Republican Presidential Convention.

CIRCULAR OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE,

Appointed at Pittsburg, 22d of February, 1856.

We solicit your attention to the call which has preceded this paper. It is not only to recommend to the people the immediate selection of delegates from the several States, equal in number to three times the representation in Congress to which each State is entitled, to meet on the 17th of June, at Philadelphia, to present such individuals as they may deem best suited to uphold the cause to which they are devoted as candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency; but also to invite the members of all parties who feel it to be the dominant issue which should control the election, to meet at the same time and place, to confer with the Convention as to the best course to crown their common wishes with success.—One of the parties which will be represented at Philadelphia has taken the name of Republican, because it was given to that founded by Mr. Jefferson, to embrace all who love the Republic. There is no Democrat who does not love the Republic. There is no Whig who does not love the Republic.—There is no American who does not love the Republic. And we fondly hope there is no naturalized citizen who does not love the Republic.

But it is not so important that the great movement which we desire to see successfully inaugurated shall be designated by any particular name, as that it shall be strong, united and effective. Why may not all those classes who are hostile to the introduction of Slavery into free territory, unite at this crisis of impending danger, to vote for a common ticket, which will be nominated to assert the grand principle of repressing the extension of slaveholding monopoly, and to vindicate the rights of the people in all sections of the Union who labor with their own hands!—a ticket which will not agitate with a view to detract from the rights of the States to dispose of the subject within their limits, according to their sovereign will; yet its influence to destroy the freedom of white laborers is a fit subject of investigation, with a view to repress the aggressive power in every constitutional way.

The rights of the laboring class involved in this question have been betrayed by the representatives from the North and South in the interest of the slaveholders, who have voted to surrender the lands to slave labor which were set apart to make freeholders and enrich the workingmen of both sections who own no slaves, who should emigrate to them, cultivate and improve them with their own toil. Here are two great principles blended in this cause—the one impelling the vindication of the rights of labor, the other the chastisement of those misguided representatives who have violated the faith pledged between the two sections of the Union to each other in their compact, & their own faith as representatives in misrepresenting the will of their constituents in the repealing acts, & disobeying their instructions in reference to them.

Can there be any difficulty in uniting the men of all parties, who concur in the great design of delivering the masses from the oppressions of the slaveholders in the new Territories, and the fair free, healthy regions of the Far West from the blot of Slavery and the sterility that attends its footsteps wherever it treads! There are 347,000 slaveowners in the United States; they hold nearly four millions of slaves; there are six millions of free white population in the Southern States who own no slaves, and there are twenty millions of free white population in the North (allowing for the increase since the last census.) Are the interests of these twenty-six millions in the vast regions of the West to be blasted, to administer to the pride, to the ambition, to the false view of interest in which the 347,000 slaveowners would indulge themselves! In their arrogance they stigmatize as black Republicans those who would make a constellation of free, bright republics, constituted of the white race alone! untarnished by a slave of any color; their history and their laws unblemished by that word. Are they called black because they would redeem their white brethren of the South, by reserving to them a refuge from the thraldom imposed on them by the negro slavery there, and which makes the master the oppressor of all beneath him, of whatever complexion! Are they called black because they would resist the slaveowner with his sword in his attempts to expel from their homes the sons of the Free States who have already cast their lots in the new lands to which their fathers taught them to look forward as their inheritance, under a compromise of more than thirty years' standing!

This derogatory epithet is inappropriately applied to those who labor to build up Free States composed of white men, to transfer the odium of the *black institution* from those who cling to it as a part of their republican system. It is not proposed to touch the subject of Slavery in the States where it exists, but to shut the door upon it, and to exclude it from Territories to which its approach has been forbidden.

The attempt will be made to persuade those who would identify themselves with this cause, that there is no necessity to make a sacrifice of minor differences to make Kansas a Free State—that the proclamation of the President has put down all danger of invasions—that Gen. Atchison and his banditti and armed allies from the South have given up all idea of forcible interference—that they mean to acquiesce in the peaceable settlement of the question in favor of that section which has showed that it can furnish the greatest number of emigrants, and this pacific attitude is to be held until after the Presidential election.

If the Nullifiers of the South shall then triumph in the election of a President nominated by them at Cincinnati, the usurpation established by Atchison will be found in full activity—its laws introducing Slavery into the Territory and protecting it from reversal at the ballot-box by the disfranchisement of the settlers by testoaths, will be enforced, and a constitution, framed by defeating the suffrages of the Free State settlers by disabilities, will be adopted, and the whole proceeding will be sustained by the military force of the United States, upon the principles and under the authority of the President's proclamation.

Here, we might close our circular; but may we not trespass upon the patience of those we address by exposing the workings of the institution which those who arrogate to themselves the character of Democrats are laboring to impose upon our virgin Territories, and upon the principle asserted by them that it is a National Institution! The movement to open the Free Territories to Slavery, by repealing the compacts upon the subject, began with the nullifiers of South Carolina. We will begin with that State, to make an exhibition of the sort of government it will enforce in the West, from its results in the South.

