mr. Fillmore, the Know Nothing but Anti-Abolition) candidate, has not hesitated to say that the Union cannot stand in case an Abolition President, like Fremont, be chosen; and he lets it be very plainly understood that, in such a case, he would think a dissolution of it perfectly justifiable. When con-consider these things in connection with the fact that the ultra-Abolitionists, most of whom are acting with the so-called Republican earty, openly profess their desire to break up he Union and to trample on the Constitution, how call you doubt that Fremont's election, a even the casting of a considerable voto for him, would prove to be a fatal mistake? Yet we are no alarmists. We trust confileatly in the perpetuity of our present Govannient. But that confidence is based in the condiction that the people will take the advice d Washington, and frown indignantly on the f.e.h dawnings to evade it. The safety of this Union must depend on the triumph of better principles than those of Gid logs and Summer, and Garrison, and Hale, and Seward; and upon the election a a better President than John C. Fremont. These men attempt to justify the miserable usade which they are preaching against a ortion of their fellow citizens, by asserting that the South have encroached on the rightof the North, They have pertinaciously declared that in all controversies on the subject of Slavery we of the North have been overproper places, but no truly religious man come by the superior energy and boidness of wishes to see the pulpit turned into a political (trose who favor that institution. "The Slaverostrum, or to hear a political harangue when | occary,] "the lash of the Slave drivers," "the aggressions of the Slave power,"-these are the phrases with which they describe the inlugnes of the South in our National Councils. Northern men who do not join them in their claimozous aberse of the South, are charged 1-2" The persons who pretend to be so fear- with cowardi. e and habitually called "Doughful that Kansas will be a slave state, uphold faces." This has been repeated so continualthe Topega Constitution, which periodits a ly and so impadently that many persons have population as it pleases, and is protected in

ronounce it a libel on both sections of the we are well aware that any attempt to mis-lead you would injure our cause. It is yet nearly three months before the election, and by gross icnorrance or childish credulity. by gross ignorance or childish credulity. The fact that the Democratic party in the North have behaved with honorable magna-

may say, which is not justified by fact and their brethren in the South-this is our crime reason, shall be set down as so much against | -- this is the wrong which we and our fathers us, against our party, and against our candi- have been heaping on our own heads for three quarters of a century. This is the offence which the Abolitionits would punish by bring-The time has passed for the discussion of which the Abolitionits would punish by bring-Bauk and Tariff questions. We hear no proby covering our whole country with shame and ruin.

Before the formation of the Constitution it was feared that the interests, opinions and feelings of the different States, wer so various and so much opposed, that no general gova instructive lessons ; but we will not dwell crument could possibly be established. Such was the view of the subject taken by Washington himself. But the effort was made. It owes its success simply to the fact that the right of each State to manage its own domestic concerns, in its own way, was fully con-

It was easily foreseen that great difference f quinion and feeling would exist between the people of the several States, in regard to the treatment that ought to be bestowed on the black race, who were among us, but not of us -who were on our soil, and yet not a part of

The Northern States, in the exercise of unequivocal mandate, and had been admitted legislate slavery into any State or Territory,

their undoubted constitutional right, consult- by every President and every Congress nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the ed what they deemed their own true interest, from the foundation of the Government, ud one after the other, in their own time and to be an imperative constitutional oblitheir own way, abolished slavery. Against gation. For this, the same infamous as-these proceedings in the North the South ut- saults were again made on the eminent men

utterly impossible, without the greatest danmand, again, where was the aggression? ger, not to their prosperity only but to their very existence. This was an opinion to which they had as good a right as the North had to the opposite one. But they were not suffered

to enjoy and to act upon it in quietness and peace. At the very first Congress after the government was organized, a petition from the North was presented, praying for the abolition of slavery by Congress. Treacherous attempts to deprive the South of her undoubted rights to manage her own affairs, have been constantly made. The framers of constantly and cruelly assailed by Northern Abolitionists, who knew very well that they

had no business whatever with the matter. A majority of the old States made the negroes free without opposition from abroad.-

That it was wise for the North to do so all are agreed; that it was just and proper in the South to make no complaint is equally true.

