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From the Louisville Democrat.]

SONG.

BY M. W. HARNEY, ESQ.

Yes, 60'S is as fair as it rose in the day
When over its hill and its dale
The liberal light shone through the long-disparted height,
As a dream steals into our sleep.

But, ah! in ourselves there never can be
That glow which is its beauty awoke,
For what in this wide world to you and to me,
If once our hearts are broke.

Not a flower is lost, not a star passed away,
Every heart is as kind and as true!
But the spirit that shone them in, that happy day
Has vanished like into false Eve.

Nothing changed but ourselves, who never can see
Or feel what earth's beauty awoke,
For what in this wide world to you and to me,
If once our hearts are broke.

LOUISVILLE, May 1, 1860.

ANSWER.

For the Memphis Appeal.]

BY HENRY T. STANTON, ESQ.

It has faded away—all the brightness of earth—
Like a star in the gray light of dawn,
And those hallowing passions that sprang into birth,
Shed whatever it is was a forest of worth.
Have slowly and silently gone.

When the sun has no glory—the star has no gleam,
And our spirits, lost as of yore
No musical song in the voice of the stream,
No charm in the midnight—no lingering to dream,
And feel the sweet spell overmore.

Oh, the wide world is nothing to you, or to me,
When the spirit is shattered and lost;
Not a flower on earth—not a leaf on the tree,
All dead, and all withered, to you and to me,
All gone to that bourne whence you and to me,
There may yet be a welcoming host,
Where the lost ever NEW, and the heart ever true,
Will bring back the charm lost to you and to me,
In that sublime and successful home.

MEMPHIS, May 8, 1860.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.

Speeches of Hon. H. S. Payne, George E. Pugh, William L. Yancey and others — The Northern and Southern Democracy — Gems of Eloquence.

The Charleston Mercury has published a verbatim report of the proceedings of the Democratic national convention, we clip from it extracts of the speeches made on the platform by Hon. Geo. E Pugh, Henry B. Payne, William L. Yancey, Governor King, of Missouri, and others. They contain much political truth, all gems of oratory, and will be read with interest.

HON. HENRY B. PAYNE, OF OHIO.

Mr. Payne replied to Mr. Avery, of South Carolina, who spoke in favor of a slave-code. After giving extracts from the speeches of all the eminent southern statesmen in favor of popular sovereignty and non-intervention in 1856, Mr. Payne said:

Why, Mr. President, should I extend these quotations? I repeat that there is no distinguished statesman from the Southern States, who figured on the floors of Congress during these discussions, or who came to us in Ohio upon the "stump," as we call it, who did not take ground in favor of non-intervention by Congress on the floor of this house. It went into the Cincinnati platform, it went to the people from the lips of every Democratic speaker who addressed us. The northern mind had become thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of popular sovereignty. You can not tear it out of their hearts unless you tear out their heart-strings themselves. What then? Do we say that this decision shall be held in derogation of your constitutional rights? No, God forbid. We have said the people of the territories shall have nothing but what the Constitution will give them or spread them to have. We say that all this shall be subject to the Constitution of the United States, and in the resolutions which we have brought in here we have said that we will leave it to the courts of the country to decide what the Constitution does permit, and we will maintain and abide by the decisions of the courts. They, if the judicial tribunals of the country decide that the people of the Territories have no such rights, we agree to abide by that decision and to carry it out in good faith. There we stand, and having been placed there by the authority of southern as well as northern statesmen, we can not from that position with honor recede.

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There, sir, we have stood, and there we stand. This question of intervention in the Territories has been the subject at more intervals, more alienated us, of more estrangement, of more heart-burnings than all the other evils combined since the government commenced. I repeat, that upon the question of congressional non-intervention, we are committed by the acts of Congress; we are committed by the acts of national Democratic conventions; we cannot, we dare not without personal dishonor, and so help us God, we never will recede. [Applause.]

