Indendrat Aepublicur.

"FREEDOM AND RICHT AGAINST SLAVERY AND WRONG."

CHARLES F. READ & H. H. FRAZIER EDITORS.

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Important Document.

From the National Era.

STATE EQUALITY—THE TRUE ISSUE An Address to the Free White Citizens of the

sued in extras, and well circulated.

yet Free States. BY JOHNSON II. JORDAN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 14, 1856. My Fellow Countrymen! The Presidential election is upon us? Never before has our country witnessed so exciting a canvass: never have the American people been called upon to vote on so important a question—a question fraught with such fearful consequences, involving the future welfare and dearest interests of this Republic! Are you prepared for the contest? Do you fully appreciate its importance? Do you understand the true issue? "I fear there are thousands—nay, from my travels and inter—as it is thought that the people in some parts course with the people in the Western States during the last few weeks, I am convinced there are thousands and tens of thousands of good and honest men in the free States who do not know what the real issue is! How many, for instance, understand what is meant by STATE EQUALITY—this "new doctrine," which lurks in the Cincinnati Platform in a disguised manner, and is boldly maintained throughout the South by the press and the speakers favorable to the election of Mr. Buchanan? Yet this very doctrine, acknowledged by its advocates to be a "new doc- to govern themselves? But it was soon displausible and harmless enough on its but full of deceit and danger constitutes the true issue in the present canvass. I venture to say that no more than one in ten of diated, and State Equality substituted. the soters in the free States—party leaders. That is now the watch-word and cry—the excepted—knows what is meant by "State great underlying principle of the Democrated Slavery; and secondly of the EQUALITY means Slavery; and secondly of the EQUALITY of the State of the constitution of the EQUALITY of the State of the secondly of the EQUALITY of the second of the EQUALITY of the second of the EQUALITY of the second of the second of the EQUALITY of the second of the EQUALITY of the second this doctrine was fully understood by the free men of the yet free North, there are thousands of honest men yet lingering in the thousands of honest men yet lingering in the remarking only that the extracts which I relatively to the subject, the subject to the so-called Democratic and American parties; shall make may be relied on, as I have bewho would instantly and indignantly leave fore me the papers, speeches, and documents, then, and join the army, of Freedom and the from which they are taken, having procured men. I beg your attention to this subject bemore words of my own than are necessary. and in my extracts shall use only such as are direct to the point and of acknowledged authority. I propose to show what is meant

In conducting the present campaign, I have noticed that we differ very much from our Democratic opponents. They charge us almost exclusively with things which we deny and repudiate; while we, as a general thing, believe, charge them with no measures, doctrines, or sentiments, but such as they acknowledge and advocate. We might retaliate by charging them falsely, as they do us; but we have no occasion. They admit enough, it seems to me, to ruin any party. certainly have no disposition to charge them with what they do not admit, and will not do it. The proper way to learn the measures and principles of a party is to go to the party itself, and not to its opponents. We should not consult Democratic authority to know what are the principles of the Republican party, but should go to the Platform. and to the writers and speakers of the party itself; and in order to know what constitute the principles of Modern Democracy, we should not rely upon what Republican writers and speakers say, but should go to the Cincinnati Platform for information and to. the writings and speeches of acknowledged Democratic leaders of the present day. This is what I propose to do.

by this new doctrine of State Equality; that

it enters into the Cincinnati Platform; and

that it in reality constitues the true issue in

If there ever was a time when the American people were called upon to vote underriot should throw their influence on the side of country, if adopted? should be the injury of 13th, 1856. every honest man who loves his country more than party. I beg you, therefore, reado go with me patiently through this investiat the coming election as your judgment and from that paper: your conscience may dictate, regardless of consequences. Do what you believe to be BIGHT, though parties and cliques should be riven

ry. To such as are favorable to that insti-tution and its is approximately I have not and the Fugitive Slave law. It thereby denies State word to say, except that they need not read any further. I take it for granted that Slave-ry is an evil—are only to the state state of the say tution and its "expansion," I have not a ry is an evil—an evil to the State, an evil to the slave, and a greater evil to the master and, therefore, that it should not be extended. And it is to such of my countrymen only as agree with me in this view, yet who, I fear, are unintentionally going to vote directly for its extension, that I now appeal.— You know, my countrymen—for you have few months—that the history of our Government, from its earliest commencement, and even before it had an existence—from the Declaration of Independence itself down to Declaration of Independence itself, down to It must appear from our Platform, that we maintain 1850 has been against Slavery, and its expression of Platform, that we maintain practical State Equality, and repudiate that construction tension into free territory. The ordinance tion of the Kansas-Nebraska act which would defeat of 1787, which prohibited it in all the North. it. The South only demands equality of rights." west Territory; the abolition of the slave trade, which took effect in 1808, and was inspected in our present constitution; and property of different sections—in other other discounts, the Missouri Compromise, passed in 1820.

