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Respectfully yours, C. DETRICK.

THE CONVENTION.

Report of the Proceedings.

At precisely twelve o'clock, on July 4th, Hon. August Belmont, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, appeared upon the platform, and was greeted with loud cheering.

SPEECH OF HON. AUGUST BELMONT.
Gentlemen of the Convention: It is my privilege to day to welcome you here in this hall, constructed with so much artistic taste and tendered to you by the time-honored society of Tammany. (Loud cheers.) I welcome you to this magnificent temple, erected to the Goddess of Liberty by her staunchest defenders and most fervent worshippers. (Applause.) I welcome you to this good City of New York, the bulwark of Democracy (great applause), which has rolled back the surging waves of Radicalism through all the storms of the last eight years, and I welcome you, gentlemen, to our Empire State, which last fall redeemed herself from Republican misrule by a majority of nearly 50,000 votes, and which claims the right to lead the vanguard of victory in the great battle to be fought next November for the preservation of our institutions, our laws and liberties.

It is a most auspicious omen, that we meet under such circumstances, and are surrounded by such associations, and I share your own confident hope of the overwhelming success of the ticket and the platform which will be the result of your deliberations. For it is to the American people that our appeal lies. Their final judgment will be just. The American people will no longer remain deaf to the teachings of the past. They will remember that it was under successive Democratic administrations, based upon our natural principles, the principles of constitutional liberty, that our country rose to a prosperity and greatness unsurpassed in the annals of history; they will remember the days when North and South marched shoulder to shoulder together in the conquest of Mexico, which gave us our golden Empire on the Pacific; our California and our Oregon, now the strongholds of a triumphant Democracy; they will remember the days when peace and plenty reigned over the whole Union, when we had no national debt to crush the energies of the people, when the Federal tax-gatherer was unknown throughout the vast extent of the land, and when the credit of the United States stood as high in the money markets of the world as that of any other Government; and they will remember in sorrow, that with the defeat of the democratic party in 1860 came that fearful civil war which has brought mourning and desolation into every household; has cost the loss of a million of American citizens, and has left us with a national debt the burden of which drains the resources, cripples the industry, and impoverishes the labor of the country. They will remember that, after the fratricidal strife was over, when the bravery of our army and navy and the sacrifice of the people had restored the Union and vindicated the supremacy of the law; when the victor and the vanquished were equally ready to bury the past and to hold out the hand of brotherhood and good-will across the graves of their fallen comrades, it was again the defeat of the Democratic candidates in 1864 which prevented this consummation; so devoutly wished for by all. Instead of restoring the Southern States to their constitutional rights, instead of trying to wipe out the miseries of the past by a magnanimous policy, dictated alike by humanity and sound statesmanship, and so ardently prayed for by the generous heart of the American people, the Radicals in Congress, elected in an evil hour, have placed the iron heel of the conqueror upon the South—Austria did not dare to fasten upon vanquished Hungary, nor Russia to impose upon conquered Poland the ruthless tyranny now inflicted by Congress upon the Southern States. Military satraps are invested with dictatorial power, over-riding the decisions of the Courts, and assuming the functions of the civil authorities; the white populations are disfranchised or forced to submit to test oaths alike revolting to justice and civilization; and a debased and ignorant race, just emerged from servitude, is raised into power to control the destinies of that fair portion of our common country. These men, elected to be legislators and legislators only, trampling the Constitution under their feet, have usurped the functions of the Executive and the Judiciary, and it is impossible to doubt after the events of the past few months, and the circumstances of the impeachment trial, that they will not shrink from an attempt hereafter to subvert the Senate of the United States, which alone stood between them and their victim, and which had virtue enough left not to allow the American name to be utterly disgraced, and justice to be dragged in the dust. In order to carry out this nefarious programme our army and navy are kept in times of profound peace on a scale which has involved a yearly expenditure of from one to two hundred millions; prevents the reduction of our national debt, and imposes upon our people a system of the most exorbitant and unequal taxation, with a vicious, irredeemable and depreciated currency. And now this same party, which has brought all these evils upon the country, comes again before the American people, asking for their suffrages, and whom has it chosen for its candidate? *The General Commanding the Armies of the United States.* Can there be any doubt left as to the designs of the Radicals, if they should be able to keep their hold on the reins of Government? *They intend Congressional usurpation of all the privi-*

leges and functions of the Government, to be enforced by the bayonets of a military despotism!

