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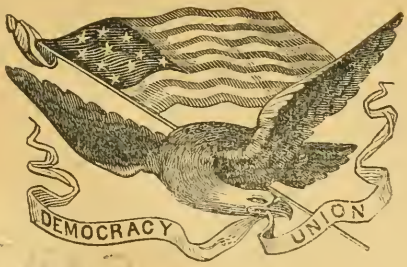
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ADDRESS

AND

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE



DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

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HELD AT ROME.

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AUGUST, 1849.

1849



ALBANY:

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ADDRESS.

To the Democratic Electors of the State of New-York.

The Democracy of the State of New-York, sincerely desirous of union with all who have heretofore acted in political fellowship with them, and deploring the consequences of division and alienation, as well upon the great interests of the country as the integrity and ascendancy of the Democratic Party, have approached the question of attempted conciliation with a deep sense of its importance.— They could not but feel that upon the Democratic Convention at Rome, and upon its proceedings, would hinge events of great import to the well-being of the State and Union. If they know themselves, they have sought to allay rather than irritate—to mollify and heal rather than reopen old wounds—to conciliate and restore good feeling, rather than provoke a morbid and acrimonious hostility.

In this spirit the Democratic State Committee proposed the recent separate state conventions. They did not hesitate to renew the proposition made by the democratic members of the state legislature, and rejected or disregarded then by the members of the "Free Soil" organization. They felt it to be an incumbent duty, in view of the evils of whig misrule in the state and national governments, and of divisions in our own State so well calculated to perpetuate both, to make a final and earnest effort to combine once more, in a common movement and upon a union ticket for state officers, the hopes and energies of the friends of the democratic cause. In presenting it for the consideration of the adverse organization, they carefully abstained from all allusions to questions of past difference, or to any topic that could revive or provoke controversy.

If the effort was not met at the outset in a like conciliatory spirit by the other organization—if the slavery question, in relation to which feeling and irritation have existed, and which has been made a cause of embittered

instinctive division, was thrown by them directly into the correspondence—if the same factious and disorganizing spirit, which exhibited itself at the last election in a separate and irregular organization at Buffalo and elsewhere, and in tickets hostile to the regular democratic nominees, was manifested in quarters representing the wishes and professing to reflect the opinions of the adverse organization,—nevertheless the Democratic State Committee proceeded in the effort to afford to the democratic masses of the state an opportunity, forgetting the past, or discarding the sources of division, to come together with mutual aims of conciliation and amity.

That opportunity has been afforded. We assembled at Rome as delegates duly chosen to represent the Democratic Party of the State. We came, not in a spirit of antagonism, but actuated by a cordial desire to conciliate.— We came, not to carry a point or to enforce a dictum, but to convince those who had heretofore co-operated with the Democratic Party, and all who entertain a sincere desire to resume the relations of ancient fellowship, that there were great common grounds on which this desirable result could be attained, without derogating from the opinions of any one or any portion of either organization, in relation to questions which have not been regarded as matters of political faith, and without requiring or yielding concessions, not essential to unity, and which neither could make with honor.

We aimed not to depart from this great and liberal rule of action. We have presented it to the other organization, not only as the basis of all the past action of the Democratic Party, but in the terms and the forms adopted heretofore by that organization. It has been rejected by them. They demanded, as the condition of union, the distinct adoption of an extreme abstract position, unknown in the

past action of the Democratic Party, unnecessary in any view of its future action, not demanded by any great public exigency, not required even if not objected to, to prevent the extension of slavery, but widely objected to at the North and at the South, as productive only of intestine evil and sectional agitation, and pernicious in its fruits upon the unity of the Democracy and the integrity of the Union;—and yet insisted upon as a test of democracy—as the touchstone of faith—as an “uncompromising” avowal, which all must make or subscribe to, whatever may be their convictions of its necessity, its propriety, or its constitutionality, or of the rights of the people of the territories, or the powers of Congress. A more illiberal or despotic dictum, could not well be proclaimed. It is in the very spirit of despotism. It insists not only that the Democratic Party shall present this new, and until two years since unknown test, but that all, whatever they may think, or believe, shall avow it;—and that if all this be not conceded—if the test be not accepted—alienation from the democratic party, hostility to its candidates and organization, and combinations with whigs and abolitionists to defeat its tickets and subvert its landmarks and organization, will ensue.