You may we cannot get along without the southern vote. I hope in God we may never attempt to get along without the southern vote and yet in 1852 the vote of the northern or free States would have elected Gen. Pierce if every southern vote had gone against him. I mean not by this allusion to charge that my southern brethren are not reliable; I admit that their votes are reliable. I had my vote at my own State of Ohio, where Abolitionists rave so wildly and as madly as in any other portion of this Republic. You ask me if I am fighting at home; you do not know anything about it. None of you have an army of 200,000 crack Zouaves to contend with. When the Missouri compromise was first repealed they carried the State of Ohio by more than 80,000 majority, and every one of the twenty-one members of Congress from that State were elected by the Democratic party. We have since reduced the vote to a mere trifling majority, and Ohio is now a Democratic State, or nearly so; with the right kind of a platform, she will cast her electoral vote for the Democratic candidate in the coming election; and so I may say in reference to nearly all the Northern States. Ohio, from the time she commenced voting for Jefferson down to the time when she stopped voting for Andrew Jackson, never gave any other than a Democratic vote in the electoral college, and she will be in the future, if you give us for our platform the doctrine of popular sovereignty. We have already elected several members of Congress but for upon the doctrine of intervention on the part of Congress, and I say it with perfect confidence is the truth of what I say, that I do believe we can elect a single member of Congress in the whole Northwest, unless it be in Lower Egypt. No, sir, you cannot carry the Democratic party with success, unless we have the doctrine of non-intervention in our platform.

Now, Mr. President, we are about to enter upon, perhaps, the most severe and desperate political conflict that has been witnessed since the commencement of the Government. Never have we had such a struggle on our hands as we are about to enter upon. It concerns us, and I tell you, my friends of the South, in no unkindness, that it concerns you infinitely more than it does us. We can stand it under a Republican Supreme Court; we can stand it with a Republican executive department. You have far more at stake than we have.

HON. R. P. BUTLER, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. Butler spoke in favor of the adoption of the Cincinnati platform, full and single. He said:

If the platform adopted at Cincinnati was wrong, where was the chairman of our committee? He was there a member of that convention, and will you allow me to read the enthusiasm which he then gave to the resolutions I have the honor to present? When the State of North Carolina was called, Mr. Avery, who was the organ of the delegation from North Carolina, said: "North Carolina casts ten votes for the resolutions, and will make the vote unanimous in November." [Laughter and applause.] Where was the eloquent gentleman from Mississippi? Where was the keen-eyed politician from Louisiana? Where were those somewhat uneasy friends of ours from South Carolina? Where were the gallant Kentucky then? Where was Georgia then, that no man rose to object to the resolutions? Where, I say then, was our eloquent chairman?

"Oh, where was Roderick then?
One blast upon his horn—note
Was worth a thousand men."
[Great laughter.]

I then ask my friends of the convention whether I am as presumptuous as might seem, in appearing before you and asking the adoption of the platform of the Cincinnati convention, which four years ago was received with so much enthusiasm by the national Democracy in convention assembled? Sir, it has received the unanimous verdict of the Democratic party of the country, North and South, it now great victory, carrying it firm upon our banner. I repeat, it has received the indorsement of the Democratic party of the country; it has received the indorsement of the people of the country; and has anything changed in either the government policy of the country, in its territorial acquisition, to alter the principles of Democracy? Tell me, yea or nay, has anything changed? Tell me, ye North, has anything changed? Tell me, ye South, has anything changed? Tell me, ye West, has anything changed—has anything occurred since which need new principles to explain the platform of the Democracy? The answer of every one will be known. Then, gentlemen of the convention, what is the objection to the Cincinnati platform? I am told that it may be subject to two interpretations? Why, sir, when Omniscience sends us the divine law for our guidance through life, and our hope in death for 2,000 years almost, hands of men have been engaged in different interpretations of that divine law, and they have sealed their honesty of purpose with blood—they have burnt their fellow creatures at the stake as an evidence of the sincerity of their faith. [Laughter.]

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No, my friends, I am an old-fashioned Democrat. I learned my Democracy of one Andrew Jackson, and, as I remember, that glorious old hero did not very much defer his political opinions to the Supreme Court of the United States [Cries of "Good God!"] By no means; and I think, were we to adopt that resolution that language, this day and this hour, if there could be anything under heaven that could disturb the peace of the grave, such a resolution in a Democratic convention would make the old man's bones rattle in his coffin. [Applause.] But this is not my special difficulty. I am quite willing to adopt that about which I know something. I am very willing to adopt all the Supreme Court of the United States has made. I must abide by them, because the law of the land makes the tribunal of the United States the Supreme Court, and as a law-abiding citizen, I must abide by that opinion and that decision. But what does this resolution do? It goes farther. It pledges the Democratic party to carry out their determination upon all questions of property, slave or otherwise, to the full effect. But what is the sting in this resolution? It is this: This resolution pledges us that we will carry out faithfully all the decisions that may be hereafter made by the Supreme Court. Now, I have great respect, as a lawyer, for the Supreme Court, and great respect for their decisions, because I know who make them. But how in the providence of God am I to know who is to make the decisions of the Supreme Court? How am I to know what decisions are hereafter to be made? If we shall disagree here, if we shall foolishly clash, if we shall separate our interests and allow the Republicans to elect their favorite man, Mr. Seward, who threatens a reorganization of the Supreme Court, are you willing to pledge yourselves to abide by and faithfully carry out all the decisions of that court, reorganized by Seward, which they will hereafter make?