It is impossible that a free and intelligent people can longer submit to such a state of things. They will not calmly stand by to see their liberties subverted, the prosperity and greatness of their country undermined, and the institutions bequeathed to them. They must see that the conservative and national principles of a liberal and progressive Democracy are only safeguards of the Republic. Gentlemen of the Convention: Your country looks to you to stay this tide of disorganization, violence, and despotism. It will not look in vain, and when State after State shall respond by rallying around the broad banner of Democracy, on which, in the future as in the past, will be inscribed our undying motto: "THE UNION, THE CONSTITUTION, AND THE LAWS!"

The nomination was received with loud cheers. Mr. Palmer thanked the Convention in a brief speech.

The Rev. Dr. Morgan, Rector of St. Thomas church, offered an impressive prayer—the vast audience rising and standing in respectful silence.

The roll of States was then called, and each found to be fully represented. Committees of one from each State were appointed, on permanent organization, on credentials and on resolutions.

The Declaration of Independence was read by E. O. Perrin, of N. Y., the Secretary, after which the Convention adjourned, to meet on Monday, the 6th at 10 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

The Convention was called to order by the temporary President. The Rev. Mr. Quinn was called and opened the session with prayer.

Hester Clymer, chairman of the committee on permanent organization, reported as permanent officers of the convention:

For President, Horatio Seymour of New York. For Vice President, Ex-Gov. Ruben Chapman of Alabama, with a list of Vice Presidents and Secretaries taken from each State.

E. O. Perrin of N. Y., was chosen reading Secretary.

Horatio Seymour being introduced, addressed the Convention as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I thank you for the honor you have done me in making me your presiding officer.—This Convention is made up of a large number of delegates from all parts of our broad land. To a great degree we are strangers to each other, and view the subjects which agitate our country from different standpoints. We cannot, at once, grasp all the facts which bear upon the minds of others. Yet our session must be brief, and we are forced to act without delay upon questions of an exciting character and of deep import to our country.—To maintain order, to restrain all exhibitions of passion, to drive out of our minds all unkind suspicions is, at this time, a great duty. I rely upon your sense of this duty and not upon my own ability to sustain me in the station in which I am placed by your kind partiality. Men never met under greater responsibilities than those which now weigh upon us.—It is not a mere party triumph we seek.—We are trying to save our country from the dangers which overwhelm it. We wish to lift off the perplexities and the shackles which, in the shape of bad laws and of crushing taxation now paralyze the business and labor of our land. We hope, too, that we can give order, prosperity, and happiness to those sections of our country which suffer so deeply to-day in their homes and in all the fields of their industry from the unhappy events of the last eight years. I trust that our actions will show that we are governed by an earnest purpose to help all classes of our citizens. Avoiding harsh invectives against men, we should keep the public mind fixed upon the questions which must now be met and solved. Let us leave the past to the calm judgment of the future and confront the perils of the day.

We are forced to meet the assertions in the resolutions put forth by the Republican Convention. I aver there is not in this body one man who has it in his heart to excite so much of angry feeling against the Republican party as we feel stirred up in the minds of those who read these declarations in the light of recent events and in view of the condition of our country. In the first place, they congratulate the perplexed man of business, the burdened tax-payer, the laborer whose hours of toil are lengthened out by the growing cost of the necessities of life upon the success of that reconstruction policy which has brought all these evils upon them by the cost of its military despotism and the corruption of its bureau agencies. In one resolution they "denounce all forms of repudiation as a national crime."—Then why did they put upon the statute books of the nation the laws which invite the citizens who borrow coin to force their creditor to take debased paper, and thus bring him out of a large share of his claim in violation of the most solemn compact? If repudiation is a national crime, is it no crime to invite all the citizens of this country thus to repudiate their individual promises? Was it not a crime to force the creditors of this and other States to take a currency at times worth no more

than 40 cents on the dollar in repayment for the sterling coin they gave to build roads and canals which yield such ample returns of wealth and prosperity? Again they say: "It is due to the laborer of the nation that taxation should be equalized." Then why did they make taxation unequal? Beyond the injustice of making one class of citizens pay for another, their share of the costs of schools, of roads, of the local laws which protected their lives and property, it was an unwise and hurtful thing.—It sunk the credit of the country, as unusual terms are always hurtful to the credit of the borrower. They also declare, "The best policy to diminish our burden of debt is to improve our credit that capitalists will seek to loan us money at lower rates of interest than we now pay and we must continue to pay so long as repudiation, partial or total, open or covert, is threatened or suspected."

