

Democratic Convention.

At a meeting of the democratic County Committee at Montrose Thursday the 14th inst. pursuant to notice, the Chairman was directed to announce that the usual Mass Convention of the Democrats of Susquehanna County will be held at the Court House in Montrose on Tuesday Evening of the first week of January next for the purpose of electing Delegates to represent them in the next Democratic State Convention at Harrisburg, and to transact such other business as the Convention may see proper.

We are authorized by several of our most respectable citizens (not our "particular friends") to say to the proprietors of the Steam Mill, that they are ready and willing to swear that their statement last week in the Register is untrue, at any time they will put the matter in a shape that they can do so with propriety.

Geo. W. Lewis has been appointed Post Master at Dimock, in place of Mr. Baker, Whig, who has held the office for a long period of time. Mr. Lewis is a man well qualified for the place.

Dr. Gleason's Lectures. We attended Dr. Gleason's Lecture last evening and were highly gratified. He is undoubtedly one of the best lecturers on Philosophy in the world. He is eloquent, scientific and philosophical. Give him a full house to-night.

We are informed that some persons, who have never been able to obtain a diploma for finishing their own business, make themselves busy in reporting about the county, that the subscription list of the Democrat has decreased wonderfully of late; and in fact that the establishment is about "giving up the ghost."

The circulation of the paper is several hundred larger than when it came into our possession four years ago, and lacks but five or six quires of being double the Register, by the information of their workman as to the number of quires issued weekly. We have made no effort the present year, to increase our list, but on the contrary have "struck off" nearly two hundred whom we thought slow to pay, having all that one set of hands can work on so large a press without injury to their health. There has been no month, of the present year, that our new subscribers have not exceeded those who have discontinued, and any one who has any curiosity about it, or who disputes our word is welcome to call and examine our books for himself at any time.

Finally Developed. The announcement of the Register last week, that after the first of January that establishment was to be fused into a paper called "The Independent Republican," under the control of C. F. Read, and its present Editor, has finally developed the plan on which the late Whig party in this county have hit to place themselves permanently in power. We are no longer left in the dark. The Republic has been passed—the clouds have been dispelled, and still the country is safe!

We stated in our article in reference to the "fusion meeting" the first week of last Court, that we did not regard that movement with any apprehension,—nor do we now.—But we must expose the character of its final development, because it is a political move of some importance to men at least, as it may be to the local politics of this county. The finale of the affair has satisfied us, and must satisfy any one who will give it reflection, that the whole thing is a fraud, designed to operate to the special advantage of a few reckless and unprincipled Whig leaders in Montrose, who are most anxious to obtain a little political power in the county; and to accomplish which they know the Democracy of the county have at heart, and for which their whole political career has shown, they have no regard further than it may serve their own purposes.

The plan as developed seems to be this.—they discard their old party name, and pretend to accept the well settled policy of the Democratic party as their creed. They are to change the name of the Register, still retaining its Editor, however, and change their own party name to match it. They then assume to be the only true men or party on the question of the extension of slavery, and by that, hope to gain enough honest democrats to their cause to make them the dominant party in the county. This is the plan, and we should be faithful to our duty, should we not warn Democrats not to be caught in their snare, a snare from which they will never escape without self-shame and mortification.

If we did not know the men who are plotting this deception, and something of their past history, we should be inclined to rejoice at their pretended conversion from the errors of Whiggery, and welcome them to the field of Democratic labor. But their repentance comes too late, and their past political history is too clogged with pro-slavery proclivities and antecedents. We will examine it a little with the telescopes of truth, and see if we can come to a rational conclusion as to their present designs. We affirm that ever since the agitation of the slavery question in Congress by Mr. Wilmot's project, the Democratic party of this District and county, have sustained the principle of non-extension of slavery, while these same Whig leaders have used every exertion in their power, to defeat, by defeating the men on whose success its maintenance has depended. Both times Mr. Wilmot was before the District as a candidate for Congress after he introduced that measure, when his defeat would have been limited as the defeat of the measure itself, and been celebrated by the wildest demonstration