✶ Since the foundations of the Democratic Party were laid by Mr. Jefferson, the Slavery Question has never been regarded, in any form, as a part of its creed, or as a test of its faith. It has been sufficient, that upon the distinctive doctrines and measures of that party, its friends, knowing no section or geographical dividing line, have cordially co-operated, strong in concord as united in essential doctrine; leaving to every man entire freedom of opinion and action upon the question of slavery. That great party, moving in its true orbit, embracing the North and the South, and the East and the West, knowing no sectional lines, has ever sought to sustain the true interests of the country, the rights of the States, and the inviolability of the Constitution. From the era of 1798—during the period of British aggression anterior to the war of 1812, when the federal party taunted the democratic administration that they could not be “kicked into a war”—during the memorable and unavoidable conflict which followed that insolent taunt, so momentous and glorious in our annals, but which that same party denounced as wicked and unjustifiable, and embarrassed in every form of party hostility—during the embittered contest with the Money Power, and its gigantic and corrupt auxiliary—during the war with Mexico and its brilliant results, but not less the subject of whig or federal denunciation, attempted embarrassment and hostility—in short, during all the democratic administrations from Jefferson to Polk,—the Democratic Party has stood before the world as a great NATIONAL PARTY—presenting its broad and distinc-

tive principles to the consideration of all men—jealous of the honor of the country and the rights of the people—ever prompt to vindicate and maintain both—but avoiding sectional issues, seeking no fellowship with factions, and resisting all incendiary movements, whether at the North or the South, calculated to disturb the relations of concord between different portions of the republic, and to weaken and impair the cohesion and union of the states. It has ever proved itself the PARTY OF THE COUNTRY, THE CONSERVATOR OF UNION, THE PALLADIUM OF THE POPULAR RIGHTS, AND OF A GREAT, PERVADING AND PATRIOTIC NATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

Although started at an earlier period in our history by the Eastern federalists, the Slavery Agitation, as a party movement, may be said to have had its origin in the Hartford Convention. One of the avowed objects of that treasonable assemblage was to effect “a more radical reform in the national compact, to secure the attachment and support of all the people, by placing *all on the basis of fair representation.*” The slave population, and the fact of its forming in part the basis of federal representation, was the principal ground on which the structure of sectional prejudices was attempted to be erected. ✶ The first amendment proposed by that assemblage to the constitution of the United States, was for the apportionment of representatives in the several states according to their respective numbers of free persons, excluding slaves; and, in order to check the advancing population and rising power of the West, (chiefly carved out of the original territory of the South), they proposed a second amendment, “that no new state should be admitted into the union by congress, without the concurrence of two-thirds.” The movement at Hartford was sectional and geographical—addressed to the Eastern and Northern states—and designed, by appeals to local and sectional interests and prejudices, to control the government, or to sever the union. The South was democratic—Mr. Madison was democratic—the administration, from the accession of Mr. Jefferson to that moment, had been in democratic hands. Hatred of the democracy, and the desire of power, stimulated the federalists to constant efforts to recover it. A sectional issue, under the plea of unfair representation, and a natural repugnance to slavery, was regarded by the Essex Junto and the assailants of the war and of the Democratic Party, as the most cunning and the most effective form of embarrassment to the one and of resistance to the other. ✶ Preminent were the *democracy of New-York*, under the leadership of the patriot TOMPKINS, in sustaining the *national* democratic party and its administration, and in crushing this the germ of a sectional organization and of disunion.

