



The Independent Republican

C. F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER, EDITORS. MONTROSE, PA. Thursday, April 17th, 1856.

Our fourth page contains an interesting letter from the Editor of the Pittsburgh Gazette, on the late Union State Convention. The Gazette is the leading Republican paper in Pennsylvania, has always strongly opposed the Know Nothings, was opposed to Cameron for President; in short, it occupies the same position in politics as the New York Tribune; yet as will be seen by the letter, it endorses the nominees and the main features of the platform of the Union Convention.

If a few such speeches as that of Mr. Grow at the Mass Meeting last week could be heard by every voter in the County, we imagine there would be but very few supporters of the slavery party left among us. The great difficulty with many of the Democratic party is that they read only their own party papers, which are at great pains to evade the real issue before the people and to conceal the purposes and acts of the Slavery propagandists. But when an opportunity offers to hear a distinguished speaker, especially one as popular with the people as Mr. Grow has ever been, they will go and hear him. And the light thus given them is not lost. Many who were before wavering, now say, after having listened to Mr. Grow's speech, that they are with him.

It is not merely as partisans that we exult in the prospect of an overwhelming Republican majority in this County next Fall. For mere party considerations, a small and well united majority is much preferable to a very large one; but those who fully appreciate the importance of defeating the Slave Power in the next Presidential election, should have but one object, to secure every vote that can be got for the Free Soil Candidates.

If the people of the North will now throw themselves into the breach, and stop the onward course of Slavery, such a blow will be struck for freedom as will be felt in the destinies of our country during its existence. It is understood, on both sides, that Kansas is in some degree a turning point, and that the institutions established there will be likely to determine those of all the territory beyond, to the North and West. Still, the struggle would not cease with the admission of Kansas as a Free State. The Slave Power has been so long accustomed to conquer that it will not surrender on one defeat.

Utah, it is said, is about to apply for admission, with its Polygamy, Negro and Indian Slavery, and such other peculiar institutions as its 'popular sovereigns' see fit to establish. The other Territories, one after another, will also be applying for admission, and we must look for a desperate struggle over each one of them. But every victory of the friends of freedom will make the next less difficult; and when the slaveholders, who well know their own weakness, perceive that we know our strength, they will at length quietly submit to let slavery occupy the position intended by the founders of the Republic, as something whose existence, though deplored, must be endured, till the states themselves abolish it, or till the restrictions imposed upon it by the constitution and the general government in abolishing the African slave trade and excluding slavery from all the Territories, should effect its gradual extinction.

The Pittsburgh Gazette states that there are about 120 papers in Pennsylvania opposed to the Slavery Democracy, and gives a list of 100 by name, of which 30 support the Fillmore ticket, 37 hold off, while 42 oppose it. Of the 30 supporting it, some half dozen are cold and equivocal, and will probably abandon it; six or seven of the 37 holding off may be brought to advocate it, and the remainder, it is believed, will support the Republican ticket. The Gazette says that of the papers supporting Fillmore there is not one of prominence, or one possessing the character and influence accorded to a leading press. On the other hand the leading presses of the State, those which have the ear of the people, and whose influence is felt upon public opinion, are arrayed in the class opposed to the ticket. Fillmore, therefore, has but little strength in Pennsylvania, and is probably still less in every other Northern State.

If the Republican Township Committees, or Associations, will send to the editor of the Independent Republican copies of the lists they make up of persons to whom Free Soil documents are to be forwarded in Washington, they will oblige us, and we believe, do the cause some service. We hope that if there are any Townships where such lists have not been yet prepared, the matter will not be longer delayed, as great good must result from a free circulation of the right kind of documents.

Fugitive Slaves in Jackson.

On the first day of the present month, sometimes called All Fools' day, a son of Mr. H. M. Wells of Jackson, a lad of twelve or fourteen years, full of the spirit of fun and frolic, having first thoroughly blackened his face and hands and disguised himself in female attire, went out among the good people of the town and passed himself off as a fugitive slave just escaped from the South. The disguise was so complete, that his own father did not recognize him. Now, it happens that the people of Jackson have hearts in their bosoms, and consequently when it became rumored through the town, that a poor escaped slave girl had just arrived, much sympathy for her was at once excited. A subscription was got up and circulated to furnish her with funds, and several worthy citizens offered to take her home to live in their families. Strange as it may appear, some of the warmest sympathizers, and among 'the foremost to subscribe and to offer to harbor the fugitive, were members of the Hunker party, whose leaders are now sedulously engaged in the hopeless task of attempting to 'crush out' from the hearts of the people the instincts of humanity.