the true intent and meaning of this act nor to people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

and opinions of the Southern States were whol-ly averse to abolition. They believed it to be utterly impossible, without the greatest dan-its execution was wholly were wholly were wholly were and resisted. crats and Americans-all men who love the It is on these facts we base the assertion, Union-listen to the language of the patriot that in every contest where the rights of the Clay, in his celebrated report introducing the North have been entrusted to Democratic pro- Compromise bills: "It is high time that the tection, they have been guarded faithfully and wounds which it [The Wilmot Provise] has well. We have not resisted any just claim [inflicted should be healed up and closed] and which the South ever made; we have meant | that to avoid, in all future time, the agitations to treat them fairly, and to earry out in good which must be produced by the conflict of faith the obligations imposed on us by the opinion on the slavery question-existing, as Constitution. But if there has been any in-stance in which the South has got more than and prohibited, as it is, in others the true its due, the history of the transaction has es- principle which ought to regulate the action the Constitution declared in its preamble, that caped our notice. On the contrary, we submit of Congress in forming territorial governments one of their great objects in adopting it was to you, follow-eitizens, whether the South for each newly acquired domain, is to refrain "to insure domestic tranquility." But the has not got the scantiest measure of justice from all legislation on the subject in the ter-"domestic tranquility" of the South has been that could possibly be dealt out to her. Has ritory acquired, so long as it retains the terri-constantly and cruelly assailed by Northern not the North had all the preponderance? torial form of government-leaving it to the Has not our section had the advantage of all people of such Territory, when they have atthe important concessions that were ever tained to a condition which entitles them to

admission as a State, to decide for themselves The States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michi- the question of the allowance or prohibition gan and Wisconsin, were slave territory.... of domestic slavery."-(See Congressional They were presented to us by Virginia as a gracious gift, and we excluded slavery. The Certainly no man of ordinary foresight Now let us see whether the South has gained State of Iowa, the Territories of Minnesota could have believed that honest men in the question of abolisting flogging in the navy serious error of the people in choosing a Chief the States exceptione. But in the North their any advantages or committed any aggressions and Nebraska, were slave territory under the North, after contending for this doctrine law of Louisiana. We took them because we five or six years ago, would turn around were strong, and we made them Free.Sc und ropudiate it now. But these hy Slavery once covered the whole Union. Its cal pretenders complain of the repeat of the representatives in the National Government law known as the Missouri Compromise, by are now in a minority. Could any thing but which Congress legislated slavery out of the grossest malico, the most stupid folly, or territory north of 80" deg. 80 mini, and perthe most unmitigated knavery, have suggested mitted it to exist in all tertitory sputh of that the idea that slavery was encroseding upon us line : and you in the platform which they have made for their candidates and party, they solennly resolve, "that we deny the authority of and east of the Mississippi, belonged to the count the many unjustifiable injuries which Congress, of a Territorial Legislature," of any State of Virginia. She owned the land, and the Abolitionists have perpetrated and at-individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Terriacre. What did she do? She magnanimous- South, upon those in the North who do not fory of the United States, while the present ly gave up not only her political jurisdiction, unite with them, and upon all the institutions Constitution shall be maintained." [Res. 2d; Republican Platform, 1856.] Thus the very Compromise, which the Aboto settle its destiny, and all its proceeds to go which could give them an excuse for pouring litionists at one moment pretend should not into the general coffers. Connecticut had a out their venomous slanders upon the fatherse have been repealed, because, as they allege, it was a binding law and compact, they in the next solemnly resolve was no law-no compact ; nay, more, that it was beyond the powher. But her claim to the Western Reserve, sons whose gross ignorance of America was er of Congress, or of any human power, to was conceded to her-she kept it, sold it, and the only excuse for their insane hostility to make such a law, while the Constitution shall our Union. They sent over to this country one last ! But we pass from this to mother topic. Some disorders have occurred in the contest of oninion which has been going on in Kansas for two or three years, between the pro-slavery nich and the Abolitionists. . Whatever they amounted to, it is lit that those who committed these disorders should take the responsibility and bear the consequences. But no one can fail to see that abolitionism has exaggerated and perverted every incident connected with them in the way which in their opinion was best enlculated to create prejudice and hatred against the South. Their own share in pro-roking these quarrels they have tried all they could to conceal. Instead of proposing some mode of settling the disputes in Kansas amieably and pencefully, they have artfully funned the flaine, and shown by their whole conduct that they would willingly spread civil war from Kansas all over the Union Even an assault and battery committed at Washington city has been used as a means of his party. Think, fellow-citizens, of the situation in stirring up the bitter waters of sectional strife. When riots have been raised in the North to prevent the execution of the fugitive slave law, a law approved by Washington, voted for by Clay and Webster, and signed by President Fillmore, and murders committed for the same purpose like those at Carlisle and Chris-tiana, these same abolitionists clapped their hands in exultation, and cried well done !-When the South complained that her best citizens had been thus slaughtered for no offence but demanding their lawful rights, the Abolitionists answered with insult and ribald ry. But now, when a northern Senator is coned by the Representative of a slave-holding State, the whole abolition party is thrown into a wild commotion of excitement. We do not justify or excuse Mr. Brooks, but we think that those men who had no sympathy for Kennedy and Gorsuch might as well be quiet about Summer. In conclusion, we will briefly refer to .one important fact, which ought to consign the leaders of the so-called Republican party to their political graves. You are all aware that the Senate of the United States is largely Democratic. That body, some time ago, passed a bill for the paeification of Kansas, so just and so equitable that no fair objection can be made against it. It provides for the admission of Kansas as a State, with such a Constitution as the people themselves shall choose to have; and that the vote upon it may be taken fairly, the most stringent regulations are made to prevent any man from putting in a ballot who is not a resident. It provides that any one who has left the Territory on account of the previous troubles, may return and voto as if he had not gone away. It abrogates all the laws passed by the Territorial Legislature complained of by in return for yielding to a Southern State a us. Many of the adhering Know Nothings the Abolitionists .- No man can deny (and so