Popular sovereignty in South Carolina thus exhibits itself: Six districts in that State, in the rice and long staple cotton region, where the slave population is most dense, containing a population of 49,503 whites, elect a majority of the Senate, leaving in a minority those representing 209,084 whites in the rest of the State. In 11 districts, 77,929 whites elect 28 Senators and 64 Representatives, while 18 districts, having 181,145 whites, are represented by 17 Senators and 60 Representatives. Thus, less than one-third of the free population in the Negro-quarter region have the Supreme control of the State. The Legislature elected by this third appoints the Judiciary, from the supreme Bench to common Justices of the Peace; elect Senators to Congress and the Electors of President and Vice President of the United States—for the people are not allowed to vote at all for the Electors of President and Vice President of the United States, this being done by the rotten borough Legislature, in defiance of the spirit of the constitution and the interpretation of every other State.

The Governor of the State is also elected by this body, which represents a minority of the State—and Negroes and land exclusively—for no man is eligible to it unless he has real estate to the value of $7,000, clear of all debt, or 500 acres of land and 10 Negroes.—Nor can this state of things be changed, unless two-thirds of this land and Negro qualified body consent to the alteration of the constitution—a thing never to be expected.*

In Virginia and Maryland, the system of minority government, to give the control to the slave section over the greater white population in other portions of the States, prevails, but in a less degree; but in all the Slave States, whether contrived by constitutional provisions or not, the result is that the slaveholding class is sovereign throughout the South.

It results from the concert produced among the masters by their common interest in an institution which can only stand by force of artificial means. The slaves themselves and the non-slaveholders are, as individuals, naturally against it; this makes it necessary that the slave owners should become a phalanx, an educated, disciplined army, to sustain by political intrigue and united force all attacks upon it. There is no all-absorbing influence among its enemies to combine adversaries in opposition. The consequence is that the 347,000 masters, forever animated by the same instinct, can always vanquish partial and desultory opposition, as standing armies in absolute governments keep in subjugation. The monopoly which nearly 4,000,000 of black men give to the united authority which commands them, makes it impossible that any single-handed competitor in the field of labor can, in cultivating the products of the soil, enter the market with the staples of the South on equal footing with men who wield the force of ten, twenty, and thirty, and hundreds of slaves in companies. The owners of slaves command the markets; they put down individual competitors; they buy out the little plantations which in the earlier settlements surround them, and, in the end, the rich lands all become the domains of rich planters. Hence we see in the older Southern States the poorer classes are either tenants at will, or, banished to the poor lands of the hills, take to the life of idlers, hunters or fishermen; or, at best, the more industrious among them become day laborers, living from hand to mouth—in a word, they are stripped by the oligarchy of slaveholders, who command their wages, their tenements, and, of course, everything. The class who hold a monopoly of the soil can command every thing. "He takes my life who takes the means whereby I live." Hence in the South the monopolists of the land and black labor of the country, although numbering but 347,000 out of a population of 6,000,000, in virtue of their power over near 4,000,000 of slaves, are absolute in all the State Governments. They are the Governors, the Legislators, the Judges, Justices, Sheriffs, they are all in all.

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

And here we find in what consists that which is now vaunted to be the Democratic party par excellence. It is composed of the office-holders under the present Administration, headed by those chiefs who are looked to continue them in office, through the united vote of the South, and the chance vote of some Northern State obtained by plurality—the result of the division of their opponents growing out of personal preferences or party dissensions. The Democratic party, which the Administration calls its own, has no basis but the oligarchy of the South—we might call it the BLACK OLIGARCHY, returning to it the appellation which it is so willing to give to others, because it most appropriately belongs to itself. The leaders of this party in the North have proved themselves entirely worthy of its confidence by abandoning every principle of Democracy, once their boast. They have abandoned the principles of the fathers of the Republic, who considered it as the first attribute of the new order of things established by the Revolution, that it would arrest the spread of slavery throughout the continent. It did lead to its immediate extinction in many of the States, and the first act under the Constitution was to exclude it from the whole territory of the Union. The Democratic leaders of the new order, at the bidding of the Southern nullifiers, have broken all the compacts and compromises designed to establish Free Republics in the Territories from which Slavery was excluded. In doing this they have put under foot the representative principle; defied the will of their immediate constituents; on receiving instructions to repeal their acts have refused to obey; and in this have given the most striking example of an utter abandonment of the cardinal doctrine of democracy. The spread of liberty, not slavery, is its distinctive principle.

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

The fate which awaits a people afflicted with a Democracy which grows up under the government of slave owners, may be seen in the testimony which we give in the words of the most distinguished men of that party, which we find collated in a pamphlet by Mr. Weston.