In the evening the supposed fugitive was brought into the Post-office, and in the presence of several persons, the Postmaster included, Mr. Harris commenced questioning her. He asked where she was from. She replied, 'Ole Virginia.' He enquired her master's name, but that she refused to tell. The worthy Postmaster here interposed, and assured her that she might tell the whole story, for she was among friends, in a Free State, and should be protected. (What a man for Postmaster under this administration!) The Postmaster also offered to take her home and give her lodging, and, in short, acted as any humane man would. But about this time Dr. Orchard thought he discovered something suspiciously white about the girl's wrist, and on his attempting to get a better view of the arm, the boy burst out laughing, and the trick was discovered.

It happened that there was a Republican meeting in the evening of the same day at the School House in the north part of the town, and another boy, son of a neighbor of Mr. Wells, put on a similar disguise and went up and presented himself in the meeting, also as a female fugitive. The effect of the appearance of a live runaway slave there may be imagined. One feeling seemed to pervade the Republicans and old-liners present, and all agreed that she should be provided for. One staunch old Democrat who thinks he is greatly opposed to the principles of the Republicans, actually offered to take the girl home to live with him. But when the cheat was discovered, as it soon was, this venerable Democrat-left very suddenly for home.

It is said that some of the old-liners since feel a little ashamed of having been led to show their real sentiments so plainly, and are afraid of being thought Republicans. Having been taken quite unawares, and acted from the impulse of their natures, before stopping to think what their duty as sustainers of the institution of slavery required of them, perhaps they will be pardoned this offence, but with an admonition to be more circumspect in future. The moral to be deduced from this story is, that the mass of the people, of all parties, are anti-slavery, and that if they would bet out their real sentiments, irrespective of party ties and uninfluenced by party leaders, there would be found scarcely a vestige of opposition to the principles of the Republican party, at the North.

Publishing-day with Dix & Edwards is what that monthly occasion used to be with Colburn, in the palmy days of the 'New Monthly'—a time of rejoicing to the lovers of good, fresh, and vital periodical literature. This enterprising firm, from their new Broadway bureau, simultaneously issue the best American magazine, the best reprint from the English press, and the best juvenile periodical extant—'Putnam's Monthly,' 'Household Words,' and the 'School-fellow.' The current numbers are of more than average quality and interest. In 'Putnam's' we have an elaborate and minute Washingtonian reminiscence, a seasonal picture of Arctic life, a faithful digest of Lewes' Goethe, a just critique on Duyckinck's Cyclopaedia, a fine bit of natural history in the shape of a dissertation on Quince Trees, an ingenious poem by Whittier, and an ironical essay on the Woman's Rights question, with a touch of Sparrowgrass humor, and some melodious verses; these go to make up a number at once highly entertaining and unusually instructive. The editorial department is more full and varied than ever before: Albone's noble work is justly commended, and 'Dr. Antonio' should be republished on this side of the water, after such an agreeable heralding as is here given this effort by the author of 'Lorenzo Benoni.'

'Household Words,' as usual, proves readable throughout—a most pleasing, gentle, wise companion for a journey or beside the hearth-stone. Amongst its most detectable papers are 'Charter House Charities,' 'Squatters,' 'Our Shakespeare,' 'German Table d'Hotes,' 'The English Wife,' 'The Roving Englishman on the Danube,' etc.—'The School-fellow' takes vastly with the ur-chins of Gotham; in this number is an account of Dr. Kane, and a story of New York, which all the children relish. These three publications entirely meet the literary wants of a family, from the educated father to the child who has just learned to read; together they form a monthly treat, of which this intelligent and tasteful should everywhere partake.—Boston Transcript.