GOVERNOR KING, OF MISSOURI.

Governor King, of Missouri, made an eloquent and forcible speech in favor of the minority platform. He condemned the slave-code platform as follows:

Adopt that platform and William H. Seward is a candidate for the Presidency. You make him not only a candidate, but more than that, you make him President and just as soon as that event transpires, you will see them battling for recruits all over the South to take steps for dissolving the Union. Men of Alabama, men of Mississippi, men of Louisiana, men of the South, do you want to bring about that disaster? I trust not. I would not charge you with such want of fidelity to the Constitution and the Union of these States. Let us have our platform, and we will relieve you from any result of that kind. I should dislike to part with my Mississippi and Alabama friends, and I have one hope in the event they do not get their platform, that seeing that if there ever was a time to disobey the instructions of constituents it is the present, they will stay here with us. We will do you no harm; we will do you much good. If you should try to turn the tide of public sentiment against the nominee of this convention, it will stir up a feeling in the North-west, and possibly it may extend to the far East, that will say, for what is this man proscribed and condemned? For proclaiming a principle that is as old as the Government itself—ah, yes, and as old as free governments. I expect we shall get as many States as we shall lose. I am one of those who never despair. I never give up the ship, whatever may be the strength of the opposition I have to contend with. In the country where I live, the hotter the contest waxes the more determined we fight; and, in the event to which I have alluded, we would be inspired with a feeling and sentiment worth one under no other circumstances could inspire. In the div of political controversy our voices would be heard far above the uproar of the contending waves, and, in the language of the dying Lawrence, "we would never give up the ship." In the name of God I entreat you, my southern friends, to remain with us. The Union is not to be dissolved; we shall give no occasion for it. Gentlemen, I ask you to submit to the decision of the Supreme Court in reference to those matters. I do not care whether it is in the platform or not, for it is a judicial question; but I would like to have it there, just to save me the trouble of answering questions.

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If you want to see fun next summer, pass the platform of the majority, and then go to Ohio, Indiana or Illinois [laughter,] and then you will have your eyes open.

Gentlemen of the South, they are not fighting for themselves, they are fighting for principles. It has done my heart good to be in a free State during the canvass, and hear a Democrat speak. If I had not known him locally, I should have thought that he was down in Louisiana or Mississippi. Why, sir, in the eastern part of Maine and talk with a Democrat, and you will find that his political experience is just what it is away down South. When you have been in such a neighborhood in the purport of it? Is he fighting for any proposition at home? No, sir? Democrats at the North are charged with treason to the South, and they, sir, and our friends, have planted themselves upon the compromises of the Constitution; and although they live in the North, they remember that there are men in the South who have relatives, and they breast the storm in defense of their southern brethren, ready to die in the conflict, as many of them have done. [Applause.] Sir, I have had been in any State during the conflict that was going on in an adjoining State, when the people rose in their might, and would not let a Democratic speaker be heard. The Northern area ever achieved in my own person, in my own State, or in the Union, that gave me so much joy as this. [Applause.]

WILLIAM L. YANCEY,

the great leader of the discussionists, made a splendid speech in favor of a slave code. We have only room for a portion of it.