Then why have they used full five hundred millions of the taxes drawn from the people of this country to uphold a despotic military authority and to crush out the life of States, when, if this money had been used to pay our debts, capitalists would now seek to lend us money at lower rates of interest. (cheers) But for this "covert repudiation" our national credit would not be tainted in the markets of the world. Again they declare, "Of all who were faithful in the trials of the late war, there were none entitled to more especial honor than the brave soldiers and seamen who endured the hardships of campaign and cruise, and imperiled their lives in the service of the country; the bounties and pensions provided by the laws for these brave defenders of the nation are obligations never to be forgotten; the widows and orphans of the gallant dead are the wards of the people—a sacred legacy bequeathed to the nation's protecting care." How have these sacred duties been performed? they pay to the widowed man, to the widow, or the orphan a currency which they have sunk one quarter below its rightful value by their policy of hate, of waste, and of military despotism. The pitance paid to the wounded soldiers is pinched down twenty-five per cent, below the value of that coin which he had a right to expect. Is there no covert repudiation in this? Again they say, "Foreign immigration, which in the past has added so much to the wealth, development, and resources and increases of power to this Republic, the asylum of the oppressed of all nations, should be fostered and encouraged by a liberal just policy." Is this foreign immigration fostered by a policy which, in cruel mockery of laws just passed declaring eight hours to be a legal day's labor, by the cost of Government and of swarms of officials, so swells the costs of living that men must toil on to meet the exactions? The time was when we could not only invite the European to share with us the material blessings of our great country; but that we could tell those who fled from oppression that we lived under a government of laws administered by the judiciary, which kept the bayonet and the sword in due subordination. We could point to a written constitution which not only marked out the powers of government, but with anxious care secured to the humblest man the rights of property, of person, and of conscience. Is immigration encouraged by trampling that Constitution in the dust; treating it with contempt; shackling the Judiciary; insulting the Executive, and giving all the world to understand that the great guarantees of political and social rights are destroyed? But the crowning indictment against the follies and crimes of those in power is in these words:

"That we recognize the great principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence, as the true foundation of democratic government, and we hail with gladness, every effort towards making these principles a living reality on every inch of American soil." If within the limits of ten States of this Union an American citizen, stung by the sense of his wrongs, should publicly and truthfully denounce the men in power because in the very language of this Declaration of Independence, "They have erected a multitude of new offices and sent forth swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance," he would in all human probability be dragged to a prison. Or, if, in the indignant language of our fathers, he should exclaim, "They have affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power, they have abolished the free system of English laws, and established herein an arbitrary government," for the offence of asserting these principles, he would be tried and punished by a military tribunal. Having declared that the principles of the Declaration of Independence should be made a "living reality on every inch of American soil," they put in nomination a military chief, who stands at the head of that system of despotisms that crushes beneath its feet the greatest principles of the Declaration of Independence. To-day in some States, it is held by military orders to be a crime to speak out the indignation and contempt which burn within the bosoms of patriotic men. If to-morrow a military order should be put forth in that State where the ashes of Washington are entombed, that it should be an offence to declare that the military should ever be subordinate to the civil authority—to speak out the sentiment that it was a disgrace to our country to let the hordes of officials eat up the substance of the people—he who uttered these words could be dragged to prison from the very grade where he the remains of the author of the Declaration of