COUNT SUPERINTENDENT.—As an opinion seems to prevail widely that in case of the resignation of a County Superintendent, the School Directors should proceed to elect his successor, we quote the section of the School Law relating to the subject, as follows: 'All vacancies in the office of County Superintendent shall be filled by the appointment of the Superintendent of Common Schools, until the next annual Convention of directors; when any existing vacancy shall be filled by election in the usual manner, for the full term of three years.'

Court Proceedings.

On motion of R. B. Little, Esq., William M. Post was sworn and admitted as an Attorney, &c. School Directors of Silver Lake vs. Thos. Hartnett. Verdict for plaintiff for \$4472, and costs.

The Court decided to hold an Adjourned Court, to meet on the 9th day of May next, at 10 o'clock A. M., to grant Licenses to Hotels and Eating Houses. Commonwealth vs. Azina Lindsley. Indictment for assault and battery. Verdict not guilty, and that the prosecutor, Matthew Murphy, pay the costs. Rufus Thayer and others vs. Jonas Mack. Appeal. Verdict for plaintiffs for \$3,12.

SECOND WEEK. Edward McNulty vs. Otis Ross. Verdict for plaintiff. David L. Meeker vs. Mark Sutton. The Jury being unable to agree upon a verdict, are discharged by the Court.

For the Republican.

Republicans Awake in Jackson. At a meeting of the Republicans of Jackson held on the Eve of the 14th of February, with J. H. Miles in the Chair and L. D. Benson Esq. as Secretary, the following officers were chosen for the ensuing year. W. H. Bartlett, President; Enos Bryant, Vice-President; Joseph Foster, J. H. Miles, L. D. Benson Esq., Directors; Evander Tucker, Treasurer; H. M. Wells, Recording Secretary; Wm. W. Wheaton, M. D., Corresponding Secretary.

On motion, Resolved, That we adopt the Platform and Constitution of the Washington Republican Association, and act in concert with that organization. Some twenty-five gentlemen present signed the Constitution, and the meeting adjourned after several witty and spirited speeches. At an adjourned meeting convened April 1st, speeches were made by Enos Bryant, J. W. Stone, J. H. Miles, and others, and the following resolutions offered by Doct. W. Wheaton and J. W. Stone, were unanimously adopted and directed to be published in both County papers. Resolved, That we consider the leading features of the Republican Party as distinct from the 'Old Whig' or 'Democratic' Parties.

First, in its opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law. Second, its desire for the restriction of Slavery in the Territories. Third, its severe condemnation of the Kansas Nebraska Act, and consequent repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and Fourth, its highest approval of Temperance, Morality, Freedom and Religious Liberty of all mankind, and Resolved, Further, That we will stand firm with the 'Republican Party' so long as it shall remain uncontaminated with the polluted atmosphere of Intemperance and Human Bondage, and we cordially invite all who ever name or party, who are in favor of these 'Principles,' to unite with us under the broad banner of 'American Freedom.'

Resolved, That we hail with gratitude the untiring energies of the Hon. G. A. Grow in behalf of Free Kansas. Resolved, That we look with contempt upon the efforts of the Pennsylvania Legislature to gag Judges and prevent free speech in the North.

A contribution of several dollars was then placed in the hands of Doctor Wheaton, for the purpose of procuring Speeches and Documents from Washington, and for the diffusion of Political knowledge generally. After which the Association adjourned two weeks. H. M. WELLS, Secy.

Cassius M. Clay.