Mr. Sarver, of Missouri, in a paper on "Domestic Manufactures in the South and West," published in 1847, says:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more Southern portion of this region the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil being in possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. * * * * The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and in every point of view less respectable than their ancestors."

In the January number, 1850, of *De Bow's Review*, in an article on "Manufactures in South Carolina," we have an exhibition of the fears entertained of bringing together masses of non-slaveholding Southern white population even for manufacturing purposes:

"So long as those poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied that they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he.—But the progress of the world is 'onward,' and though in some sections it is slow, still it is '*onward*,' and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opening before them, by which they can elevate themselves and their families from wretchedness and ignorance to competence and intelligence. *It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear so far as our institutions are concerned.*"

William Gregg, Esq., in an address before the South Carolina Institute in 1751 upon manufactures, remarks:

"From the best estimates I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work, and who do not, or who are so employed as to be entirely unproductive to the State, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. * * * By this it appears that but one-fifth of the present poor whites of our State would be necessary to operate 1,090,000 spindles. * * * The appropriation annually made by our Legislature for our school Fund, every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. * * While we are aware that the Northern and Eastern States find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school.

I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise and intelligence is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence, is that a large portion of our poor white people are wolly neglected and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent—they must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life; and this, we believe, may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. * * * My experience at Graniteville has satisfied me that unless our poor people can be brought together in villages, and some means of employment afforded them, it will be an utterly hopeless effort to undertake to educate them."

Here is the testimony of Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina, the great leader of the nullifying party now assuming the title of Democracy. We extract it from an address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1850. He is speaking of that class of people, estimated by Wm. Gregg, Esq., of South Carolina, in his address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1851, to be 125,000—one-half of the white population of the State:

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse, trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, speaking in 1852 upon the industrial regeneration of the South, says:

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. * * * * But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed half-clothed, and ignorant population—without Sabbath Schools, or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect, by taking an interest in their welfare."

We close our quotations by an extract from an address delivered a few weeks since by Hon. C. C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama:

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our small planters, after taking the cream of their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further west and south, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbors, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. O! the $20,000,000 annually realized from the sales of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all not expended in supporting the producers, is reinvested in land and negroes.

Thus the white population has decreased, and the slave increased almost *pari passu* in several counties of our State. In 1825 Madison county cast about 3,000 votes; now she cannot cast exceeding 2,300. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves, or tenantless, deserted and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, foxtail and broomsedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find 'only one master grasps the whole domain' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

This gentlemen is distinguished as a zealot for the extension of the blessings of slavery to the Free Territories. The above extract from his eloquent speech is a picture drawn from the life, and exhibiting to the eye the charms of slavery, which the small freeholders of the North and West, who cultivate their farms with their own hands, well know how to appreciate from contrast.

We would not have adverted to the disfranchisement of the mass of the white population in South Carolina and other Southern States, by property qualification for office, and the defeat of the right of suffrage by the rotten borough system, had we not seen with what contempt of every principle of free government the attempt is now made to carry Kansas for Slavery. An usurpation, put up with force and arms by Gen. Atchison has already established Slavery in that Territory, has guarded it with test oaths, and denounced the death penalty against all who oppose it. The President of the United States is pledged by his proclamation to maintain the usurpation, and if he is re-elected, or any other nominated by the South to succeed him, the Army of the United States will be employed to rivet Slavery on Kansas under the laws passed by Gen. Atchison's followers from Missouri. The North must unite to detest this attempt by the election of a President who will maintain the rights of the people of the North in the Territory, or a cordon of Black Republics will stretch from Missouri west to the Pacific. The consequence will be that no free white Republic will be permitted to arise south of the tier of Slave States. The free settlers of the North on their way to Kansas are now obliged to turn away from Missouri, to reach their destination with their property and means of defending it.

What will result from the creation of a cordon of Slave States across the continent! It surrenders all south of it to Slavery; and what will be the condition of the slaveless white population which must spring up in this vast region! We see in the fate of the poor free population of Mexico to "what complexion it must come at last," whenever slave monopoly has once given its owners the mastery over the soil. Slavery nominally is abolished throughout the Republic of Mexico, but exists, in fact, under the name of peonage. The owners of the soil feed and clothe those who work for them; they charge their laborers more for their supplies than they agree to pay them for wages, and the result is, that the laborer is constantly falling more and more in debt, and the law subjects him to his creditors until he works out his indebtedness. The effect of the system is to compel a man to sell himself & his family.