Independence—from this outrage there could be no appeal to the courts; and the Republican candidate for the Presidency has accepted the position which makes the rights and liberties of a large share of our people dependent upon his will. In view of these things, can there be no man in this Convention who can let a personal ambition, a passion a prejudice, turn him aside one hair's breadth in his efforts to wipe out the wrongs and outrages which disgrace our country? Can there be no man here whose heart is so dead to all that is great and noble patriotism that he will not gladly sacrifice all other things for the sake of his country, its liberties and its greatness? Can we suffer any prejudices growing out of past differences of opinion, to hinder us from uniting with all who will act with us to save our country? We meet to-day to see what measures can be taken to arrest the dangers which threaten our country, and to retrieve it from the evils and burdens resulting from bad government and an unwise counsel. I thank God that the strife of arms has ceased, and that once more in great Conventions of our party we can call through the whole roll of States and find men to answer for each. Time and events in their great cycles have brought us to this point to renew and invigorate that constitutional Government which nearly eighty years ago was inaugurated in this city. It was here that George Washington, the first President, swore to "preserve, protect, and defend" the Constitution of these United States. And here, this day, we as solemnly pledge ourselves to uphold the rights and liberties of the American people. Then, as now, a great war which had desolated our land had ceased. Then, as now there was every patriotic breast, a longing for the blessings of good government, for the protection of laws, and for sentiments of fraternal regard and affection among the inhabitants of all the States of the Union. When our Government in 1789, was inaugurated in this city, there were glad processions of men and those manifestations of great joy which a people show when they feel that an event has happened which is to give lasting blessing to the land. To-day in this same spirit this vast assemblage meets, and the streets of this city are thronged with men who have come from the utmost borders of our continent. They are filled with the hope that we are about, by our actions and our policy, to bring back the blessings of a good government. It is among the happiest omens which inspire us now that those who fought bravely in our late civil war are foremost in their demands that there shall be peace in our land. The passions of hate and malice may linger in meaner breasts, but we find ourselves upheld in our generous purposes by those who showed true courage and manhood on the field of battle. In the spirit, then, of George Washington and of the patriots of the revolution let us take the steps to reinaugurate our Government, to start it at once again on its course to greatness and prosperity. May Almighty God give us the wisdom to carry out our purposes, to give to every State of our Union, the blessings of peace, good order, and fraternal affection.

Mr. Seymour closed amid long continued and tremendous cheering.

THIRD DAY.

After prayer by the Rev. Mr. Plummer, a series of resolutions by Alexander H. Stephens, was presented and read. They were referred to the Committee on resolutions.—After some discussions as to order of business, Mr. Murphy, of N. Y., Chairman of Committee reported the following resolutions, which after reading, were unanimously adopted as the

PLATFORM OF THE PARTY.
The Democratic Party in National Convention assembled, reposing its trust in the intelligence, patriotism, and discriminating justice of the people, standing upon the Constitution as the foundation and limitation of the powers of the Government, and the guarantee of the liberties of the citizen; and recognizing the questions of slavery and secession as having been settled for all time to come—(tremendous cheering)—by the war or voluntary action of the Southern States in Constitutional Convention assembled, and never to be renewed or re-negotiated, do with the return of peace demand:

First—Immediate restoration of all the States to their rights in the Union under the Constitution, and of civil government to the American people.

Second—Amnesty for all past political offences and the restoration of the elective franchise in the States by their citizens.

Third—Payment of the public debt of the United States as rapidly as practicable; all moneys drawn from the people by taxation, except such as may be requisite for the necessities of the government, economically administered, being honestly applied to such payment, and where the obligations of the Government do not expressly state upon their face or the law under which they were issued does not provide that they shall be paid in coin, they ought, in right and in justice, to be paid in the lawful money of the United States.

Fourth—Equal taxation of every species of property according to its real value, including Government bonds and other public securities.

Fifth—One currency for the Government and the people, the laborer and the officeholder, the pensioner and the soldier, the producer and the bondholder.

Sixth—Economy in the administration of the Government—the reduction of the standing army and navy; the abolition of the Freedmen's Bureau—(great cheering) and all political instrumentalities designed to secure negro supremacy, simplification of the system, and discontinuance of ineffectual modes of assessing and collecting Internal Revenue, so that the burden of taxation may be equalized and lessened; the credit of the Government and the currency made good; the repeal of all enactments for enrolling the State militia in tactical

forces in time of peace; and a tariff for revenue upon foreign imports, and such equal taxation under the Internal Revenue laws as will afford incidental protection to domestic manufactures, and as will, without impairing the revenue, impose the least burden upon and best promote and encourage the great industrial interests of the country.