In the history of the country, the next effort in a like spirit, was the more distinct agitation of the Missouri Question. Six years had not changed the nature of federalism, its aims, its means, or the political aspects of the country. The *National Democratic Party* was still in the ascendant. A southern democrat still occupied the executive chair. The desire of power was not less an absorbing stimulant with the Federal Party. Again the Slavery Question and a sectional issue seemed to offer, at whatever hazard to the tranquility of the country and the integrity of the union, the readiest mode of attaining its object. So long as the Democratic Party, standing upon its broad principles, under the ægis of the constitution, maintained its national cohesion, they had nothing to hope. TO SEPARATE IT INTO FRAGMENTS, BY GEOGRAPHICAL LINES, AND BY A CONTEST BETWEEN SECTIONS, was again the labor of the Eastern and Northern federalists. They were smitten, in the spirit of the more modern Buffalo creed, with a sudden and remarkably earnest desire to "restrict and localize slavery." In perfect accordance, in sentiment, declaration and effort, with the Northern abolitionists, they revived the agitation, began at Hartford, and destined to continue a party adjunct in the undying desire to overthrow the Democratic Party. Every reader of American history is familiar with the progress and result of that embittered sectional war. The Democracy of New-York, constant, as amidst the perils of the war and the treason of the Hartford Convention, to the principles and organization of the National Democratic Party, successfully maintained both, and triumphed over this second labor of the federal politicians.

The great name of JEFFERSON has been invoked, recently, by those who seek to renew the agitation of the Slavery Question. How that illustrious patriot and statesman regarded it, is well known, and to none better than to the democracy of this state. "This momentous question," (the Missouri agitation) said he, "like a fire-bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. *A geographical line*, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived, and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper." "Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one state to another, would not make a slave of a single human being, who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface, would make them individually happier, and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen of a great num-

ber of coadjutors. *An abstinence too, from this act of power*, would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a state. This certainly is the exclusive right of every state, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them, and given to the general government. Could Congress, for example, say that the non-freeman of Connecticut shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into another state?" And again, "The Hartford Convention, the victory of Orleans, the peace of Ghent, prostrated the name of federalism. Its votaries abandoned it through shame and mortification; and now call themselves republicans. But the name alone is changed, the principles are the same. For in truth, the parties of Whig and Tory are those of nature." "On the eclipse of federalism with us, although not its extinction, its leaders got up the *Missouri question*, under the false front of lessening the measure of slavery, but with the real view of producing a geographical division of parties, which might ensure them the next President. The people of the North went blindfold into the snare, followed their leaders for a while with a zeal truly moral and laudable, until they became sensible that they had been used merely as tools for electioneering purposes; and that trick of hypocrisy then fell as quickly as it had been got up."

Another sexennial period elapsed, and the same geographical and sectional war was renewed, by the same party, and for the same object. The Democratic Party was still in the ascendant; and under the last of the southern democratic presidents, the Hero and Sage of the Hermitage, the whole brood of federal measures,—the Bank, a Protective Tariff, and a gigantic scheme of government internal improvements,—had been swept away.—But the restless desire of power remained; and as the fortresses of federalism fell, one after another, they again entrenched themselves behind their favorite geographical issue. They resorted once more to the old means, which at Hartford and in the Missouri agitation had proved impotent to divide, dis sever and defeat the Democratic Party. Suddenly, again, slavery was the great moral and social evil that must be expelled from the country. The labor of suppression began with the District of Columbia; and the country was fiercely agitated, and Congress inundated with appeals for its suppression there. The federal party, which had resolved henceforth to call themselves whigs, with the abolitionists of both sexes, were furious to suppress slavery in the District of Columbia. Never, in the history of this republic, has this baneful question assumed an aspect of fiercer desperation. It was met and resisted in the most