of rejoicings by the slave power of the country, every nerve was strained, to defeat him by these very leaders of the late Whig party. Mr. Chase was not nominated, distinguished on that issue, and find these same men in opposition. Against though not without success, when the Nebraska Bill was introduced, Mr. Chase was again engaged with the passage of the Nebraska Bill, and when Mr. Grow had stood rock-bound in its pathway, battling its progress with the integrity of life, and the eloquence of his most eloquent tongue,—at a time when all honest and sincere men should have vied in zeal to do him honor, by returning him to the field on which he had so nobly fought to sustain the interests and principles of his constituents,—when the members of this District had an opportunity to speak as with a trumpet,—the sentiments of the District on that question at the last election,—where were these Montrose Whig leaders who now assume to be the genuine "free soil party of this county?" Did they act like men who mean what they say, that "old party issues are dead, and all good men should now unite without distinction of party to oppose the spread of slavery?" The farthest from it possible. Not a man of them voted for Mr. Grow, nor would they even put his name on their "Anti Nebraska Ticket," that their voters might have ballots if they wished!—Here, on the only candidate where the question was directly in issue, and a candidate who had proved himself by his acts,—at such a time we find these wonderfully consistent "free soilers," dodging the issue, and, the very next day after election, saying publicly that they were "now satisfied that they could have defeated Grow, and were only sorry they had not done it!" And yet these are the men who are now boasting that they will destroy the Democratic party of this county, and who assume to be the only true "free soil party."

Further. The Democratic party of this District nominated David Wilnot for Judge three years ago. Where then were those same men, and this same Editor (Frazier), that they now put forth to teach Democrats genuine Democracy, and who are now so anxious to vindicate Mr. Wilnot's principles? Had they supported a Whig their inconsistency, and pro-slavery proclivities would not have appeared so bold and execrable.—But no, they were straining every nerve to defeat him, and elect Mr. Elwell, a man of opposite sentiments; and some of them, in this very town, held a mock Convention in a bar room, and to show their hatred and contempt for Mr. Wilnot, nominated a clever man to stand against him. Truly, Mr. Elwell and Wrath have met and kissed each other! Mr. Wilnot must feel honored with his new admirers!

The whole story may be told in a few words. These ambitious and unprincipled Whig leaders, after having tried every expedient in past years to obtain confidence from the honest masses of this county, have despairing of success, and now, as a last resort, have concluded to steal the cloak of Democracy to serve their purposes with, hoping and expecting to mislead enough Democrats to give them a majority, while they, by force of numbers can control the organization and place themselves in power. Are the honest Democrats of this county to be trifled with and used for such a purpose? We trust not, and if they can be, we much mistake their character. We believe they will fly from such an unnatural and inconsistent alliance, as they would from the breath of the Epas. We believe they will cling still closer to the only organization which has sustained their principles in the past.

This expedient of changing their name the better to conceal their purposes is an old trick of the Whig party. It will be remembered that when they obtained power under the elder Adams, and passed the Alien and Sedition Laws, which brought such infamy and disgrace upon the American nation,—and when the American people hurled them from power covered with ignominy, they resorted to the same expedient, and what is more worthy of note, then too called themselves "Republicans." This seems to be a favorite name behind which to screen their deformities. But the trick will not work. They misjudge and insult the intelligence of the people when they try it now.

As we have shown, the Democratic organization of this county and District has always been, and is now, right on this question, and it is therefore the most fully for any Democrat to turn Whig at this time to fight this battle. If they do it, they will only be duped, and in the end rebbed of their principles. Why, every Democrat in this county knows by his own observation in the past, that there is no such thing as trusting these men politically, and not get cheated in the end. It has been their history, and it ever will be. And before we can ever trust them as front leaders in the present position of the slavery question, they must have time to give better evidence of their sincerity, and unselfish attachment to principle. Our readers will recollect how they treated Mr. Chase last summer for his course on Nebraska, even lauding him in their paper, but how quickly they gave him a kick for their suffrage. There is no faith in them, and we have no earthly doubt that they will be found voting for a pro-slavery candidate in '56, if such a man shall be in the field. They did it in '48, when this question was open, supporting a slave holder for President. They gave to the county, thereby, the Administration of William Fillmore and the Fugitive Slave Law.