[A Southern correspondent of the Northern Observation Advocate, gives the following as Cassius M. Clay's mode of inaugurating Kentucky audiences by a moral sermon.] He sends an appointment to a given place to lecture at a certain time; perhaps some of the natives will send word that he will not be permitted to lecture there; he sends back word that he will lecture there according to previous notice. The time comes, a great crowd is collected to hear his speech; presently the lecturer comes, he is met directly through the crowd, mounts the forum, waves his hand for attention, all eyes are turned towards the speaker. He commences with a firm, clear, and decided tone of voice the following remarks: Gentlemen, (says he) I have a few preliminaries to settle previous to entering upon the main subject for discussion. I want to make three short appeals to three classes of persons (when he holds up a small Bible.) There, gentlemen, says he, is the great charter record of human rights, on which all law and equality is based, deserving the name of law, this is my appeal to the religious part of society, and lays it down on the stand before me the United States. There, gentlemen, says he, is the bond of our Union, the noble Constitution of our glorious Republic, which says that all men are born free and equal, with certain inalienable rights, &c., &c. This is an appeal to gentlemen, to patriots and to all Americans, and he places it with his Bible before him. Then he puts his hand into his pocket, and brings out an enormous six-shooter, holding it before the audience, he says: and here, gentlemen, is a six-shooter, every barrel of which is heavily loaded with powder and cold lead. This is my appeal to mobocrats, and I will blow its contents thro' the heart of the first man, who offers to lay his hands on me to silence me in my native State, or gag free speech in my presence. This he lays down upon the stand, with his two former appeals, ready for action, then he commences a perfect storm against the pecuniary institutions, eagerly to wring the sweat of old Kentucky from every pore. By this time are all waked into submissive silence.

He is not the fact that they have a certificate, but rather, what is the grade of that certificate, which determines as to judgment in regard to their qualifications. I make this explanation in regard to certificates, that all may have a good understanding in regard to them. And I desire, also, in future, to cultivate a good understanding with the people, directors, and teachers in relation to all the duties I am called upon to perform, feeling, as I do, that all should labor harmoniously together for one common object, that of elevating the character of our Common Schools.

I sincerely hope that no one will expect of me anything less than a fair, honest, and faithful discharge of those duties which I consider attach to the position in which I am placed. I hope no one will expect me to brand one of my certificates with that which my better judgment most deem false, for the sake of personal favor or gratification; for, if it is expected by none, then none will be disappointed. B. F. Twpasbury, County Superintendent. HAARLEM, April 11th, 1856.

Senatorial Changes.

On the 4th of March, 1857, the Senatorial terms of the following gentlemen will expire:—John B. Waller, of California; Isaac Toucey, of Connecticut; Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts; Lewis Cass, of Michigan; John R. Thompson, of New Jersey; Hamilton Fish, of New York; Richard Brodhead, of Pennsylvania; Charles T. James, of Rhode Island; Solomon Foot, of Vermont; Henry Dodge, of Wisconsin. Of these, Henry voted against the Missouri compromise. The political complexion of the representation from the States noted, will depend upon the result of the elections during the present year. In answer to resolutions of Congress, President Pierce has stated that there is nothing new in the State Department in regard to Kansas or Central American affairs.

Republican Presidential Convention.

Circular of the National Committee appointed at Pittsburgh on 22nd of February, 1856. We solicit your attention to the call which has preceded this paper. It is not only to recommend to the people the immediate selection of delegates from the several States, in number to three times the representation in Congress to each State is entitled, to meet on the 17th of June, at Philadelphia, to present such individuals as they may think best suited to uphold the cause to which they are devoted as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency; but also to invite the members of all parties who feel it to be the dominant issue which should control the election, to meet at the same time and place, to confer with the convention as to the best course to crown their common wishes with success.

One of the parties which will be represented at Philadelphia has taken the name of Republican, because it was given to that founded by Mr. Jefferson, to embrace all who love the Republic. There is no Democrat who does not love the Republic. There is no Whig who does not love the Republic. There is no American who does not love the Republic. And we fondly hope there is no naturalized citizen who does not love the Republic. But it is not so important that the great movement which we desire to see successfully inaugurated shall be designated by any particular name, as that it shall be strong, united, and effective. Why may not all those classes who are hostile to the introduction of Slavery into free territory, unite at this crisis of impending danger, to vote for a common ticket, which will be negotiated to assert the grand principle of representing the entire of slaveholding members, and to vindicate the rights of the people in all sections of the Union who labor with their own hands? A ticket which will not agitate with a view to detract from the rights of the States to dispose of the subject within their limits, according to their sovereignty, but yet its influence to destroy the freedom of white laborers is a fit subject of investigation, with a view to repress its aggressive power in every constitutional way.