Seventh—Reform of abuses in the administration, the expulsion of corrupt men from office, the abrogation of useless offices, the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of, the executive and judicial departments of the government, the subordination of the military to the civil power, to the end that the usurpations of Congress and the despotism of the sword may cease.

Eighth—Equal rights and protection for naturalized and native-born citizens at home and abroad, the assertion of American nationality which shall command the respect of foreign powers and furnish an example and encouragement to people struggling for national integrity, constitutional liberty and individual rights and the maintenance of the rights of naturalized citizens against the absolute doctrine of immutable allegiance, and the claims of foreign powers to punish them for alleged crimes committed beyond their jurisdiction.

In demanding these measures and reforms we arrange the Radical party for its disregard of right and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career.

After the most solemn and unanimous pledge of both Houses of Congress to prosecute the war exclusively for the maintenance of the Government and the preservation of the Union under the Constitution, it has repeatedly violated that most sacred pledge under which alone was rallied that noble volunteer army which carried our flag to victory. Instead of restoring the Union it has, so far as in its power, dissolved it, and subjected ten States, in time of profound peace, to military despotism and negro supremacy. It has nullified the right of trial by jury; it has abolished the Habeas corpus; that most sacred writ of liberty; it has overthrown the freedom of speech and the press; it has substituted arbitrary seizures, and arrests, and military trials, and secret star chamber institutions for the constitutional tribunals; it has disregarded in time of peace the right of the people to be free from searches and seizures; it has entered the post and telegraph offices, and even the private rooms of individuals, and seized their private papers and letters without any specific charge or notice of affidavit, as required by the organic law; it has converted the American Capitol into a battle; it has established a system of spies and official eavesdroppers to which no constitutional monarchy of Europe would now dare to resort; (cheers)—it has abolished the right of appeal on important constitutional questions to the supreme judicial tribunal and threatens to curtail or destroy its original jurisdiction which is irreversibly vested by the Constitution, while the learned Chief Justice—(loud cheering)—has been subjected to the most atrocious calumnies, merely because he would not prostitute his high office to the support of the false and partisan charges preferred against the President. His corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by his frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war. It has stripped the President of his constitutional power of appointment, even of his own Cabinet. Under its repeated assaults the pillars of the Government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet as a subjected and conquered people amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

And we do declare and resolve that ever since the people of the United States threw off all subjection to the British Crown the privilege and trust of suffrage have belonged to the several States, and have been granted, regulated, and controlled exclusively by the political power of each State respectively, and that any attempt by Congress, on any pretext whatever, to deprive any State of this right, or interfere with its exercise, is a flagrant usurpation of power which can find no warrant in the Constitution, and if sanctioned by the people will subvert our form of Government, and can only end in a single centralized and consolidated government in which the separate existence of the States will be entirely absorbed, and as a qualified despotism be established in place of a Federal Union of equal States.

And that we regard the Reconstruction act (so-called) of Congress, as such, as usurpations and unconstitutional, revolutionary and void.

That our soldiers and sailors who carried the flag of our country to victory against a most gallant and determined foe must ever be gratefully remembered and all the guarantees given in their favor must be faithfully carried into execution.

That the public lands should be distributed as widely as possible among the people, and should be disposed of either under the presumption of homestead lands, or sold in reasonable quantities, and to none but actual occupants, at the minimum price established by the Government. When grants of the public lands may be allowed, necessary for the encouragement of important public improvements, the proceeds of the sale of such lands, and not the lands themselves should be applied.

That the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson—(applause)—in exercising the power of his high office in resisting the aggressions of Congress upon the constitutional rights of the States and the People, is entitled to the gratitude of the whole American people, and in behalf of the Democratic party we tender him our thanks for his patriotic efforts in that regard.

Upon this Platform the Democratic party appeal to every patriot, including all the conservative element and all who desire to support the Constitution and restore the Union, forgetting all past differences of opinion, to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people—(cheers)—and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such co-operating with us as friends and brethren.

(Continued on next page)

California promises to become one of the chief raising-producing countries in the world. The best grape for the purpose is one of the Malaga variety. Last year a single farm raised 25,000