Insu this coctrine in the restionary movement, and the state of the North is the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions." the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions. The Abolition party of the North is the whole Democracy, North as well as the whole Democracy, North as well as one of the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions." Hence, the whole Democracy, North as well as one of the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions. The Abolition party of the North is in order to directly and boldly controverted than is if favor of this "reactionary movement, and the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions." Hence, the whole Democracy, North as well as one of the South dictate what shall go into the Dandous or injurious distinctions. The Abolition party of the North is one of the South as a small one, but almost the Country of the American the property of different sections—in other constitution, it is necessary to be allowed by a majority of the South can recognize be distinctions. The North is the south of the South can recognize the Country of the South can recognize the Sout

exception was in the case of Utah and New We would call the attention of the Mexico, organized in 1850, where it was con-tended by Clay and Webster, that as these take his chattels into the Free States, in Republican press to Dr. Jordan's Address, and would suggest that they publish it, where laws of Mexico, which prohibited Slavery— set up "odious," "invidious," and "injuriever they can do so, before the election. We it was unnecessary to pass any prohibitory have seen the papers and documents from law for them. Besides, the country was such, which he quotes, and can vouch for the cor- said Webster and others, that Slavery could

rectness of the extracts. The subject of never be made profitable in those Territories, State Equality is one that has been too much and hence would not seek to go there. This, in the Cincinnati Platform. neglected in this campaign. It is treated you see, was a mere exception to the rulewith remarkable ability, and we know of no a mere matter of policy in that particular that Platform we read? better tract for circulation. It should be is case—whereas the principle of the Government is and has been intervention and pro-minition. And yet this mere exception into the admission of new States with or without doregard to Utah and New Mexico, included in mestic Slavery, as they may elect, the EQUAL the "Comprensice Messages 1850." is the RIGHTS OF ALL THE STATES will be preserved the "Compromise Measures of 1850;" is the foundation for the "great Democratic principle of non-intervention," discovered by Mr. Douglas in January, 1854! Only think of it—a mere exception to be called a great principle! But let that pass. I have alluded

thus briefly to the history of our Government as to the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories, that you may the better perceive have their "equal rights," State Equality, or which a certain class of experimenting politicans are now trying to foist apon the country as the true doctrine and and policy of the Constitution and the Garagnesia and that Northern man may carry his horse, they will dissolve the Union! The Democratic party being the "Union party," of course it devolves" tablished policy on this subject, and that Constitution and the Government. The real issue, and only issue, in the pres

ent contest, is the extension or non-extension of Slavery into the Territories now free. But of the country are not yet prepared for so guised by the plausible catch-word of "State Equality"—thus palming off a most infamous imposition upon the honest, unsuspecting people of the Free States. For a while after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill "the institution," that this might be used as with the following pointed statement: a Free-Soil measure. It was therefore repurectness of every quotation I make.

The State of Pennsylvania, I believe, has the honor of furnishing the first Convention where this new dogma of the Democratic resolutions adopted at its last Democratic State Convention, held some time last winter the following:

vital element of the Constitution itself, and that the interference with the rights of the States by those who seek to disregard the sacred guarantees of the past, and by all others, should be rebuked with the efits of our free institutious."

The "odious distinctions" means the distinctions which most of the Free States yet make, in not allowing the slaveholder to come into the State with his human chattels. and hold them as such. State Equality is to do away with all such odious distinctions, as we shall presently see. The resolutions of this Convention were presented to Mr. Buchanan, and on the 8th day of May, 1856, he accepted and endorsed them; at which time he said:

"The duties of the President, whomsoever he may be, have been clearly and ably indicated by the admirable resolutions of the Convention which you have just presented to me, and ALL OF WHICH, with-

One point is now settled: Whatever State Equality, or, as the resolution has it, standingly, to know fully what the question the Equality of the States, may mean, Mr. at issue is—when the good man and the pat- Buchanan heartily adopts it! Let that be Buchanan heartily adopts it! Let that be cinual nominees, whose past history and present attended. These resolutions, and Mr. ititude show them to be thoroughly reliable. What Buchanan's acceptance of them, may be found in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, member of Congress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and of Gongress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and of Gongress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and of Gongress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and of Gongress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and of Gongress from Pennsylvania described in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and the speech of the speech of the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and the speech of the speech of the speech Right time is now! What will be the Buchanan's acceptance of them may be found effect of my vote? What pare the principles in the speech of the Hon. J. Glancy Jones, and measures which I am supporting, and member of Congress from Pennsylvania, de- THE STATES, and of full and exact justice to every what will be their probable effect upon the livered in the House of Representative, May