And this, taken in connection with the condition of the poor white population in the South—as shown in the passages we have taken from the address of Gov. Hammond, of South Carolina, the Hon. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, and other leading Southern statesmen—explains the recent article in the Richmond *Enquirer*, the oracle of Southern interests, which elaborately argues the right of subjecting whites, as well as blacks, to Slavery. Nay, it goes so far as to insist that this right of making white slaves is "inalienable." The article thus presses this point:

"They (those holding Mr. Jefferson's doctrine) begin to reason, by assuming Slavery to be morally and religiously wrong, and the South hitherto has granted their premises, and attempted to justify negro Slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as a matter of bargain between the North and the South. *The laws of God and nature are immutable, and man cannot bargain them away.* While it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—*yet the principle of Slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion.*"

Under this doctrine it follows that here a more direct enslavement of the white race may be insisted upon than that obtained in Mexico under the contrivance of debtor vassalage. The doctrine is a positive sanction of the bondage of the white race, and asserts that "the laws of God and nature are immutable" in its support, and "man cannot bargain them away." It is practically illustrated now in the Utah Territory, where a man holds a multitude of women as slaves, calling them his wives. What is there in Mr. Ritchie's principle to prevent Brigham Young from holding ninety white men as slaves under bills of sale, as well as ninety white women under pretence of the bonds of matrimony?

Mr. Ritchie's explanation of the Southern doctrine of Slavery, together with Mr. Douglas' act for the Territories, which "leaves the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States," certainly authorizes the Mormon State to come into the Union with the Turkish system full blown, which makes slaves of all colors, and wives without number. It is a sad commentary on our progress, that at the moment when the news arrives of the Sultan's firman putting an end to the traffic of slaves in his Empire—of the Czar's steps for the liberation of the serfs in Russia, and of their actual enfranchisement in their Danubian Principalities—we should have negro Slavery forced on one Territory by an usurpation set up by the sword, and the right of the Mormons recognized in another to hold a multitude of the gentler sex in servitude, under the unnatural law of a plurality of wives'

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

E. D. MORGAN, New York,
FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,
A. P. STONE, Ohio,
WM. M. CHACE, Rhode Island,
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massacusetts,
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,
CHARLES DICKEY, Michigan,
GEO. G. FOGG, New Hampshire,
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,
CORNELIUS COLE, California,
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,
C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,
LEWIS CLEPHANE, D. C.
National Committee.

WASHINGTON, March 28, 1856.

*The apportionment of the representation, showing the rotten borough system of South Carolina, which in effect makes the master of slaves master of the State, exercise the whole sovereign authority through the Legislature constituted by them, is taken from a publication in THE SOUTH CAROLINIAN, Columbia S.C. It was published in Washington City in 1849, soon after it appeared in South Carolina. The next apportionment does not take place until 1859, unde the census of 1850, when the disproportion will be increased, inasmuch as the white population, in ten years preceding census, increased not quite six per cent, whereas the slaves increased nearly eighteen per cent—the slaves increasing three times as fast as the rate of apportionment in South Carolina is to favor the masters who wield the Legislative power, and is to give representation in greater proportion to the districts in which Slavery most predominates, it is not improbable that the inequality already existing will in 1859 be increased according to the ratio of the increase of slaves over the poor whites.

This supposition is based upon the idea that the policy which has heretofore controlled will be continued. And as the slaveholders of South Carolina, amounting only to 25,596, have the absolute legislative power in their hands and dispose of the destinies of the 274,563 whites, of the 384,943 slaves, and the 8,960 free mulattoes and blacks at pleasure, they will not fail to make the representative apportionment such as will render their sway more secure, and put out of hope all who may dream of reform.

The following extracts from the Constitution of South Carolina, as to the qualifications of all who are permitted to hold a place in the Government, prove that its soul is slavery. It will be observed "that settled freehold estate and ten negroes," is the starting point and the lowest degree of qualification required. This is put upon a par by the Constitution with a qualification of £150 of real estate clear of debt. From this the scale of qualifications rises with the grade of offices until it reaches £1,500 of real estate clear of debts according to the data of the Constitution; which makes ten negroes and freehold equivalent to unincumbered real estate of the value of £150; and for the most real estate in plantations is only valuable in proportion to the slaves that work it; a man who has the qualification of £1,500 will, on the data of the Constitution, probably own 100 negroes.

Extracts from the Constitution of South Carolina. By article 1, section 6, of the Constitution it is provided, in reference to members of the House:

"If a resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives, unless he be legally seized and possessed, in his own right, of a settled free hold estate, and ten negroes, or a real estate of the value of a hundred and fifty pounds sterling, clear of debt."

By article section 8, it provided, in reference to Senators:

"If a resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible unless he be legally seized and possessed in his own right of a settled freehold estate of the value of three hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt. If a non-resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible unless he be seized and possessed in his own right or a freehold estate in the same district to the value of one thousand pounds sterling, clear of debts."

By article 2, section 2, it is provided that no person shall be eligible as Governor, unless he hath resided within the State and been a citizen therein, three years, and unless he be seized and possessed of a settled estate within the same, in his own right, of the value of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, clear of debts."

By article 2, section 3, the same qualifications are prescribed for the Lieutenant-Governor as for the Governor.