unqualified terms of reprobation by the united Democracy of the Union. Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright at once declared the most unhesitating hostility to the abolition of slavery in the District. Mr. Van Buren, as President of the Senate, gave his casting vote in favor of the bill, authorising the southern post-masters to open the mail-bags, and suppress the incendiary abolition publications. At the Democratic National Convention in 1835, by which Mr. Van Buren was nominated, in an address prepared by a committee of which Mr. Wright was one, and which Mr. Van Buren approved, the whole scheme of slavery agitation was condemned in terms the strongest and most forcible of which our language is capable. It spoke of the attempt to create sectional parties, as "THE MOST MISCHIEVOUS AND WICKED THAT HAVE EVER BEEN MADE AGAINST THE PEACE AND HAPPINESS OF THE COUNTRY." It said "true republicans could never lend their aid in creating geographical parties in the East, West, North or South." It quoted the warning adjurations of Washington and Madison, against those "detestible efforts to alienate one portion of the country from the rest, and to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts." And it concluded with the earnest declaration, that against "*this dangerous spirit of sectionalism and division—those unhallowed attempts to weaken the bonds of our glorious confederacy—it becomes the duty of every wise man, of every honest man, and of every true American, to watch with sleepless vigilance.*" A meeting was held in the city of Albany, in which A. C. Flagg, John A. Dix and John Van Buren were prominent, over which Wm. L. Marcy, then the Executive of the State, presided, and at which Gen. Dix reported the resolutions. These were a most emphatic condemnation of the Slavery Agitation. They declared that "the union of the States, which under Providence had conferred the richest blessings on the people, was the result of compromise and conciliation; that we can only hope to maintain it by abstaining from all interference with the laws, domestic policy and peculiar interests of every other state; and that *all such interference*, which tends to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, deserves to be frowned upon with indignation by all who cherish the principles of our revolutionary fathers, and who desire to preserve the Constitution, by the exercise of that spirit of amity which actuated its framers." Gen. Dix, in his speech on that occasion, not only affirmed, "as a fundamental condition of our social existence, that the question of slavery in a slave holding state shall not be disturbed by the people or government of any other state; and that the general government has no control over it;" but he held that "there was a political obligation

rising out of the compromise of interests in which the foundations of the Union were laid, *to abstain from every species of interference* which may tend to disturb the domestic quietude, or put in jeopardy the rights of property, which the Constitution was designed to secure." Mr. Van Buren declared, in reply to an application from North Carolina, that if elected to the Presidency, he "must go in" "to the presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of any attempt" "on the part of Congress to abolish slavery" "in the District of Columbia, against the" "wishes of the slave states:" he urged the people of the North and the South "to visit with their severest displeasure ANY ATTEMPT TO CONNECT THE SUBJECT WITH PARTY POLITICS;" and he expressed the hope that "the efforts of those who may persist in the work of agitation, may be overcome by reason, or rendered inoperative by constitutional remedies." In his inaugural address, he renewed these declarations, in language equally explicit. Repeating his declaration of inflexible and uncompromising opposition to any attempt on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, against the wishes of the slave states, he made the strongest avowal in relation to any prospective action of Congress known in our public history. He said, "no bill conflicting with these views, can ever receive my constitutional sanction." He said also, that "the last, perhaps the greatest, of the prominent sources of discord and disaster supposed to lurk in our political condition, was the institution of domestic slavery,"—that "if the agitation of this subject was intended to reach the stability of our institutions, enough had occurred to show that it had signally failed;" and that although "SUCH ATTEMPTS AT DANGEROUS AGITATION MIGHT PERIODICALLY RETURN, yet with each the object would be understood." The democratic members of Congress of both houses held a meeting, and through their chairman, John M. Niles, reprobated all efforts at slavery agitation or sectional interference. And finally, during the same session, (1838) the democratic majority, under the sanction and guidance of Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Wright, felt it their duty to arrest the "periodical return of this attempt at dangerous agitation." It had assumed the form of petitions to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and for the abolition of the internal slave trade, so called. The entire whig and abolition strength, in and out of Congress, was engaged with great zeal, in this fresh labor of party agitation. To meet and defeat it, the celebrated resolutions of Mr. Atherton were introduced. They were adopted with the entire concurrence of Mr. VAN BUREN, Mr. WRIGHT and Col. BENTON, of nearly all

the democratic members of Congress,* of the entire democratic national and state administrations, and of the democratic press of all parts of the Union. They were resisted by the united northern Federal or Whig vote, attacked with violence by the abolitionists, and denounced by the whig press. So universal was the concurrence, among democrats, in the general positions of these resolutions in relation to the slavery agitation, and the interference of congress in its abolition in the District of Columbia, and the Territories, that because Mr. H. A. Foster, (while he concurred in their general scope) objected to the last resolution as trenching upon the right of petition, he was denounced by the politicians who are the leaders in the present Slavery Agitation, in this state, as "unsound!" These resolutions were as follows:

1. *Resolved*, That this government is a government of limited powers, and that, by the constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the subject of slavery in the several States of this confederacy.