I turn, then from that aspect of the question; and now, gentlemen, why, why will you not accord to the South simple protection? We are told here, to-day, in answer to this question, by the representatives of party who have addressed you, that the platform of our party hangs upon the strings but I tell you gentlemen, that the fate of our country hangs upon the issue. [Cheers.] I meet your partisan argument with the fate of the party, and the country itself. I make no threats. I am not authorized to do so, and it would be unbecoming in any one to do so. I will state to you, though, my earnest belief that such is the condition of the public mind at the South, that it cannot bear any longer any doubt as regards what is the promotion of the party on this great issue. [Cheers.] We are determined in no hurried or illegal manner to dissolve the Union, we must bring up the Democratic party to the great issue of loyalty to the Government; we must rally our friends everywhere, all the members, and ask that their feelings of loyalty to the Government shall override their principle above loyalty to party success. If need be, we must sacrifice our party at that great altar with cheerfulness rather than rejoice in a victory obtained upon error or doubtedsaling. [Tremendous cheering.] In 1860, what did the Democratic party do? Sir, when I read that it was a prodigal and a purer party than it is now? In the great financial issue, when the people decided that the party in and Martin Van Buren was in the chair, he rose to the grandeur and the full proportions of a statesman, when in his message to the Congress of the United States he stood up to the world and appealed to the "sober second thought of the people." [Loud Cheers.] The Democracy went into convention. They fearlessly grappled themselves upon the constitutional principle of the divorce of bank and of State; they met the cohorts of "log cabin" and "coon skins" and "hard-cider," they met a party all over whose banner was embossed "without a vote or a waveform" "we simply go for turning out the Democracy, and putting in a new party." The Democracy accepted defeat on principle. The Opposition accepted victory on the very principle on which you wish to have it now—the ignoring of all issues that would make you unpopular in the canvass. No sooner had they got the power in a Congress that met for the first time, with the eloquent and mighty Clay at the head of them, and he proposed the great measures of the Compromise, which party which had been kept out of the caucuses in national questions, than that party burst into a thousand fragments, as the Democratic party would not fall upon the rocks on which the billows have tossed her, and the Democratic party, upon the retaining tide, came overwhelmingly to the power upon principle. [Tremendous cheers.]

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Yield nothing of principle for mere party success, also you will die by the hands of your associates as surely as by the hand of your avowed enemy. Permit no party, in lieu of fealty to the written compact of the Constitution, to place in jeopardy your own allegiance and fealty upon you, which will forever after be used to prevent your rising, when you think proper, to place your rights upon any platform that may be adopted by any party. Do not demoralize yourselves; do not demoralize your own people by admitting that you are ready to affiliate in a war of factions, merely for the sake of keeping a party in power. A party is its noblest sense, is an organized body that pledges itself to the people to administer the government on a constitutional basis. The people have no interest in parties, except to have them pledged to administer the government for the protection of their rights. The leaders of the masses, brilliant men, great statesmen, may, by ever ignoring the people's rights, still have a brilliant destiny in the records of office and the distribution of the eighty millions annually; but when those leaders, those statesmen, become untrue to the people, and ask the people to vote for a party that ignores their rights, and dares not acknowledge them, in order to put and keep them in office, they ought to be strung upon a political gallows higher than that ever erected for Haman. [Vehement and continued applause.]

HON. GEORGE E. PUGH, OF OHIO—HIS REPLY TO YANCEY.

Senator Pugh made a noble reply to Mr. Yancey, showing that he had changed his ground in four years. He said:

Mr. Pugh. I certainly, with the honorable gentleman, consider this occasion too grave to call any gentleman's consistency in question. I have referred to the proceedings of this convention for the purpose of showing that the very year the Cincinnati platform was framed, and just before its fabrication, when the State of Alabama was represented in Congress by the same eloquent and able gentleman and his able and eloquent colleagues, while she expressed for herself the very opinion upon constitutional law to which she has expressed here to-day, she never view agreed as the basis of a compromise, as the basis of a national or sectional platform, the principle of non-intervention in regard to slavery in the territories.

I have referred to this, gentlemen, only to show that Alabama did not on that occasion so on this, put forward the proposition she does now—and that is the key to the whole controversy. We are now called upon to settle that which has been purposely left open. We are now called upon by Alabama to take a step in advance and put into our national platform that which she herself did not ask us to put there four years ago. [Applause.] It cannot be said that she did not then understand the question, for the first resolution shows she did. Why did she not insist upon it then? Why, my fellow-citizens, this great government of ours is a government of compromise. The Democratic party recognizes the fact that the various States of this Union must come to us, if we, when it may think it was a prudent and a purer party than it is now? In the great financial issue, when the people decided that the party in and Martin Van Buren was in the chair, he rose to the grandeur and the full proportions of a statesman, when in his message to the Congress of the United States he stood up to the world and appealed to the "sober second thought of the people." [Loud Cheers.] The Democracy went into convention. They fearlessly grappled themselves upon the constitutional principle of the divorce of bank and of State; they met the cohorts of "log cabin" and "coon skins" and "hard-cider," they met a party all over whose banner was embossed "without a vote or a waveform" "we simply go for turning out the Democracy, and putting in a new party." The Democracy accepted defeat on principle. The Opposition accepted victory on the very principle on which you wish to have it now—the ignoring of all issues that would make you unpopular in the canvass. No sooner had they got the power in a Congress that met for the first time, with the eloquent and mighty Clay at the head of them, and he proposed the great measures of the Compromise, party which had been kept out of the caucuses in national questions, then that party burst into a thousand fragments