He who has noted the progress of the Democratic party for the last few years and et whatever may be your politics—if you has discovered who are its leading spirits, or the Union. The GREAT FEATURES of the Demark love your country and her free instihas observed its deflections and gradual tenocratic PLATFORM, which James Buchanan has rultutions, and are opposed to the extension of dency Southward and niggerward, might on havery, whether you may favor the electihe morning of April 28, 1856, if he had seen the 'Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, have Anti-Slavery excitement, and the guardianship of the safely predicted that the Cincinnati Platform; bonor and interest of the nation." tion of Buchanan, Fillmore, or Fremont | seen the 'Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, have gation; that you will read what I have to would contain the doctrine of State Equalisay, and carefully examine the testimony I tv. though he might not then have known fler; and then, all I ask of you is, to vote what it meant. The following editorial is

From the Richmond Enquirer, April, 28, 1856. "THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.—An entirely new issue will be presented in the approaching Presidential canvass—an issue which it is impossible to avoid I shall not discuss the question of Slave or evade. The opposition is essentially an Abolition We must, in the Cincinnati Platform, REPUDIATE Squatter Sovereignty, and expressly, assert STATE of the General Government to see that no invidiou or injurious distinctions are made between the PEO-PLE or the PROPERTY of different sections, in the Territories. We do not mean to dictate. It may be that the assertion in the Platform of the abstract proposition of State Equality may suffice to carry along with it the consequences which we desire. But it is carned much on this subject during the last often charged, that the Kansas Nebraska bill contains

-otherwise, there would be an "invidious" listature, a short time provious, on the Slavery its extension. Such has been the rule. The and "injurious distinction." And, to entry out the doctrine, the same unbouded lib

ous" distinctions between the people and "property" of different sections! This is State Equality—"the equal rights of all the States." But let us see if it is to be found In the 3d section of the 1st resolution of

"That by the uniform application of this Demo-

And, again in the 3d resolution: " A high and sacred duty is devolved upon the

Democratic party of this country, as the party of the Union, to uphold and maintain the RIGHTS OF EV-ERY STATE, and thereby the Union of the States." You know the Southern Propagandists of

the "peculiar institution" say, if they can't the right to carry their slaves wherever a "rights," and thus save the Union. The doctrine of State Equality, you perceive, is contained in the Cincinnati Platform in words sufficiently plain to be understood by the initiated—as the Richmond 'Enquirer' said bold a measure, the issue is ought to be disguised by the plausible catch-word of "State" which we desire"—yet in such language and such connection as not to attract the attention or excite the suspicion of those unacquainted with its its meaning. But let us hear what this same Richmond. Enquirer' Popular Sovereignty, or, as it was more fa-made. One of its Editors (Mr. Ritchie) atmiliarly called, Squatter Sovereignty, was tended the Convention as Delegate from Virthe cry, and it deceived not a few of the hongina, and served as one of its Secretaries. Inlar Sovereignty, or the right of the people to govern themselves? But it was soon discovered, by the ever-vigilant guardians of covered, by the ever-vigilant guardians of ing editorial of June 6, 1856, accompanied

"With the utmost possible precision and emphaparty. But STATE Equality means SLAVE- OF THE STATES, with respect to their sovereign

Let it be horne in mind that the Richmond Enquirer is the great leading, standard organ its extension, as a matter of right on our part. They Constitution. Believing thus, my country—them at a good deal of expense and trouble of the Democratic party in the Southern | may prefer their own social system to ours—it is -so that I might give page and date. I States; that it not only reflects the sentiments ford it is too late. I shall be brief, using no therefore hold myself responsible for the cor. of the party at the South, but gives to it tone therefore hold myself responsible for the cor. and direction; it is the Great Dictator and mate, and sanctioned alike by the opinions and usages Grand Mogul of the party. And let it be of mankind, and by the authority and express injuncfurther borne in mind, that it is the boast of the Democratic party everywhere, that its sentiments are the same. North and South.

The party papers throughout the Southern States echo the sentiments of the Richmond pressed. THE TRUE ISSUE SHOULD STAND States echo the sentiments of the Richmond Enquirer boldly, while at the North and West they do the same as far as they dare. or spring, at which Mr. Buchanan was for No Democratic paper of any note has dared mally nominated for the Presidency, occurs to deny or controvert its positions, nor will any do so. The Democracy of the South "Resolved, That the Equality of the States is the may be regarded as the Demogracy of the nation, for it not only constitutes fully twothirds of the entire party, but has for years given to it shape and direction as well as same spirit that we would denounce and repudiate Platforms. The party being, according to all attempts to creek opious distinctions between those who are entitled to share the blessings and benit must of necessity be the same North that it must of necessity be the same North that t is south. The Richmond Enquirer being, therefore, the standard organ of the party, choose to quote from it in preserence to other papers, touching points of doctrine or questions of party policy. It can hardly be supposed that this paper can be mistaken as to what is the true issue in the canvass-what is meant by State Equality-whether it is contained in the Cincinnati Platform-and what is Mr. Buchanan's position in regard to the same. To settle the question, then. should there still be any doubt, as to whether