they will do it again to obtain power. We caution Democrats, therefore, against their wiles. Watch them before you trust them. For their dissemblings are very bad. Let them give some evidence of their sincerity, when they show their conduct being their professions so nobly as the occasion in the case of Mr. Grow. Democrats look at it! H. H. Frazier, whose life the past three years, has been one of uncomplaining warfare and abuse of yourself and your principles, down even to the present hour, and yet next week he is to *presto-change*, take the same press and type, and the same pen, and instruct you in your duty as good American Democrats! The idea is so absurdly ridiculous that we can scarcely speak of it in sober earnest! True Mr. Read has been a Democrat, but he is a merchant of large business, and we apprehend will not see the inside of the printing office very often. His name, everybody understands, is only put forth as "a make-believe" to entice Democrats. With him we have always had the most pleasant relations, and we only regret that his zeal in a good cause, should have misled his judgment, and caused him to listen to the bad counsels of designing men. We apprehend his editorial career in his present connection will be very short.

The Republican Party. There is one powerful—it should be all powerful—consideration, which should deter Democrats who are anxious to do something against the encroachments of Slavery upon northern rights from forming any alliance with the new phase of the Whig party. It is this: so far as the new party has anywhere developed itself, it is in close alliance with the order of Know Nothings. They, composing the larger share of the Whig party, and therefore of the Republican party when formed, must and will control its organization. Thus it is in this county, one of the Editors of the "Montrose Democrat," being a member of that order.

Sam. Houston of Texas is generally the favorite candidate for the Presidency wherever this party has developed itself, and he, it is well known, is one of the prominent men which the Know Nothing papers bring out as their candidates. To show Democrats how utterly impossible it will be for them to maintain their principles on the slavery question, in such an organization, we need but refer to the accredited organs of the Know Nothings, and we shall find that they "ignore the slavery question," and are proving themselves to be the worst foes of freedom in the land. It is regarded by all Anti-Slavery presses, like the *Tribune* and the *Era*, as a plastic tool of the slave power, to raise an issue in the North that should divide and distract its sentiment and action, and thus enable that power to move on in its career of injury and wrong. Know Nothings—spread over the Southern States like a wave, and yet there is scarcely any foreign population in the south. It has spread there, because they see in it a power binding men by the most solemn oath to an organization which will be national, because it will reach all over the country, and therefore it is that they can use it for their purposes. Let us see how these Know Nothing organs talk on the slavery question, and then you can judge whether Anti-Slavery men can work with it on principle.

Mr. Benton, the only Republican from Missouri, who cherishes the doctrines of Mr. Jefferson, and had the courage to speak and vote against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, ascribes his defeat to the Know Nothings; and the American Organ, just established in Washington, as the National organ of the new Party, says: "The final political denouement of Thomas H. Benton, (credited by himself to the role of the Know Nothings,) was a triumph, of which our Missouri friends may be justly proud, and upon which we congratulate the American Party throughout the land."

The Organ evidently regards Mr. Benton as a foreigner, and an enemy to American principles and institutions. Again: "William H. Seward and his allies," it says, "are now, we trust, impatient for mischief. The American party has in this single year, by its conservative influence, done more for the preservation of the Union, than has been done in the last twenty years, owing and excepting the patriotic efforts of the Union party in 1850, whose labors had been rendered nugatory by the blundering follies of its administration. It is our firm belief that both Bentonism and Sewardism are now crushed, and that, if the patriotic portions of the people continue to rally around our standard, we shall form a conservative, Union-loving, and liberty-preserving party, whose power will arrest the machinations of demagogues, and render the Union perpetual."

Our Benton Democrats and Seward Whigs we hope will ponder well upon these sentiments, before they allow themselves to be brought in to an organization which will be ruled by such sentiments and which is composed of a majority of men who belong to the order. Again, a New Orleans paper referring to the Northern opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law and Douglas's Nebraska Bill, says: "It seems to be universally acknowledged that the Know Nothings aim to preserve our institutions as delivered to them by the sainted heroes of '76. They are pledged to oppose all foreign influence and to stand by the Union and the Constitution. It was impossible then to be a Know Nothing and a Disunionist: It is a contradiction in terms to adhere to the new movement and ignore the Constitution, or resist the execution of the laws."