By amendments of the Constitution ratified on the 17th of December, 1803, the basis of representatives in the House and Senate was fixed, and has not been changed since.

The House consists of 124 members, 62 apportioned in the several districts according to "the amount of all taxes raised by the Legislature, whether direct or indirect, or of whatever species, paid in cash, deducting therefrom all taxes paid on account of property held in any other district and adding thereto all taxes elsewhere paid on account of property held in such districts."

The first apportionment was made in 1809, and a reapportionment on the same principles is made every ten years.

In reference to the Senate, it is provided as follows:

"The Senate shall be composed of one member from each election district, as now established for the election of members of the House of Representatives, except the districts formed by the Parishes of St. Philips and St. Micheal, to which shall be allowed two Senators as heretofore."

This makes the Senate a representation neither of numbers nor property, but of territories.

A Southern Democratic view of Squatter Sovereignty.

From the Richmond Enquirer of April 21.

Among the fair but false and fatal theories of the day none attracts so much homage as the "Squatter Sovereignty" courtezan. There are none so radiant with meretricious charms, none so ready with deceitful Promise, and none so sure to cover their victim with shame and reproach. The sovereignty of the people is a noble principle, and should command universal homage. "Squatter Sovereignty" is an imposture, a counterfeit copy, an ugly idol wrought by man's hands and should be kicked off the pedestal where it sits in mock majesty and courts the adoration of fools and demagogues.

We cannot conceive how any doubt can arise as to full, perfect, unlimited, and sovereign power of the Federal Government of the Territory of Kansas as the agent or trustee of the existing States. By the purchase from Louisiana, and the subsequent extinction of the indian titles the Territory became ours to dispose of and govern as we pleased, for the common benefit of all the States. The States can only exercise their sovereign administrative and governmental rights through the instrumentality of the Federal Government. The writers on national law, it is true, affix this limit to the exercise of such powers, "that no nation has a right to keep unsettled a large and fertile domain." This is, however, mere speculative morality, which can never become a practical question between civilized nations.

The practice of the Government corresponds with our doctrine. When Louisiana was acquired the President alone was entrusted with almost absolute power over its government till Congress should make other regulations. (2d vol. United States Statutes at Large, page 245, session 1803.) At the next session (see vol. 2d, p 283) Congress authorized the President to appoint a Governor and a Legislative Council of thirteen, all to be land owners, who might enact laws subject to the approval of Congress. Thus the Federal Government continued, through officers selected by itself, to exercise sovereign power over a numerous and wealthy people, without allowing them any voice whatever in their own government. A similar course was pursued in the Northwestern Territory, where a Governor & three judges appointed by the Federal Government, exercised legislative, executive, and judicial powers, their laws also being subject to the approval of Congress. (United State Statutes at Large, vol. 1, page 51.)

The ordinance, however, of 1789 gives to this Territory the right to elect a Legislature so soon as it shall contain five thousand free male inhabitants above the age of twenty one (that is, when its population should amount to about twenty-five thousand.) none were to vote for members of Assembly unless possessed of a freehold of fifty acres of land. The whole tenor of these acts shows that it was deemed clear that the people of the Territories had no right to a voice in their own government till such right was conferred on them by Congress.

This absolute dominion over our Territories is essential to our existence as a nation. It might happen that a newly-conquered territory, or a territory occupied by free negroes, Indians, Chinese, hordes of robbers or lawless, ignorant, and immoral people of any kind, could not be trusted with any voice in their own government even as a Territory, much less would such people be entitled to admission as a State simply because they had population sufficient to elect a member of Congress. The Federal Government is bound to govern all the Territories. It may and should exercise its powers through a Territorial Government elected by the people, to be governed when the people are sufficient moral and inteligent for self-government and are well affected to us and our institutions. It should admit no people as a State who are not in all respects fitted for self-government and should look closely to the provisions of the constitution of the people so applying to see whether the great interest of morality, religion, property and liberty are adequately secured.

FOUR MEN DROWNED.—Four men and one woman, in crossing the river near Wellsville, in a skiff, were thrown into the river by the upsetting of the boat, and sad to relate, the four men were drowned. The woman was saved by her clothes buoying her up until assistance arrived.

Belmont Chronicle.

B. R. COWEN, - - - - EDITOR.

"Eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of Man."

Thursday Morning, May 1, 1856

Gen. Pierce's Record.

It is often interesting to ransack old documents, and revive old memories; it carries one back and surrounds them with the men and things of olden time. There is another effect this overhauling of old documents has: it shows that to public men it is oftentimes exceedingly inconvenient to be consistent. Consistency, however, appears to be a total stranger to certain men of a certain party we could name, as the following documents will show. To illustrate we take, for example, no less a personage than President Pierce and see if his political path has been straight or devious. Just at present the doctrine of 'squatter sovereignty' is the polar star of Democracy, and the utter repudiation of the good old Jeffersonian idea that Congress has power to govern the territories, the corner stone of democratic orthodoxy; suppose we commence back a few years and TRACK Mr. Pierce to his present position.