> again upon that point. From the Richmond Enquirer of August 27, 1856. "CAN ANY SOUTHERN MAN HOURT ?-It is almost a work of supercrogation to offer further proofs upon the entire soundness of James Buchanan upon the question of the constitutional rights of the South.
>
> The issue has been fully made, and upon argument section of the Union. . The Platform and the candidates were adopted by the vote of the united Democracy, representing every district of every State of the Union. The Democratic party is the only party that LY AND SQUARELY ENDORSED, and of which he is a fair EMBODIMENT, are the EQUAL RIGHTS OF ALL

Having shown that the doctrine of State Equality is in the Cincinnati Platform, and that Mr. Buchanan fully and squarely endorses it, I proceed to show what it is, and that it does, according to the statements of its own the South demands the right, under the Conthat good I quote now from a speech published in the Charleston Mercury, (S. C.,) April 19. 1856, and delivered in the House of Representatives, April 7, 1856, by the Hon. I M. Keitt, M. C., from South Carolina. It

"Sir, the next contest will be a momentous one. nition of the right full, complete, and indisputable."

question. Hear him: "Messra. Baily, Smith, and others, went so far as

to assert, in effect, that Slavery could only be carried where it is protected by local legislation; which is in direct denial of the document of the South, THAT THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES recognises Slavery, and PROTECTS IS WHEREVER THAT INSTRUMENT EXTENDS. These are facis, hard, stubborn facts, which no ingenuity can evade, or sophistry, pervert."

Does not "that instrument extend" over the Free States, as well as over the Slave States? And, if so, does it not, according to this doctrine, "recognise" and "protect" Slavery as well and as completely in Ohio, Massachusetts, or Pennsylvania, as it does in Virginia, South Carolina, or Louisiana? Who can deny it? Yet this is precisely, what the advocates of State Equality contend for. Yield to them in their demands; establish the doctrine of State Equality as the doctrine of the Constitution and the policy of this Government, and they will soon show you whether they cannot bring their slaves into your midst, call their roll in the shade of Bunker Hill Monument, or lash them bleeding through the fields of filinois! What of your State laws and Constitutions! If they conflict" with the Constitution of the United States, you must alter them. There must be no "invidious" or "injurious distinctions!" And this, you are told, is THE DOCTRINE OF THE SOUTH. How long, let me ask, till it it will be "the doctrine" of the National Democracy, North and South?

An extract now from the Great Dictator, on The True Issue, in which the doctrine of State Equality will be more clearly defined.

From the Richmond Enquirer of June 16, 1856. "THE TRUE ISSUE .- The Democrats of the South. n the pending canvass, cannot rely on the old grounds of apology and excuse for Slavery; for they neek not nerely to retain it where it is, but to extend it into REGIONS WHERE IT IS UNKNOWN, much less can they rely on the mero constitutional guarantees of Slavery, for such reliance is pregnant with the admission that Slavery is wrong, and but for the Constitution, should be abolished. Nor will it avail us aught to show that the negro is most happy and best situated in the condition of Slavery. If we stop there, we weaken our cause by the very argument intended to advance it; for we propose to introduce into new territory, human beings whom we assert to be unfit for liberty, self-government, and equal association with other men. We must show that African Slavery is a Mon-AL, RELIGIOUS, NATURAL, and probably in the general AL, RELIGIOUS, NATURAL, and probably, in the general, a necessar institution of society. This is the only line of argument that will enable Southerners to maintain the doctribes of STATE EQUALITY AND SLAVERY EXTENSION. For, if Slavery be not a we cannot, without reproof of conscience and the Firs, it is equally wrong and inexpedient in blush of shame, seek to extend it, or assert our the States." The converse of this argument Equality with those States having no such institution." "Our Northern friends ucce not go thus far. They do not SEEK to extend Slavery, but only AGREE to right that they should. But, whilst they may prefer

OUT IN BOLD RELIEF, SO THAT NONE MAY MISTAKE IT."

Thus you have presented by the great leadng organ the TRUE issue between the parties in this canvass, and in unmistakable lantion, used as synonymous terms. And, where it is, but to extend it into regions where driver the same right, and he will claim it, it is unknown." Northern Democrats need throughout the Free States, that it will in the not go thus far." (How very kind!) They Territories; the long and the short of which part of their Southern masters. But there is Southern man to his slave is equal, in its length one thing they have to do: "They have to and breadth, to the right of a Northern man to his canvass, that Slavery is right to his horse." If you doubt it, ask yourself ture." Now, they are only required to admit swear it! Was ever servility more abject, this right he already possesses within the and you will see that his testimony agrees be no new country where your children and than Southern Democrats are demanding of their Northern allies? Are you, reader, a them that it is sought by this doctrine to sethe Platform contains the doctrine, I quote Northern Democrat, intending to vote for Buchanan? Then, you are one of those called "Our Northern friends" You see what is required of you. Are you prepared for such servility—to be used as a tool in the hands of the Southern' Oligarchy, to help extend Slavery over the free Territories?