ING WHITE MEN! This intensely Africat over the pretended wrongs of the negro, was willing that, for every trivial breach of naval the storm of battles have carried the flag of our country in triumplrupon every sea, should be stripped naked, tied up to the must, and their quivering flesh cut with the mercyl 'ss cat o' ninetuils! This man is now before the people, soliciting their votes on the score of his love for the Negroes!

The Northern Democracy.

The gallant Democracy of Susquehauna county had an immense mass meeting at Montrose on Monday week. It was the first formal assemblage since the opening of the campaign in Wilmot's district. Five thousand Democrats were on the ground, and the utmost enthusiasm prevailed. The glorious statesman, Hon. D. S. Dickinson, of New York! spoke with great ability and effect. Hon. Charles R. Buckaley spoke to an immense York, C. L. Ward, of Bradford, and R. R. Little, of Wyoming county, also addressed the assemblage.

Ellis B. Schnabel, Esq., followed Mr. Dickinson in a most able and fearless speech adapted to the occasion. He tore Judge Wilmot's indeed. political pretences to tatters. Ile proclaimed that he had sent Wilmot a challenge, in writing, to meet him on the stump in that district, Wilmot, who was present, dared not remain silent, and finally sent to the stand an acceptance of the challenge, to meet Mr. Schnabel in September, in the Eastern and Central sectim of the State ! "No," replied the eloquent Schnabel. "it is here, before the people you have so long deceived; it is here I will meet and cap ise your heresies." But no response came. The speech of Mr. Schnabel is spoken of in terms of the bighe t praise, and we are glad to know that it is his fixed determination to expose, in Wilhaod's own district, the tergiversations and inconsistencies which alone have given this arch apostate a name.

Der Bishop Meade, of Virginia, has ad Iress ed a letter to the Protestant Churchnan, in which he discourages any active participation in politics on the part of ministers of the Gospel. He says he "never gave but one vote at an election, and that at an early period." Clergymen should be as free as any other citizen to take part in polities; in fact it is their duty to exercise all the rights of a free citizen. No reasonable man onjects to a clergyman voting or speaking on political topics in he goes to listen to the word of God. It is politics in churches which people object to, and ! not polities in eler_ymen.