The rights of the laboring class involved in this question have been betrayed by the representatives from the North and South in the interest of the slaveholders, who have voted to surrender the lands to slave labor which were set apart to make freeholders and enrich the workingmen of both sections who own no slaves, who should emigrate to them, cultivate and improve their soil, and to yield to them the fruits of their industry. Hence we see two great impeding obstacles in this cause—the one impeding the vindication of the rights of labor, the other the chastisement of those misguided representatives who have violated the faith pledged between the two sections of the Union to each other in their compact, and their own faith as representatives in misrepresenting the will of their constituents in the repudiating acts, and disobeying their instructions in reference to them. Can there be any difficulty in uniting the men of all parties, who concur in the great design of delivering the masses from the oppressions of the slaveholders in the new Territories, and the fair, free, healthy regions of the Far West from the blot of Slavery and the sterility of its projects, and to sweep over it clouds? There are 347,000 slaveowners in the United States; they hold nearly four millions of slaves; there are six millions of free white population in the Southern States who own no slaves, and there are twenty millions of free white population in the North (allowing for the increase since the late census.) Are the interests of the twenty-six millions of the people in the vast regions of the West to be blasted, to administer to the pride, to the ambition, to the false views of interest in which the 347,000 slaveowners would indulge themselves? In their arrogance they stigmatize as Black Republican those who would make a constellation of white, bright republics, constituted of the white race alone, containing in its bosom every color; their history and their laws are blighted by that word. Are they called back because they would render their white brethren of the South, by reserving to them a refuge from the threshold imposed on them by the negro slavery there, and which makes the master the oppressor of all beneath him, and the slave the oppressor? Are they called back because they would transfer the slaveowner with his sword in his attempts to expel from their homes the sons of the Free States who have already cast their lots in the new lands to which their fathers taught them to look forward as their inheritance, under a compromise of more than thirty years standing?

This derogatory epithet is inappropriately applied to those who labor to build up Free States, composed of white men, and to transfer to them the odium of the black institution from those who cling to it as a part of their republicanism system. It is not proposed to touch the subject of Slavery in the States where it exists, but to shut the door upon it, and exclude it from Territories to which its approach has been forbidden. The attempt will be made to persuade those who would identify themselves with the cause, that there will be no necessity to make a sacrifice of minor differences to make Kansas a Free State—but that the proclamation of a Free State has put down all danger of invasions—that Gen. Atchison and his banditti and armed allies from the South have given up all idea of forcible intrusion;—that they mean to acquiesce in the peaceful settlement of the question in favor of that section which has shown that it can furnish the greatest number of emigrants, and this pacific attitude is to be held until after the Presidential election. If the Nullifiers of the South shall then triumph in the election of a President nominated by them at Cincinnati, the usurpation established by Atchison will be found in full activity, laws introducing Slavery into the Territory and protecting it from the settlers by test-laws, will be enforced, and a Constitution, framed by defeating the suffrages of the Free-State settlers by disabilities, will be adopted, and the whole proceeding will be sustained by the military force of the United States, upon the principles and under the authority of the President's proclamation. Here we might close our Circular; but may we not trespass upon the patience of those who address by exposing the workings of the institution which these who arrogate to themselves the character of Democrats are laboring to impose upon our virgin Territories, and upon the principle asserted by them, that it is a National Institution? The movement to open the free Territories to Slavery, by repealing the compact upon the subject, begun with the nullifiers in South Carolina. We will begin with that State, to make an exhibition of the sort of government it will enforce in the West, from its results in the South. Popular sovereignty in South Carolina thus exhibits itself; Six districts in that State, in the rice and long-staple cotton region, where the slave population is most dense, containing a population of 49,550 whites, elect a majority of the Senate, leaving in a minority the representing 209,080 whites in the rest of the State. In 11 districts, 77,939 whites elect 26 Senators and 66 Representatives, while 18

Domestic Manufacturers in the South.

'Domestic Manufacturers in the South and West,' published in 1847, says: 'The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholders and the non-slaveholders. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. The more southern possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil, being in the possession of the slaveholder, never remains out of the power of those who have none. This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that this is observed of late years at an evident deterioration taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors.' In the January number, 1850, of 'De Bow's Review,' in an article on 'Manufacturers in South Carolina,' we have an exhibition of the years entertained if bringing together masses of non-slaveholding Southern whites, the population even for manufacturing purposes.