He was, as is well known to all, a member of the Democratic Party of New Hampshire, in fact, he was the Democratic party. The N. H. State convention in 1847 adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That we declare it our solemn conviction, as the Democratic party have heretofore done, that neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should hereafter exist in any territory which may be acquired by or annexed to the United States; and that we approve of the votes of our delegation in Congress in favor of the Wilmot proviso.

JOHN P. HALE was then a Senator, and is now. Hale maintains his ground on the Wilmot Proviso, the Granite State Democracy don't. They have "progressed".

Again, in 1848 the New Hampshire Legislature, then largely Democratic, passed the following resolution by a very large majority:—

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General court convened, That we are in favor of the passage of a law by congress forever prohibiting slavery in New Mexico and California, and in all other territories now acquired, or hereafter to be acquired by the United States, in which slavery does not exist at the time of such acquisition.

In 1849 the same body passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, &c., That, opposed to every form of oppression, the people of New Hampshire have ever viewed with deep regret the existence of slavery in this Union; that while they have steadfastly supported all sections in their constitutional rights, they have not only lamented its existence as a great social evil, but regarded it as fraught with danger to the peace and welfare of the nation.

Resolved, That while we respect the rights of the slaveholding as well as the free portions of this Union—while we will not consent that wrong be done to any member of the glorious confederacy to which we belong, we are firmly and unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery over any portion of American soil now free.

Resolved that in our opinion Congress has the constitutional power to abolish the slave trade, and slavery in the District of Columbia, and that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives requested to take all constitutional measures to accomplish this object.

During this time, be it remembered, Gen. Pierce was with the New Hampshire democracy, and endorsed their acts. He was then standing upon the same platform that the Republican party now stands on: "No more slave states"

About the date of these last resolutions a new element of political action was ushered into being from the brain of Gen. Cass.—We allude to the Cass-Nicholson-letter idea of 'squatter sovereignty.' The New Hampshire democracy had their own opinion of this doctrine then, as the record proves.

The N. H. Patriot (Gen. Pierce's organ,) of July 26th 1849, contained the following article:—

"The Democracy of the North never did endorse the doctrine, [of squatter sovereignty] and they never will. The democracy of this State are unanimous in the opinion so far as we know, that Congress has and should exercise the power, and exclude slavery from California and New Mexico."

By the above extracts it will be seen that Pierce's friends now deny what they then affirmed, and affirm what they then denied. They treat the Wilmot Proviso as second only in atrocity to an attempt to dissolve the Union, while they hug the 'squatter sovereignty' doctrine to their hearts in very love, adopting it into their political household, and making it chief over all.

Common School Report.

We have received from Commissioner Barney a copy of his Annual Report on the common Schools of the State for 1855, and we find in it many interesting statistics.—The report is prepared with great industry, and arranged in an excellent manner.

We glean from it the following facts:—

There are in the State 8313 whole sub-districts, in 173 of which there are no school houses. There are 820,624 youth in the State, between the ages of five and twenty-one years, 551,939 of which were enrolled in schools during the year; of this number, however, there were but 315, 851 in average daily attendance. This shows that 268,685 of the youth in the State were not enrolled, and of those enrolled the non-attendance amounted to 235,088 absent each day, or nearly one-half the entire number enrolled.

There were 16,872 teachers employed during the year, receiving in the aggregate the sum of $1,493,222 39. The average wages of the male teachers in the common schools was $25 02, and of females $14,20. This we consider unfair—so great a difference in the wages cannot be otherwise, we think. On the average, so far as our knowledge extends, the female teachers are equally competent with the males, and should receive as high wages. This, however, is no fault of the Commissioner, but of the Boards of Education.

In Belmont county there were, in 1855, 238 schools; 9,909 children enrolled, and the average daily attendance was 5,327.—The average wages of teachers was, for males $29,50, and for females $16,50 per month.

The report also contains many interesting and important suggestions for school government and arrangement, which would do much good if generally read. On the whole it is a report which is creditable to the head and heart of the commissioner, and reflects honor on our State.

Monthly sales of Stock.

In many counties in the State we notice that there are established monthly stock sales, at which all having horses, cattle, sheep or hogs to sell, and all desirous of purchasing, congregate. Every one can see at a glance that this of immense advantage to the farmer who has but a few head of cattle to dispose of, and to the butcher or drover it will prove equally advantageous, as it enables him to select his purchases from a larger number and he will of courre be better suited.

There is no doubt, whatever, in our mind, but that the amount of such sales in our county occuring in the course of a month would, if centred at one place and at one time, convene a large crowd of people, farmers, drovers and others, to all of whom this mode of bartering would prove beneficial.—Inasmuch as these stock sales are very popular in all places where they have been established, we think, if an effort is made here by a few energetic farmers, and others interested, it will prove successful.