-Maine and Vermont were admitted as free to them, while in the South it was just the rependencies of a Kingdom, nor even by politi- verse. It was utterly out of the question to States, and nobody asked them to put slavery ized gentleman, who can shed crocodile tears cal power, like different parts of the same expect unanimity on a subject like this. It into their constitutions. This was a matter State. They are independent sovereignties, could be managed in one way only; and that of course, and so treated all round. mine the whole matter for itself, and on its own responsibility. It was then solemnly ter of course. The South might have prevented it if she had seen proper. The whole

not interfere with Slavery, and that no State of the territory north and west of the Ohio, should interfere with it in any other State, and east of the Mississippi. belonged to the had power to control the settlement of every people said amen! If the solemn assurances of mutual forbearence then given, and sworn acre. What did she do? She magnanimousto so often since, have been belied and violated, it has not been done with the consent of the Democracy.

The question of involuntary servitude had engaged the earnest attention of the sages of the revolution. There can be no doubt that if spurious claim to a part of it—a claim prethey could have provided for its amelioration and gradual emancipation, they would have done so. They found it, however, incorporat- her. But her claim to the Western Reserve, ed in the social system of all the states but one, and they dealt with it according to the exigencies of the times in which they lived. We all know that even at that early day it was a subject of mutual irritation and excitement ; and although the wonderful uses to which the cotton plant has been applied, on account of the subsequent discoveries in the manufacture of machinery, were then scarcely anticipated, it is enough to say that the republican fathers come ? could not dispose of this slavery question until they agreed upon the Lasis which led to

the formation of the Constitution ; the recog nition of the domestic institutions of the south in the ratio of representation, and the provision for the restitution of fugitives from labor. Twelve of the thirteen States that formed the Constitution, held slaves at the time that instrument was adopted, and by the quiet operation of their popular exclusive sovereignty

six of these States have since become free. Throughout all the action of the framers of the federal Constitution, the idea which prevailed was that which regarded the negro as inferior to the white, and until Abolitionism is able to convince the present generation that this idea is illogical and untrue, (and to do this they must agree to the doctrine of a perfect equality between the races,) all legis lation on the subject of the negro race must and will be controlled by the same sentiment. In the free States, at the present day, the negro is subject to a moral, and in many repects to a physical servitude, quite as injurous to his condition as the most fabulous pic tures of Southern slavery represent his brothers' condition in the South to be. We do not call the Northern negro a slave, but in what free Stateris he the equal of the white? In some States he is prevented from voting, in others he votes upon a property quilifection : ven in Massachusetts certain dis qualifications are thrown in his way by those litopian phisouhers, who constantly prate of the equality of the races; in others still he is met by a statute that excludes him altogether from entrance upon their soil, and *newhere* is he recognized on the same level with the white. The white who intermatrics with the black is everywhere regarded as a degraded being: rel in schools and churches there is almost a universal bar between the two races, so that the rules of society and the laws of the States, even in the communities of the non-slaveholding region, are inexorably opposed to the negro. Why is it that Abolitionism does not

begin at home and reform these things? But again, there is no power which can provent any State passing whatever laws it may please under the Federal Constitution, for its own confort and protection, and the very same the ay which induces us to respect and recognize the great doctrine of State? rights in the South, under which it holds its own slaves, compels us to recognize those laws to which we have referre 1 in the North, in regard to the free blacks. The North regulates its colored

But with reference to the Western States, their exemption from slavery was not a mat-

made ?

while these things were going on? Our limited space will not permit us to retempted to perpetrate upon the people of the South, upon those in the North who do not. but also her proprietary right to the Federal of the country. They have sought every oclovernment, allowing the voters of the North | easion, and taken advantage of every event

of the Constitution, upon the Constitution itsely like that which she set up to a part of self, and upon all who support it.