"If a point of union exists between the North and the South, we nobly believe it to be with the order of Know Nothings. If any body of men in the Free States are disposed to support the laws and make no aggressions on the South it is the American party, national, in its name as in its principles." "Course Out." The New York Know Nothing Standard says: "The American organization is not a local institution. It extends east west north and south, an ENTIRE REPUTATION OF EVERYTHING LIKE ABOLITION WAS NECESSARY TO PRESERVE ITS INTEGRITY AND UNITY. THIS ORGANIZATION THEREFORE IS A GUARANTEE TO SOUTHERN FRIENDS, that whatever the parties of the North may do, the patriotic men of the masses know no distinction between North and South." "The Tribune" says: "We believe the Know-nothing are now determined to prove the feasibility of Anti-Slavery, Temperance, and every other Reform movement, and we

see that the slave-drivers are beginning to vie with the Union Savers in hitting the "Know-Nothing" logo as admirably suited to their uses. And in any movement like this, politicians by trade, like these slave-drivers, will always outpace them who live by their own labor, and can bestow but a casual attention on their politics. We might truthfully say, therefore, but enough. We ask those who really mean Anti-Slavery and Temperance to look on calmly for a season and see if we are not right. Those who mean nothing, and care for nothing but success will not heed what we say, and we do not expect to satisfy them.

The last election in this State shows that about two-thirds of the old Whig party belong to this order. What supreme folly then for free soil Democrats to affiliate with the old Whig party, in an organization which will be, and is controlled for the purposes of the northern propagandists, to crush out of the southern settlement of the North, by alluring its honest masses into the pale of an oath-bound membership!

(COMMUNICATED.) The Election—The New Party, and its Paper.

The Democratic party has held its one thousand majority in this County, so firmly, and so long for many years, the Whigs have ceased even to dispute her pre-eminence. And yet, with the exception of two candidates, their Ticket last fall was defeated,—and now that it is over, it is amusing, perhaps instructive, to see how it was done. The leading Whig gentlemen in Montrose, have long desired this result, more anxiously than words can tell; and they are intimated with this unexpected success. We are triumphantly told that the new offices, in the new Center House shall be occupied by no Democrat; and, it might be added, by no Catholic citizen.

But the process is fusion,—a melting together of substances so repulsive, that no outward means could make them cohere. The heat which soldered into one mass, these hard antagonisms, was "anti-Nebraska." That was the solvent power; fusing of course, for no selfish purposes; and especially not for a mere County office,—that pure, national product, that was to act on the government at Washington, and stop the spread of Slavery! And who are fused?

The Whigs, who always idolized such slavish embellishments as Clay, and Webster, who rode the county for Taylor and Slavery in 1848,—and again, for Scott, and the Fugitive Slave Law, in 1852. The Know-Nothings, characterized by their own organs, at Washington, New York, and Boston, as a great national party, eternally hostile to every sentiment and form of Abolition,—to every sentiment and form of Abolition,—to every sentiment and form of Abolition,—to every sentiment and form of Abolition.

Well, after a whole summer's painful preparation, the Montrose operators got the thing ready for a tremendous attack on Slavery! The southward result in silent dismay. But the trouble still is to form an issue. As this cannot fairly be done, they are obliged to adopt our Ticket in part; and to force an issue as to the rest. Our Congressional man, the only one on the Ticket, having anything to do with Slavery, cannot be made the subject of their issue. They are obliged to leave him,—those very Whigs, who opposed him to Gold and mail, when we first elected him to Congress, on a written pledge, that he would oppose the further extension and power of slavery.