In view of the general importance of this matter, will not our brethren of the press in the county lay the project before their readers in as favorable a light as possible, and let it be freely canvassed by those interested, that some action may be agreed on at no very distant day.

☞Bro. Welling, of the Enterprise, concludes an article on his Americanism in the following happy strain: We admire his spunk. Stick to the tripartite platform, brother, and here's our ☞.

"In the meantime we now notify our readers that in any controversy we may have, we will not trouble them with noticing the pet phrases and old gray-headed witticisms some politicians are so apt at using. And whoever may abandon us or patronize us, we intend, sink or swim, to keep a clear conscience—keep faith with friends—and battle against all forms of oppression—standing firm on the platform of anti-Romanism, anti-Rum and anti-Slavery; and continue to be known as to our politics—as an American Republican, by which the reformers are now peculiarly distinguished."

The Old Line Abolitionists, under the lead of Gerrit Smith, are to hold a convention at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 27th of May, to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. It will possibly have the effect to get their candidates renominated in the Republican convention on the 17th of June—thus forcing upon that party a very ultra ticket.—*Marietta Republican.*

The individual who penned the above article must be a fool, or something worse, if he ever examined the call for the Syracuse convention. That call speaks of the Republican party as

"A party that like the Janus-faced colonization Society, has its pro-slavery appeal for the South, and its anti-slavery appeal for the North—a party in which slaveholders and anti-slavery men are to unite for the common object of a mutual compromise that shall be 'the finale of all existing commotions,' and that shall nevertheless leave the slave in his chains."

THE LOST STEAMER.—It is almost certain now that the Pacific, from which nothing has been heard for some time, is lost with all her crew and passengers. It is now 97 days since she left Liverpool, and even if yet above the water her passengers must be suffering all the horrors of starvation. She had on board when she left Liverpool 45 passengers and a crew of 141 persons. Her cargo was 600 or 700 tuns, valued at $1,500,000. The total insurance on the vessel, freight and freight money is over two millions of dollars.

Anticipated Duel.

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. Times, has the following with regard to the reported challenge about to be sent by Gen. Lane. to Judge Douglas:

I telegraphed to you to-night that Col. Lane, of Kansas, was about to challenge senator Douglas, in consequence of his ungenerous and indecent assault upon the debate of Monday last. It is due to the Colonel to say that his efforts to obtain vindication on the floor of the Senate, have absolutely failed. The men who—for political purposes, and to excuse themselves for a predetermined act of injustice in the Pro-Slavery interest—denounced Col. Lane as an infamous creature, unworthy the slightest consideration at the hands of gentlemen, also refused to receive the evidence he offered in self-defence. Mr. Douglas participated in this act of injustice, and thus repeated and added to his original wrong.—He boastfully recognizes the code of honor, and so Col. Lane, having failed elsewhere, resorts to that for redress. It is difficult to see how the Senator from Illinois can get out of this scrape, except by a fight or a humiliating retraction. Col. Lane is evidently and deliberately prepared to carry out his determination in the premises.

It is probable that Douglas, in his assault upon Col. Lane, presumed upon the oft repeated story that the latter was "barked down" during last Congress, by Hon. Mr. Hunt, of La. This is an error. The Colonel's failure to challenge Mr. Hunt was the consequence of the earnest advice of his friends to the effect that the challenge ought to come in that case from the latter, and not from him. Col. L. has on too many occasions signalized his physical courage to be successfully accused of cowardice; but the falsehood had been so often repeated that Mr. Douglas doubtless believed it. I should not feel myself justified in now making reference to the anticipated conflict had not the statement of the fact been overhead under circumstances which satisfy me that it will find publicity in other quarters where it is likely to be distorted to the disadvantage of Col. Lane. I suppose the only reason why the challenge has not already proceeded is the difficulty of finding a suitable person to bear it—so that there can be no frivolous objection made to its acceptance. In conclusion, on this topic let me say that I do not believe there *will* be any fight although I am equally satisfied that Lane is ready for it.

Land warrants retain their price much better than was formerly supposed, especially in view of the enormous quantity thrown upon the market. 160 and 80 acre warrants sell in wall street at $1.11 per acre.—120 and 60 acres warrants sell for $1.07 per acre. It is probable that the demand will keep up the price to about this mark till next winter.

Is Slavery a Local Institution?