This agitation began in England among per-Pennsylvania, and which was decided against sons whose gross ignorance of America was put the proceeds into her own treasury.-Virginia did not protest even when the Ordi-Thompson, a member of the British Parlianance of 1787 was passed, abolishing Slavery ment, a man of ability, but reckless like his within the territory, which she had thus gen- employers. Under his influence and direction erously given away. Was there any aggres-sion in all this? If there was "encroachment" were established in New England. The ayowed object of these societies was to excite insuron either side, who committed it? If there was unwise concession, from whom did it rection among the Southern negroes. For this purpose they distributed among the ne-The territory of Louisiana, including what grocs, by every means in their power, pictures representing the scenes of violence, murder is now Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Nebraska, and arson, through which the slaves; if they Kansas, and the unoccupied wilderness hewould adopt them, might be free. These yond, was purchased from France in 1803.---It was all slave territory. We took it with a things were accompanied by promises of aid French law upon it legalizing slavery. It and support from British and American leadcould not be made free without repealing that law. Missouri had been settled long before of, Joshua R. Giddings, a member of Congress, and now the leading friend of Colonel by persons who owned slaves and who had Fremont, admitted the accomplishment of this held them there upon the faith of the law .-object, (a servile insurrection led by British They were not disturbed during her whole officers) to be the dearest wish of his heart .-existence as an organized territory. When No doubt he spoke the general sentiments of she proposed to come into the Union as a State, her people, in the exercise of as plain

a right as any people ever posessed, made a Constitution for themselves, in which, with which this must have placed the Southern people. They found the institution of negroalmost entire unanimity, they recognized the slavery fastened upon them without any fault rights of the slaveholders to retain the properof their own. Many of them believed it to be ty required under previous law. Then arose an evil, but they could not help it. They had the wildest yells of fanaticism. Large masses the wolf by the cars and they could neither hold on with comfort nor let go with safety. of people in the North, and especially in New England, led on and excited by the inflamma-A general emancipation would have been a tory appeals of their leaders, grew almost frantic with rage. The sole cause of this outrirtual surrender of the whole Southern conntry to the black race, probably the extinction of the whites in their own blood. The fate of St. Domingo and the British West Indies for bade such a thought. It was in this condition that they were assailed by every means which matice and cunning could desise, in order to increase the danger and difficulty of their situation. Have they not a good right to complain hitterly of a party which was doing all it could to murder them, their wives and their children?

They did complain. But their complaints were uttered in vain. General Jackson called the attention of Congress to the subject, and a bill was brought in to prohibit the trans mission of incendiary documents through the mail, but the South was in the minority and the bill was lost. It was not only lost, but the proposition to prevent the U.S. mail from being prostituted to the purposes of assassination and murder, was made the occasion for a new cry of Southern aggression, and every slavery in all of the territory outside of that Northern man who favored it was again called

In the present canvass, the Abolition party has a strength which it never had before .majority of the people it is totally denied that The dissolution of the Whig party left many slavery can be forced, either in or out of a men without political connexions, and some of Territory, by the legislation of the General them have a causeless feeling against the De-Government. Thus by mere clamor and abuse moeracy which makes them embrace any docthe North got an unconstitutional advantage, trine, and risk disunion itself, rather than join privilege which no fair man can deny was were led over hodily, with their eyes shut, far as we know it never has been denied) that plainly her own. But even this did not sat- into the pitfall, of Abolitionism. They have, this bill if passed by the other House of Con-

cry was that the people of Missouri had made their own Constitution to suit their own views, and had not permitted it to be made for them by anti-davery men reading in the Northern States. This was the head and front of their diending. Nothing of sewas charged against them. Yet every Southern member of Congrees who expressed the opinion that Misson ri had a right to make her own constitution was called an aggressor, a slave driver and a tyrant, while every Northern man who assented to the same simple proposition was denounced and abused as a coward, a doughtface and a recreant to the rights of his own seetion. So fiercely did this storm of calumny

blow that the whole government rocked and reeled to it. There seemed no way left to avoid a civil war but to compromise. And such a compromise! It consisted in an agree-ment that Missouri might exercise her undoubted right, and have her own constitution if Congress would abolish the law legalizing State and lying north of a certain line. That a doughface, coward and traitor. 'ongress had any power to do this is now almost universally doubted, and by a large