One of our Representatives, who, so far as I know, was never choked with this sentiment, they adopt. In place of the other, who by every form and emphasis of language, had publicly stood on the side of freedom; they substitute a Whig—fusion, you see; or, little of each kind? For our Prudly William; and our Sheriff Mansford, they take other Democrats who certainly were not, and could not be non-slavery and distinctly opposed to the Nebraska Territory; than were those gentlemen. Their Commissioner is a Whig, with no more of this feeling, than had our. Their Recorder is also a Whig, but his nomination, published his card of opposition to the extension of slavery. What share the "Know-Nothings" have in this distribution, the people are not permitted to know. When they fall out, we shall learn. The spoils were doubtless equitably divided, so as to keep each faction satisfied, and fused.

Election is over; and before the thing gets cold, these must be organized, so they can hold their recent power; and continue to control the county. A Call is published, with carefully selected names, delicately fusing in just proportions, the different factions. The meeting was held on Court-week; and again its officers and Committees are nicely adjusted,—alternate layers of Whig, Know-Nothing and Democrat,—to keep down all internal jealousy; and to show the public what an universal party this is, that draws its recruits from such various and opposite sources! Let Montrose gentlemen who manage this serious affair, stand behind the scenes; prudent if keeping themselves just a little out of the public view. By this time every one has pretty much forgotten that the fusion was to stop slavery. That men may rule, whom the people would never permit to rule before, the seats of power must be carried, not by storm, but by artifice,—not by open, manly attack, but by midnight stratagem. A new name is adopted,—Republican Party,—who won't join a Republican party, ha! The Resolutions amount to this,—we who carried the elections last fall, want to carry them hereafter; and therefore unite in this new Party. We will fill all the offices, up to U. S. Senator, with our men; interspersed with a little conservative declamation about slavery, and some other big topics. The speeches are highly instructive; teaching the people that the ancient principles of the Democratic party are obsolete; and that the downfall of Slavery depends on who sits in the Fire-Proof at Montrose. The speakers themselves exactly illustrated the new doctrine. Two years ago, one was a Free Democrat, and the other a

Scott Whig—certainly not very elevated Anti-Slavery position,—nor had they ever before acted together in any political thing. Yet have they met, and actually fused before the people. It was an affecting scene. Men who never smiled in each other before, fell themselves growing liquid, and tumbling together. A few more such disinterested sacrifices for Country,—such noble displays of patriotism and the South would be used up.—The next thing towards permanence, is a Press. And here again it is difficult to make an issue. Our paper has always, in a firm and consistent tone, opposed the Nebraska Territory; and every other form of slavery aggression. But no matter,—a fused party must have a fused press. So the Whig paper changes its name; and after arrangements are made accordingly. So the thing is fixed.—Democracy is down, and the fusionists have the entire field.

Fellow Democrats, a word to you. As an individual, I deny that our Ticket, or our Party was ever in favor of the extension of human Slavery. In all her glorious history from '76 to this hour; while she has left to each state, the control of its own institutions; she has ever opposed the carrying of that blight upon free soil. Temporary influences, operating upon a Party that spreads over a Country so vast, and of such diversified interests, may at times have been pleased, or even thwarted that beneficent policy; but still the sober, second thought has discarded slavery extension as a principle of the Party. In our County especially for many years, all the influence and power of our Party upon the Federal Government, has been for the restrictive policy. Errors, the Party may have; but she has the principle of progress, and Reform. Her memories, and monuments are yet fresh upon the battle-fields of the Revolution,—among her standard bearers, in both the dark and joyous times of our Country's varied history, are the brightest names ever enrolled on the list of American fame,—and around the Nation's brow, she has entwined those principles of truth, and Freedom, and Justice, which led up the scattered colonies from weakness and disorder, to be the foremost people in all the earth. I would rather trust my principles with such a Party, laboring the while to correct the errors incident to every human enterprise, than to trust them to an irresponsible, changing, self-conflicting fused, political sect; that has no past history, no future hopes, no element of confidence or power, but that of spoils. Such Democrats as were led into this new Party of words, and not of deeds; will return. For the moment they have given importance to the Whigs, who have always been wrong on every question,—and still worse, to a secret, political combination, that gathers at midnight, and away from the public eye, its dark energies, with which to make its unseen attacks upon rights, office, liberty and property. And this secret Party too, is the great national ally of Slavery! This fact, I may prove in another article; that will not permit it in this. Does any one imagine that the strong, animating, open, fearless, Democracy of Susquehanna, are to vanish, like first-work, before this fusion process? Suspicious, and often, they were once; but not in an open field, and by fair means. How much this secret order had to do with it; and what share of the spoils they got, the people are not permitted to know; but we do know it could not have been done without that agency. It may be done once; but the second time, never. The popular vote will yet say that the steps of power are not to be reached by stratagem,—that the people have a right to know, and to scrutinize the men and the measures presented for place,—that the legal rights of the naturalized, and native-born, are alike sacred, and that Whiggery will be detected under whatever name, or disguise it may creep, for the purposes of power. All our history is false; if this debt, instead of disbanding a party, grown inert, and too confident from uninterrupted victory; does not give it up to higher resolves, union, power, and triumph, than her palmy days could boast.