Daniel Webster was, in his day, supposed to be something of a Constitutional lawyer. In one of his speeches not many years before his death, he said:

"It will not be contended that this sort of personal slavery exists by general law. It exists only by local law. I do not mean to deny the validity of that local law where it is established; but I say it is, after all, local law. It is nothing more. And wherever that local law does not extend, property in persons does not exist. Well, Sir, what is now the demand on the part of our Southern friends! They say, 'We will carry our local laws with us wherever we go, We insist that Congress does us injustice unless it establishes in the territories in which we wish to go our own local law.' This demand, I for one resist, and shall resist. It goes upon the idea that there is an inequality, unless persons under this local law, and holding property by authority of that law, can go into new territories, and there establish that local law to the exclusion of the general law. Mr. President, it was a maxim of the civil law, that, between slavery and freedom, freedom should always be presumed and slave must always be proved. If any question arose as to the *status* of an individual in Rome—he was presumed to be free until he was proved to be a slave, because slavery is an exception to the general rule. Such I suppose is the general law of mankind. An individual is to be presumed to be free, until a law can be produced which creates ownership in his person. I do not dispute the force and validity of the local law, as I have already said; but I say, it is a matter to be proved; and, therefore, if individuals go into any part of the earth, it is to be proved that they are not freemen, or else the presumption is that they are."

There is point and force in the commentary of the New York *Courier and Enquirer* upon the above:

"That is our position precisely, and it is the position of the Republican party as we understand it. It is the true doctrine; the only doctrine that can give peace on this slavery question. If it be true, as the *Pennsylvanian* says, that 'slavery is a national, not a local institution,' the nation has jurisdiction over it, and complete jurisdiction.—We know of no doctrine that would suit our radical abolitionists better. It is madness for the South to give it countenance."

Michigan Right Side up—The Doughfaces Overthrown.

From the Detroit Tribune.

We have received sufficient returns of the result of the township elections in this State to leave no doubt that a large majority of the counties have gone ovewhelmingly Republican, and that the white negro doughfaces have met with a most disgraceful defeat. In every county in the State we have made great gains, and have carried several counties that never before gave any thing but a locofoco, pro-slavery vote.—Among these is Macomb county, which has ever been unwaveringly locofoco. The Republicans have carried eight of the fourteen towns, Allegan, too, has been "conquered" by the opponents of slavery for the first time: so have Oakland, Van Buren and Berrien, while Washington, Jackson, Branch and St. Joseph have been thoroughly redeemed from the foul pollution of slave worshiping locofocoism.

Of the thirty-two principal counties of the State, the Republicans have certainly carried twenty-one by decided majorities, and, probably twenty three, while the doughfaces have carried but nine certain, with a poor chance for two more! Of the five hundred and odd supervisors, by these thirty two counties, the Republicans have carried at least 275 to the locofocos 230, giving them a majority of not less than forty-five!

Thus have Cass, Stuart the *Peckulator*, the National administration, and the whole breed of doughfaces, for the second time, been most signally rebuked and repudiated by the freemen of Michigan. Because it has been no worse—because they have not lost every county in the State, the white negro organ of this city and all its little white negro tenders in the various counties, have claimed a great doughface victory.

METHODIST GENERAL CONFERENCE.—The Methodist General Conference, which comprises delegations from all the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church will assemble at Indianapolis on the 1st of May next. The Indianapolis *Sentinel* furnishes the following items relating to the nature & objects of the powerful ecclesiastical body:

The whole Church North, which includes the Baltimore Conference, the Conference of Delaware, and a part of Virginia, and all the Northern, Eastern and Northeastern States are within its jurisdiction. It convenes only every fourth year.

The number of regular delegates will be about 230, besides irregular, or visiting delegates from England, Canada, &c., which will probably swell it to about 250. Seven Bishops are expected to be in attendance, and probably a large number of lady visitors.

The Journal of the same city adds the following:

The interesting question of slavery, in relation to church membership, has already been settled by the Methodist Church. That question will have no especial bearing upon the proceedings of the approaching Conference, any further than their slight connection with the Methodist Espicopal Church South is concerned.

The division in the Church resulted in a suit for the division of the Church property in the Book Concerns at New York and Cincinnati. The South gaining the suits in the major points, commissioners were appointed by the two branches respectively, to arrange the matter of division. These commissioners, on the part of the Northern Church, are to meet here at the same time during the session of the quadrennial Conference, to make a final adjustment of their acts in the disposal of the Church property.

The revision of the discipline will be discussed in reference to several proposed alterations and amendments. It will in all likelihood, be somewhat changed in several respects from its present form. These amendments relate only to Church government, and the character, individually, of the membership. No points of doctrine will be agitated. The last session of this body was held in Boston.

COL. SCHOULER has retired from the Cincinnati Gazette. Col. S. has been an editor for 20 years, and bids farewell to the editorial fraternity to enter the more active, but less arduous, business of commercial life.—At the close of his valedictory, he says:—

"It has been my fortune to know many gentlemen connected with the press, and I have found few among them that were not true, patient under difficulties, of long suffering, and of honest hearts. Although my connection with the fraternity ceases with this issue, I shall ever regard it with affection; and to have been an editor will be to me a more acceptable introduction than to have been a member of Congress."

☞The New York *Tribune* proposes to publish a campaign edition, devoted to politics, from June 20 till after election. It will be published twice a week at $1 for a single copy for the campaign, and $66 for 100.