So long as these poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most disagreeable form, satisfied that they were above the state of faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is 'onward,' and though in some sections it is slow, still it is 'onward,' and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathies which the South hitherto has granted their brethren, and attempted to justify negro Slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as matter of bargain between the North and the South. The laws of God and nature are invariable, and man cannot bargain them away. While it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than 'whites'—for they are only fit to be sold, and to direct—the principles of Slavery itself, which does not depend on a difference of complexion.

Under this doctrine it follows that here a more direct enslavement of the white race may be insisted upon than that obtained in Mexico under the contrivance of debtor vassalage. The doctrine is a positive sanction to the bondage of the white race, and asserts that the laws of God and nature are invariable in its support, and man cannot bargain them away. It is practically illustrated now in the Utah Territory, where a man holds a multitude of women as slaves, calling them his wives. What is done in Mr. Ritchie's principle to prevent Brigham Young from holding ninety white men as slaves under bills of sale, as well as ninety white women under pretence of the bonds of matrimony? Mr. Ritchie's explanation of the Southern doctrine of Slavery, together with Mr. Douglas's act for the Territories, which 'leaves the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States,' certainly authorizes the Mormon State to come into the Union with the Turkish system of slavery, which makes slaves of all colors, and sexes, without number. It is said in commentary on progress that at the moment when the negro arrives of the Sultan's man putting art and to the traffic in slaves in his empire—the czar's steps for the liberation of the serfs in Russia, and of their actual enfranchisement in the Danish West Indies—we should have seen the Slave Power force on one Territory by an usurpation set up by the sword, and the right of the Mormons recognized in another to hold a multitude of the gentler sex in servitude, under the unparal law of a plurality of wives!

We hold that Congress is bound by the Constitution to make all needful rules and regulations for the Territories of the United States, and during their progress to prepare to become members of the Confederacy, to prevent the growth within them of systems incongruous with the pure and free, the just and safe principles inaugurated by the Revolution.

E. D. MORGAN, New York, FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland, JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut, DAVID WILSON, Pennsylvania, A. P. STONE, Ohio, W. M. CHACE, Rhode Island, JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts, GEORGE IVEY, Virginia, E. S. HOLLOWELL, Maine, A. S. LELAND, Illinois, CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan, GEO. G. FOGG, N. Hampshire, A. J. STARR, New Jersey, CONELIUS COOK, California, LAWRENCE BRANNARD, Vermont, WILLIAM GROBE, Indiana, WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin, C. M. K. PAULSON, New Jersey, E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware, JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky, JAMES REDPATH, Missouri, LEWIS CLEPHAS, District Columbia, National Committee, Washington, March 28, 1856.

Post the Books.

The only State Elections to be held before August, have passed, and it is well to look up the result. Three are all new England States, and Pierce had Yankee pride to appeal to in his behalf. He and his party made all the effort in their power to carry those States. But the party had never false to American and Republican principles, and they repudiated their own side, for whom they had voted in 1852. The following shows the change in four years:

Pierce over Scott, 1852. Pierce's majority, 1856.	New Hampshire 13,850	2,508
Rhode Island	187	2,850
Connecticut	2,890	2,000
	29,097	7,358
A change of 24,245 votes against Pierce's at home, will do for him and the public to think upon until August. An average loss of 11,000 in three States, may convince the Democracy that they must not carry a Free State, as it was solemnly convoked by its fathers who should be—Louisburg Chronicle.		

Virginia and Maryland.

The governor of the State is also elected by the people, which represents a minority of the State—no negroes and land exclusively—for no man is eligible to it unless he has real estate to the value of \$7,000, clear of all debt, or five hundred acres of land and ten negroes. Nor can this state of things be changed unless two-thirds of this land and negro qualified body consent to the alteration of the Constitution—a thing never to be expected.