2. *Resolved*, That petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the territories of the United States, and against the removal of slaves from one state to another, are a part of a plan of operations set on foot to affect the institution of slavery in the several States, and thus indirectly destroy that institution within their limits.

3. *Resolved*, That Congress has no right to do that indirectly which it cannot do directly; and that the agitation of the subject of slavery in the District of Columbia, or the Territories, as a means and with a view of disturbing or overthrowing that institution in the several States, is against the true spirit and meaning of the constitution, an infringement of the rights of the States affected, and a breach of the public faith upon which they entered into the confederation.

4. *Resolved*, That the constitution rests on the broad principles of equality among the members of this confederacy, and that congress, in the exercise of its acknowledged powers, has no right to discriminate between the institutions of one of the States and another, with a view of abolishing the one and promoting the other.

5. *Resolved*, therefore, That all attempts on the part of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia or the Territories, or to prohibit the removal of slaves from State to State, or to discriminate between the institutions of one portion of the confederacy and another, with the views aforesaid, are in violation of the constitution, destructive of the fundamental principle on which the union of these States rests, and beyond the jurisdiction of Congress; and that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to slavery as aforesaid, or to the abolition thereof, shall on the presentation thereof, without any further action thereon, be laid upon the table, without being debated, printed, or referred."

These proceedings, so unequivocal in their import—and so significant of the democratic sentiment of the country—had been preceded by the parting admonitions of JACKSON.

* Among the members who voted for the Atherton resolutions, was Doct. WM. TAYLOR, president of the Rome free soil convention.

His valedictory to the American people, over whom he had presided with equal wisdom and patriotism, was filled with this topic. Alluding to the farewell address of Washington, he said: "He has cautioned us in the strongest terms, against the formation of parties on geographical discriminations, as one of the means which might disturb the union, AND TO WHICH DESIGNING MEN WOULD BE LIKELY TO RESORT." "Amid the general prosperity and splendid success which has followed the adoption of the federal constitution, the dangers of which he warned us are becoming every day more evident, and the signs of evil are sufficiently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in the bosom of the patriot. *We behold systematic efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of discord between different parts of the United States, and to place party divisions directly upon geographical distinctions; to excite the South against the North, and the North against the South, and to force into the controversy the most delicate and exciting topics, upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotions.*" "REST ASSURED THAT THE MEN FOUND BUSY IN THIS WORK OF DISCORD, ARE NOT WORTHY OF YOUR CONFIDENCE, AND DESERVE YOUR STRONGEST REPROBATION."

Thus, during the unbroken course of the Democratic Party of the Union, through the entire series of republican Presidents, the agitation of the slavery question, its introduction as a party test or issue, and the attempts to create geographical parties, have been regarded and resisted as an antagonist principle of that party, and as an element of disunion.

But they did not choose to rest the question alone even upon this high concurrent action and expression of democratic statesmen and legislators nearly coequal with the foundation of the government. They embodied the democratic sentiment on the subject in the highest political assemblage known to their organization. At the National Convention held at Baltimore in 1840, at which Mr. Van Buren was nominated for a re-election, the democracy of the Union placed themselves distinctly on record, upon this and all the questions that divide the Democracy and the Federalism or Whigism of the country. They resolved, "That Congress has no power under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of every thing appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the abolitionists and others, MADE TO INDUCE CONGRESS TO INTERFERE WITH QUESTIONS OF SLAVERY, or to

“take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences, and that all such efforts have an irresistible tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions.” This resolution, drawn up as we believe by SILAS WRIGHT, and certainly approved by him, was unanimously adopted by the National Convention—was four years afterward reported by B. F. BUTLER, and reaffirmed by the National Democracy of 1844; and again adopted and reiterated by the Democratic National Convention of 1848.