But the Richmond Enquirer is not alone in its views of the true issue and State Equal. | chor of our liberties"-(Messaye, 1830'-7) ity. I quote from another Democratic or -by incorporating it into the next Demogan, of high authority, from which it will be cratic Platform. And this is likely to be gan, of high authority, from which it will be seen what Northern men must admit, to be "consistent." who sustain this doctrine by voting for the Cincinnati Platform and nom-

From the Charleston (S. C.) Mercury of April 1, '56. "The ensuing Presidential canvass will turn almost solely on the question of EQUALITY. None can consistently or effectively contend for STATE EQUALI-TY, who do not note that the institutions of the South are equally rightful, legitimate, moral, and promo-tive of human happiness, with those of the North.— It slave society be inferior in these respects to free society, we of the South are wrong and criminal in proposing to extend it to new territory, and the North RIGHT in exerting itself to the utmost to prevent such extension. But I go farther: We must contend ours

is the best form of society; for social organisms so opposite as those of the North and the South, cannot be equally well suited to people in all other respects friends, constitute the issue. I have said that so exactly alike. We must surrender the doctrine of the South demands the right sunder the Con stitution, to carry their slaves wherever to canism on our institutions, by making equally vigor-Northern man may carry what is regarded our assaults on theirs. The PRESIDENT, in his anproperty in the Free States. Let me make nual message, has clearly indicated this as the PROP-that good! I quote now from a speech publish. ER MODE OF DEFENCE—the true answer to Abo-

Do you, my Buchanan friend, "hold" that the "institutions of the South"—that is, Slavery and its extension into free territory—are may also be found in the 'Congressional equally righty at, men and the free institutions of Globe' of April 8. He is speaking of the man happiness, with the free institutions of the North? If so, vote for Mr. Buchanan directly, or indirectly by throwing your vote peal of the Missouri Compromise, and com away on Mr. Fillmore. If you do not so self to the support of ALE THE GUARRANTEES OF SLAVE. constitution of the Platform the Platform the principle, That the Right of a Southern was to his slave is south and will you not vote with the its length of a North. The standard of the Right of a North. The standard of the Right of a North. The standard of the Right of the Rig This is the issue. How do you vot

the Missouri Compromise, passed in 1820, and reaffirmed in the treaty annexing Texas, in 1856—all show that it has been an established principle of this Government, for Congruence with this miggers, and prohibit Slavery gress to "intervene" and prohibit Slavery and the same as the man from the North gress to "intervene" and prohibit Slavery and the same as the man from the North as allowed to go with his horse or his wagon late the same as the man from the North favor of the Southern doctrine of Slavery and the same as well the

upon the subject of State Equality. It is from the great Dictator, and speaks direct to the Extension? Do you deny it? Was Slave- bear in mind, that the claim set up by the point. You will perceive that it calls it a ry in Kansas before this repeal? No. Could South is not that they may take with them tion "feaves no room to doubt its popularity; and is it there now? Yes. Why? But the they may take with them their own State ne. and that the "Democracy of the country" repeal of the Compromise was not only a STITUTIONS-THEIR LOCAL LAWS. It has been (that means North and South) yields to itthis "new doctrine" -a " cheerful, unhesitat- but it was done expressly to open the Terri- Courts in England and in this country, that ing, and cordial assent. It also lays out the tory to Slavery. Do you doubt it? We Slavery can only exist where it is maintain-programing of what the South must do, in are not left to bur own conjectures; and to ed by LOCAL STATUTE. The Suprema Courts

interesting article. From the Richmond Enquirer of June 13, 1850. "STATE FOUALITY.—This new doctrine is the most popular ever broached by a political party. In its application to our Territories, it was formally suggested but a few months since. Yet it already commands the cheerful; unhesitating, and ferdical assent of the DEMOCRACY OF THE COUNTRY, who constitute a majority of the people, and is besides, approved by every man with a Southern heart in his bosom, no matter to what party he belongs. Many men, loyal to the South, thought it ansafe to repeal the Missouri Compromise. They can think so no longer, for that Compromise never did give satisfaction to North or South. The North violated it in the case of California, and originated a puty (the Free-Soilers) whose motto was, no more slave territory. It was the fruitful parent of abolition, because it maintained and asserted abolition. If Government might and should prohibit Playery north of 35 deg. 30, min. it might and should prohibit it in all the Territories. If Slavery was wrong and inexpedient in the Territories, it