(COMMUNICATED.)

Dear Sir,—I have noticed a call in the papers from you, as Chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee, for that Committee to meet at Philadelphia the 20th inst. for the purpose of reorganizing the Democratic party upon a more permanent basis. Placed upon that Committee by the last Democratic Convention, and being unable to attend your meeting, I have thought proper to give you some of my convictions as to the course which the party should pursue in the future, if it would secure success and fulfill the great mission which Providence seems to have committed to its destiny. From whence should we not enquire, arises a necessity for a more permanent organization? What evidence have we that should convince us of the existence of such a necessity? I presume we shall agree that the evidence is found only in the result of the recent election. It is this which brings this conviction to our minds, and this alone. We should look well then to the causes which produced that disastrous result, in all preparations which may now be made to turn back the tide of unfortunate events. Undoubtedly the immediate agent in the defeat of the democratic party at the last election in this State, was the oath-bound order of Know Nothings; but, independent of other causes, could these have wrought this startling result? In my judgment they could not, for never, probably, has the Democracy been more fortunate in the selection of one to bear the standard or in the time to win a victory. No man possessed more of the confidence and affections of the masses of our people than Gov. Bigelow. His Administration had been singularly popular, fortunate and unexceptionable, while all classes and parties admitted, and admired his integrity and constant devotion to the interests confided to his care. The Whig party had deceased. They had no expectations of success; but, in the language of one of its nominees after the Convention separated, they thought "best to make a show at preserving an organization." The policy of the Democ-

MONSIEUR, Dec. 14, 1854.

Let us look then to the principles really involved in this question, and see where the Democracy should stand. Thrusting all factionism aside, we shall find the principle involved in the present position of the slavery question, to be one depending wholly upon constitutional construction. It is this. The public mind and press of the South, with but few exceptions, claim that the institution of slavery is a national institution, peculiarly protected by the national Constitution, and that therefore it has the same rights in the territories of the nation that any other property interest has. That in order that equality of privileges should exist to persons of all sections of the Union, the national government has no right to erect barriers to the spread of slavery in the territories, and is in duty bound to remove them if they by any means have existence there.

It was in accordance with this doctrine, or construction of the Constitution, that the South voted to repeal the Missouri Compromise,—to remove a barrier to the spread of slavery, which was unconstitutional, because it conflicted with their rights of property in the territories, and not to establish the doctrine of "popular sovereignty" of which we hear so much at the North. In proof of this I need but refer you to the articles which have appeared recently in the *Richmond Enquirer*, *Raleigh Standard*, *Charleston News*, and other leading Southern presses, in which the doctrine I have stated has been boldly proclaimed, heartily in the words I have used and in which General Cass has taken such unmerciful blows because of his doctrine of "popular sovereignty." I will quote from some of the articles, that it may be seen I am not in error on this point. The *Enquir-*

"Slavery is a species of property, and it entitled to all the safeguards and securities which protect other kinds of property. The institution recognized as property, and Congress, as the supreme legislative authority, has the territorial power guarantee to it all the immunities of property. Thus, if the slaveholder from the South settles in a territory in which there is no adequate protection to his property against the violence of the abolitionists, it becomes the duty of Congress to interpose for his security. So, likewise, if there be any artificial barrier of foreign law which repels slavery from the common domain, Congress must interpose to remove the obstacle." "Another leading Southern" paper of about the same date holds similar language as follows: "If this principle of congressional intervention is clear and indisputable, the limitation on its exercise is equally so. Congress may interpose in pursuance of the constitution, not against it. Congress may interpose to further the ends of justice and equality, but not of strong and oppression. Congress may interpose to protect slavery in the territories, but not to prohibit it. This principle is the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun and the state rights school."