In Virginia and Maryland the system of minority government, which gives control to the slave section, the greater white population in other portions of the State, prevails, but in a less degree; but in all the Slave States, whether entrenched by constitution provision or not, the result is that the slaveholding class is sovereign throughout the South. It results from the concert produced among the masters by their common interest in an institution which can only stand by force of artificial means. The slaves themselves and the non-slaveholders are, as individuals, naturally inclined against it; this makes it necessary that the slaveowners should 'become a phalanx—an educated, disciplined army to sustain by political intrigue and united force all attacks upon it. There is no one all-absorbing influence among its enemies to combine adversaries in opposition. The consequence is that the 347,000 masters forever animated by the same instinct, can always vanquish partial and desultory opposition, as standing armies, in absolute Governments keep millions of people in subjugation. The monopoly which nearly 4,000,000 of black men give to the united authority which commands them, makes it impossible that any single-handed competitor in the field of labor can challenge the products of the soil under the market with the staples of the South on equal footing with men who wield the force of ten, twenty and thirty, and hundreds of slaves in companies. The owners of slaves command the markets; they put down the individual competitors; they buy out the little plantations which in the earlier settlements surrounded them, and, in the end, the rich hands all become the domains of rich planters. Hence we see in other southern States, the poorer classes are either tenants at will, or banished to the poor land of the hills, take to the life of idlers, hunters or fishermen; or, at best, the more industrious among them become day-laborers, living from hand to mouth; in a word, they are stripped by the oligarchy of slaveowners, who command the soil, of their tenements, and of course, everything.

The class who hold a monopoly of the soil can command everything. 'He takes my life who takes the means whereby I live.' Hence in the South, the monopolists of the land and black labor of the country, although numbering but 347,000 out of a population of 4,000,000, if we take of the power over four millions of slaves, are absolute in all the State Government. They are the Governors, the Legislators, the Judges, Justices, Sheriff; they are all in all.

The power which combined action gives to the slaveholding class over the whole South is wielded with equal effect to obtain control over the North. The machine it moves there is on a large scale, and the instrumentality of its action is visible to the least discerning eye. They look upon us as a power in the hands of the South to impose the machine of the Federal Government, according to its will. We instance the experiment before your eyes. Mr. Pierce is a candidate for re-election to the Presidency; Mr. Douglas, Mr. Cass, Mr. Buchanan, are hopeful rivals; each having their partisans in the different sections of the North; some forty or fifty thousand official voters are dependent on executive favor, rely upon one or the other of these to make them secure in their positions. It is known to all these people that not one of the rivals can command a majority of the Northern vote against the other; nor, indeed, against an opponent of any other party. For either of them, the votes of the South decide the question of nomination; and then the possibility of election depends absolutely upon a united Southern support. The Southern slaveholders, therefore, have the fate of all these seekers of the Presidency, of these called Democratic party, entirely in their hands.

And here we find in what consists that which is now vainly to be the Democratic party per excellence. It is composed of the officeholders under the present Administration, headed by those who have been invited to continue them in office, through the united vote of the South, and the chance vote of some Northern State, obtained by plurality, the result of the division of their opponents, growing out of personal preferences or party dissensions. The Democratic party, which the Administration calls its own, has no basis but the vote of the South—its power might call it the Black Oligarchy, returning to it the appellation which it is so willing to give to others, because it most appropriately belongs to itself. The leaders of this party in the North have proved themselves entirely worthy of its confidence by abandoning every principle of democracy once their boat. They have abandoned the principles of the officeholders under the present Administration, the first attributes of the party now established by the Revolution, that it would arrest the spread of Slavery throughout the continent. It did lead to its immediate execution in many of the States, and the first act under the Constitution was to exclude it from the whole Territory of the Union. The Democratic leaders of the now order, at the bidding of the Southern nullifiers, have broken all the compact and compromises designed to establish Free Republics in the territories from which Slavery was excluded.—In doing this they have put under foot the representative principle; defied the will of their immediate constituents; and on receiving instructions to repeal their acts have refused to obey; and in this have given the most striking example of an utter abandonment of the cardinal doctrine of democracy. The spread of liberty, but slavery, is its distinctive principle.

They have shown that the will of 347,000 slaveowners in the South is more to them than that of twenty millions of freemen in the North. The leaders of this spurious Democracy are but the satraps of Southern masters.

The fate which awaits a people afflicted with a Democracy which grows up under the government of slaveholders, may be seen in the testimony which we give in the words of the most distinguished men of that party, which we find colligated in a pamphlet by Mr. Weston. Mr. Barter of Missouri, in a paper on