DOUBT that the principle of STATE EQUALITY surpasses that Compromise in popularity, NORTH AND "We rejoice that the curar issue, in the canvass will turn on this portrains, because it will force the by a United States Senator, on the floor of South interdefending Statesy on principle. She contains the Senate, in the presence of Douglas, Cass. tends now for its equal extension with other social Bright, and all the Northern Democratic Senforms and must contend that it is equally worthy of extension. Her old grounds of apology and excuse will avail her nothing. She must examine history and statistics, and prove that slaves are as well provided for, as happy and contented in the general, as HIRED LABORERS. She can easily show that they are better off in all these respects than kirclings, and, besides, far less addicted to crime. She must also show that slave owners are the equals in morality, piety, courage, and intelligence, to bosses and employers -It will be easy to prove that they are their superiors. It will only remain for her to show that the BIBLE sauctions Slavery, AND HER VICTORY WILL DE COM-

Notice one thing in this extract: "If Slav ry is wrong and inexpedient in the Territois If Slavery is right and expedient in the States, (where it exists.) It is equally right and excedient in the Territories: and, if right in the States, then it is equally right in all the States. This must follow, as a matter of State. The corollary therefore has been, that a citicourse. And this is precisely the course of zon of any one State has the same right as the citizen argument the South intends to pursue, abandoning the old "grounds of apology and excuse." First establish the doctrine of State Equality, which is to be done by the election of James Buchanan, as he is the "embodiment" of that doctrine, and it being also congives to the Southern man the right to carry his slaves into any and all the Territories of the United States, and to hold them there without let or hindrance, and the first great step will have been successfully taken, not guage. State Equality and Slavery Exten- only towards spreading Slavery over all the Territories, but over the Free States of the mark : " The Democrats of the South, in ruis North and the West! This "new doctrine," CANVASS, seek not merely to retain Slavery if established will give the Southern slavedo not seek to extend Slavery, but only agree is, in the language of the member from South to its extension, as a matter of right, on the | Carolina, (Mr. Keitt.) "that the right of a ful and legitimate, and sanctioned alike by How long and broad is the right of a Norththe opinions and usages of mankind, and by ern man to his horse? If you can tell this, the authority and express injunctions of Scrip. | you can tell the "length and breadth" of the right which State Equality proposes to give slave States; it must therefore be OUTSIDE of

The next step-and it will be an easy one after the first has been taken—will be to establish the doctrine that Slavery is a " moral," 'religious," and "necessary" institution; the Duffie, of South Carolina, said, "the cornerstone of our republican edifice, and sheet an done, if they succeed in electing Buchanan; for it only takes four years, by actual count and sometimes less, for the Northern wing of that party to adopt and advocate any new doctrine or measure proposed by the Great Dictator, the Richmond Enquirer, however absurd or monstrought may be. And this is to be the process by which Slavery, with its blighting curse and its long train of evils, is o be spread over the yet free States of this Inion! Think of it, freemen, and before it

In a late number of the Richmond Enquirer we find the following, under the head of The Slavery Agitation-How to Entit."

From the Richmond Enquirer of Sept. 8, 1856. "Obviously, the only mode of combating a party ossessed with such a passion, and pursuing so relentess a policy, is to accept its own desperate terms, and etermine, once for all, the issue in controversy. The Democracy have adopted this plan, and have promulgated it with all the authority of their great Convention. The principles at the basis of the Anti-Slavery (Republican) organization could not be more directly and boldly controverted than they are controverted and constitutionalism of the South could not have a more fit and significant representative than JAMES BUCHANAN. AS THE CREED OF THE PARTY Clearly affirms the Equality of the States, and the lilegality of any Pederal restriction on the rights of the South, so does its candidate declare his approval of the re-BY in the Union and under the Constitution."

for or RY Extension. But notice another declarable to do that, on account of the "barbarians" bath day to his congregation. And how does the South propose to meet You perceive he says the South should establish this doctrine in the Platform. Does not tions? By the free soil views the first the state of the Republicans on her institulish this doctrine in the Platform. Does not tions? By "vigorous assaults" on ours!— directly and boldly controverted" than is in favor of this "reactionary movement," and of the North be changed, disunious is inavit-

what the measures and doctrines, which I am about to vote for?

I call your attention to one more extract

| Extension? Has not this been the leading pustice is very strong in the breasts of the last two cars?— Northern people, and hence the greater dan| Was not the repeal of the Missouri Comproger that they will be decayed by this spe-'new doctrine;" that the Cincinnati Conven- it go there? No. Has it gone there since? | their PROPERTY into the Territories, but that measure favoring the extension of Slavery, decided, over and over again, by the highest order to render "her victory complete," in what letter-writers say to determine this mather than the struggle to carry Slavery all over the ter. This very purpose was avowed in the and probably most of the Slave States, have States and Territories of this Union. It is an United States Senate by no less a personage thus decided. If the people of the Slave States than the Hon. Josiah J. Evans, Senator from may carry their local laws and peculiar State South Carolina, in his speech in reply to Mr. institutions with them into the free Territo-Sumner, delivered June 23, 1856. I quote:

> These, Mr. President, are the reasons why we desire Kansas; but it was not allowed. The very instant IT WAS OPENED TO THE SLAVE POPULATION, that instant there sprung up a contrivance, a machin-ery was set in operation, of which I do not choose to speak—the object of which was to DEFEAT THIS ACT OF CO. IGAESS, and, as was said by the Senator from Massachusetts, to devote this Territory to a free population."