I am not without warrant then in saying that the South voted for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to remove an "artificial barrier," which repelled slavery from the common domain, "as they conceived unconstitutional" so, and not to settle the doctrine of "popular sovereignty." It will also be seen, by the extract, that they hold it "the duty of Congress to interpose for the security and protection of the institution, in the territories, thus setting at defiance the doctrine of non-intervention. They demand intervention by Congress, with this question in behalf of slavery, and the democratic party of the north must either embrace their doctrine, or reject and combat it, for the issue is distinctly made. I believe no public man at the North has ever hesitated to condemn this doctrine as monstrous in the extreme! At least since Lord Mansfield decided the *Summers case*, in England, during the century which has preceded us, the doctrine that slavery is purely the creature of local law—that where the local law does not expressly authorize it, there is freedom, has been regarded as the settled law of civilized nations. To such an extent has this doctrine of the common law been recognized in this country, that a few years since it was decided by a Kentucky Court that a slave, who had been carried to a free State by her master and escaped, was free in law, though she afterwards voluntarily returned to slavery. If then this doctrine be correct, the man carrying slaves to a territory without a local law establishing slavery, by that act, frees them from servitude, and if this principle should be placed, beyond controversy by the action of the Federal government, there could be no necessity for a "Wilmot Provision," or Missouri Compromise. It would be understood that slavery can not exist in the territories without law, and therefore no slaves would be taken to them. All uselessness on the subject would then be driven from the northern mind. An ancient, just and humane principle would be vindicated, and all responsibility for the existence and spread of slavery, would be removed from the national government. This being the position of the question, let the Democracy of Pennsylvania, in its next Convention, call upon Congress to pass a declaration law upon this point, and settle the constitutional construction on this subject. Let that body declare that slavery can only exist by the recognition of State law, and it seems to me that an end will be put to agitation, and a final definition to the policy of the country be given. Other States will follow in rapid succession,—the whole work may very soon be consummated. No injustice will be done the South, for none of her rights will be invaded thereby. It will be a simple declaration of a long established principle of the common law,—a principle which has never been questioned till recently, and which has often been applied by Southern jurists as well as northern. It may be answered that, the democratic party must plant itself upon "the great doctrine of popular sovereignty." However well that doctrine might have worked once, I apprehend it will not meet the present exigency. It has become too much tainted by close communion with the Nebraska Bill for the northern mind. The recent election in Kansas is a pretty certain indication that that territory will eventually be organized into a slave State, and yet its territorial organization was claimed as the excellence of practical "popular sovereignty." It will be in vain that the northern Democracy appeal to the people to sustain the doctrine of "popular sovereignty," with such an illustration of its practical workings. There in Kansas it will have doomed a large and beautiful territory to the light of slavery, which had been made free by the laws of Nature and of man. Nor will the South ever agree to that doctrine as the platform of a national organization. I have before me an article from a leading democratic paper of the south on this point, in which the writer holds the following language: "We of the South will never submit to squatter sovereignty. If General Cass had allowed his meaning before the election in 1848, we doubt if he would have received the vote of a single State in the South—so universal was the repudiation of his squatter sovereignty by the State Rights Democrats. This is undoubtedly the doctrine of the South at the present time, and shows conclusively that she will never unite in a national organization upon such a platform. She demands protection for her interests of a more certain character than the chances of miscellaneous settlement in the territories." She demands the protection of the national government, and it works than fully for the Democracy of the North to shuffle off the issue, or strive to temporize with the question itself. It must be met—full in the face, and the sooner it is done the better it will be for the party and the country in future years. And if the South will not unite on this doctrine, what will be gained by forcing it upon northern Democrats? Surely nothing—worse than nothing for the