Thas you see, that when the Compromise was repealed, the Territory was "opened to the slave population"—to Slavery; and that the Constitution of the United States, and is the efforts of the Emigrant Aid Society, and the people of the Free States, to devote the of our Republican form of Government. was equally wrong and inexpedient in the States.

There is no excuse left to any Southern man, whatever, to complain of the repeal of the Compromise.

The Cincinnati Convention leaves NO ROOM TO

the people of the Free States, to devote the Territory to a free population—to make a free State of it—was to "Defeat this act of Congress:" hence it is plain, and it is here free State of it-was to "DEFEAT THIS ACT OF people of the Territories are to have the privavowed, that "this act of Congress," which repealed the Compromise, was to make Kan- just, and right, I say, keep Slavery out until sas a slave State! Remember, this was said such decision has been made! the Senate, in the presence of Douglas, Cass, ators; yet no one denied it, or made any explanation, but tacitly acknowledged that it was true. It was true!

Inext give you an extract from another distinguished Democratic Senator, the Hon. A. G. Brown of Mississippi, delivered in the United States Senate, April 28, 1856. This is the man who visited Mr. Buchanan after the Cincinnati Convention, to inform him of Two-thinds of this sum has been paid by his nomination, and who said of him, in his THE FREE STATES. How have these Territoletter to Hon. S. R. Adams, (published in the Richmond Enquirer of August 27, 1856,) Arkansas, Missouri, and all of Texas, (which ern confidence and Southern votes as Mr. Calhoun ever was." In his speech he says:

"The advocates of STATE RIGHTS have always held that the Territories are the common property of the States; that one State has the same interest in them Survey Democratic Administration assinces states; that one state has the same mestate has the them? These are facts, av, stubborn facts, same right to go to them, as a citizen of any other of any other State, to go into the Territories, and when the Louisiana purchase came to be di of any other State, to go ento the Territories, and take with him whatever is recognized as property in vided between the parties, Kansas, and all the State from which he goes. Thus, if a citizen of Massachusetts may go and take with him a bale of goods, a citizen of Tennessee may go and take a barret of whisky; and if a citizen of New York may go and take a horse, a citizen of Mississippi may becomes inferior to Massachusetts, and the rights of the Mississippian are inferior to those of the New-

There is no misunderstanding or evading his language. Let no one doubt now that come. SHE WANTE KANSAS FOR POLITICAL POWthis carrie of Equality means the right to carry slaves of free Territories; and if into them, into the free Successful And this doctrine you support, reader, if you proper Bull the support Bull these things. chanan and the Cincinnati Platform.

y the testimony of slaveholders and Southern in this enlightened age and country, and Democrats, I will give you a little from the Rights? other side of the line. But do not forget, I beg you, that the "National" Democracy is the same in all the States, North and South. pose to give you FACTS, and leave you to nur-The following is from the speech of Hon. your own judgment and decision. The sum. John Cadwallader, of Pennsylvania, made in the Hall of Congress, March, 5, 1856. Mr. of human bondage—not for yourself, but for Cadwallader is a leading Democrat, and "intermediate personal friend of Mr. Buchanan,"—would like to fill all our Territories in the He is speaking of Kansas and the Repeal. with that of Senator Evans.

"But as the Mexican laws locally in force had excluded Slavery from these territories, (the territories acquired from Mexico,) the application of this principle to them was illusory, as far as any possibility of ers might be concerned. Property in slaves was thus in effect excluded wholly from their limits. The principle of the former partitions having become in-applicable, and slaveholding settlers having been altogether excluded from this territory, the slavehold-ing States were, of right, entitled to an indemnifica-tion for their loss, if it could be afforded, by giving TO THEM ACCESS WITH THEIR SLAVES TO OTHER TERRI- and measures carried out, you will have the TORY. This principle was the MORAL BASIS of that pleasure of knowing, that while you helped to elect him, you pretended to fool yourself Missouri Compromise!

loor of Congress, that the object in the repeal TRY NEEDS IT. It is worth while to make one of the Compromise was to open the Territo. more effort to save this Republic from des-Modern Democracy avow this in their places in Congress—one in the House and the other it is, with the blessings and joys and dearest. in the Senate-and no one denies it! Who interests of millions yet unborn. If you are now will believe the lie, that it was not the intention of the Kansas Nebraska bill to "LEG- its extension into Free Territory, your course ISLATE SLAVERY INTO THE TERRITORY ?" Richmond Enquirer' of September 3, 1856, Conquerer of California—the Humboldt of we have the following:

" The election of Mr. Buchanan may, and probably will, originate a reaction in public opinion, that will ENCOURAGE THE EXTENSION OF THE CONSERVATIVE IN-STITUTION OF SLAVERY? It would be a reaction movement IN FAVOR OF SLAVERY AND CON-

And again, in the same article: "Let the South present a compact and undivide front. Let her show to the DARBABIANS that her sparse population offers little hopes of plunder; her-military and self-reliant habits, and her mountain retreats, little prospects of victory ; and her firm union

with California, and if necessary, ALLY HERSELF dential election, we will give ourselves to-WITH RUSSIA, WITH CUBA, AND BRAZILI!" carnest prayer, both in private and public, Thus you have the whole programme. Sla- that the great Ruler of nations will dispose THE LENGTH AND BREADTH, IN THE RIGHT OF A NORTH PRAITY ON this question ?— which has been clearly shown to mean SLAVE. States, and all over the Continent; or, if unaery by their votes, and that this resolution
which has been clearly shown to mean SLAVE. States, and all over the Continent; or, if unaery by their votes, and that this resolution
which has been clearly shown to mean SLAVE. States, and all over the Continent; or, if unaery by their votes, and that this resolution
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which has been clearly shown to mean SLAVE. States, and all over the Continent; or, if unaery by their votes, and that this resolution
which has been clearly shown to mean SLAVE. States, and all over the Continent; or, if unaery by their votes, and that this resolution
he read publicly by each pastor on the Sets.

ries, then may the people of the Free States "Well, sir, Kansas, although it is but one State when added, will be good against THREE MORE.—
And was it strange, then, that the South should desire possession of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
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Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee?—
Those M. Precision of Kansas, merely as a guarantee. free press and Slavery CANNOT DOTH EXIST IN THE SAME STATE OR TERRITORY. You have an example in Kansas. One must yield, and give way to the other. Which shall it be? Which of these "institutions," the one pecu-har to the South, and the other to the North. shall be maintained and protected in the Territories by the General Government, as it is impossible for both to exist together? I answer, the one that is expressly guaranteed by Freedom of Speech and of the Press. If the ilege of deciding this question of Slavery for themselves, in the name of all that is fair, and

> But what right have the South to claim Kansas? Look at facts. The Louisiana Territory, purchased of France, cost us, principal and interest, over twenty-three millions; Florida, principal and interest, over six millions; expenses of Florida wars, since, one hundred millions; Texas, for boundary, indemnity, creditors' claims, Indian expenses, purchase of navy, &c., thirty-seven millions -making in all, the enormous sum of ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-SIX MILLIONS OF DOLLARS! more States,) have been given to the South -to Slavery; while to Freedom and the North has been given lows and a chance to Survey Democratic Administration against that cannot be denied! And what renders the thing worse, and more infamous, is, that South does not need it. Sho has plenty of room, plenty of outlet for her surplus population, in Texas, Arkansas, and south of 36 deg. 30 min, and will have for a century togo on much longer? Shall such deeds be

The case, reader, is the last it without argument. It has be I submit of the matter is just this: If you are in favor West with negro Slavery, so that there will children's children can go, in order to get themselves farms or homes, but where they will have to work along-side of the degraded SLAVE, and for SLAVES WAGES; if you wish to see Kansas a Slave State and made so by oppression and outrage and national infamy if such are your sentiments and wishes your course is clear: Vote for James Buchanan. Or, if you do not wish to vote directly for with the idea that you was not doing so! Here it is distinctly avowed again, on the DO NOT THROW AWAY YOUR VOTE YOUR COUNy to Slavery. Two bold champions of the potism and ruin—the Star of Hope to the oppressed nations of the earth-freighted. as opposed to the despotism of Slavery, and to is also clear vote for PREMONT AND FREE One more extract, and I am done. In the DOM; vote for the Pathinder of Empire-the

America-and the man who placed the Stars of the American Constellation nearer the Stars of Heaven than any other man. Rise above party and party prejudices; burst asunder the shackles that bind you; be no longer the slave to Slavery itself; be a free man-and do your duty. Vote for John C. FREMONT THE MAN FOR THE TIMES OUR COUNTRY'S SECOND WASHINGTON!

At the Long Island Consociation of Congregational Churches, held in Port Jeffer and devoted resolution, no chances of conquest—son on Thursday, Oct. 16, it was unanimously

Let her, if possible, detach Pennsylvania, Southern
Ohio, Southern Indiana, and Southern Illinois, from solemn issue before the country between solemn issue before the country between and the Lakes the dividing line. Let the South treat Freedom and Slavery in the pending Presi-