If there is one feature for which the National Democratic Party is distinguished beyond another, it is that of antagonism to the slavery agitation in every form. From first to last they have stood before the world in this high attitude of patriotism, and have successfully maintained the democratic cause and principles. From the beginning also, or at least from the advent and fall of the Hartford Convention, the Slavery Question and Sectional Division and Partisanship have been an element and adjunct of Federalism and Abolitionism. “Periodically,” these combined adversaries of the Democracy, have renewed these attempts at “dangerous agitation,” as an auxiliary to their unabated desire to divide and overthrow the Democratic Party. But until the last election, the scheme of division, hostile to the best interests of the country, and threatening evil far beyond the strife of parties or the hopes of individual aspirants, resulted in the discomfiture of its authors.

At that election, a new auxiliary entered the field of division. In all the Northern states, individuals who had previously acted with the Democratic Party, some of them prominently so, and who had enjoyed its confidence, and upon whom its favor had been lavished, separate from it, and assumed precisely the antagonist ground upon which Federalism and Abolitionism had previously assailed it in vain. In this State, the division began in 1847. In that year, this body of partisans insisted that the issue which the National Democratic Party had uniformly rejected as a party element, should be adopted—should form a part of the party expression and declaration:—and because the Democratic State Convention of that year declined to engraft this new dictum into the democratic creed, but preferred, as in all past time, that as a disturbing element it should be allowed to remain an individual sentiment and not a party axiom, a body of partisans, who have since assumed a “free soil” organization, styling themselves in some quarters the “free democracy,” and known by various appellatives, refused to support the democratic nominations, made in conformity to the uniform democratic usage and avow-

ing the well known principles of the democratic party—and, withholding their votes, contributed directly to the success of the Whig party, and to the election of the present Whig state officers. They threw the State in all its departments, into the hands of the old, active and uniform antagonists of the Democratic Party. At the last election, this defection, assuming a bolder front, and a more distinct antagonism, separated from the National Democratic Party, and assembling at Buffalo, and inviting and receiving the co-operation of partisans of all faiths and creeds, adopted a new “platform,” embracing federal and abolition doctrines, and standing upon it during the campaign, brought out separate third party tickets, comprising as candidates, whigs, abolitionists, and seceding democrats, and thus threw the government and administration of the Nation, as they had previously done that of the State, into the hands of the Whig Party. With a peculiar consistency, they professed to regard the principle of hostility to the extension of slavery, and its distinct party avowal, as the only question involved in the contest. Acting on this profession, and with exclusive reference to that single point, they separated from the Democratic Party, withheld their support from the democratic candidate for the Presidency, and thereby secured, as they well knew would be the case if their efforts were at all potential, the success of the Whig nominee. Thus aiming to defeat a Democrat, distinguished as such in the highest civil stations during more than forty years public service, a citizen of a free state, and opposed to slavery extension; and to elect the Whig candidate, standing as such in known hostility to the principles and organization of the democratic party, a citizen of a slave state, an extensive slave owner, and, with such interests and associations, not doubted to favor the institution and extension of slavery!

With this summary and impartial, and as we believe unexcited view of the course of political parties in the Union and in this State, we leave the facts to the consideration of all sincere democrats. Avoiding here any attempt to control their judgments by scanning the motives, whether of disappointment, ambition or revenge, of those who have sought to divide the Democratic Party, by insisting upon a party test, in all previous periods of our history known as a part of the federal, whig and abolition tactics, unknown in the democratic theory or practice, and in distinct antagonism to the great principle which has guided the course of the fathers of the democracy and the friends of the union, in their earnest and uniform appeals against the formation of parties, founded on sectional issues and geographical distinctions. But we may ask, and it becomes a duty to ask, what shall be the course of all who adhere, with fidelity, to the faith and organ-

ization of the Democratic Party? Shall they step from the broad and high ground on which they have heretofore, under all the vicissitudes and struggles of a warfare of half a century against the adversaries of Democracy, stood before the world, self-reliant, consistent, and mainly victorious, and plant themselves upon this single anti-slavery idea? Shall they leave the great Democratic Party of the Union, and join themselves, (whether in submission or in cotrolling position is non-essential,) to this sectional and geographical party? What true democrat will advise it? And what true and honest democrat will tolerate it? What should we gain to the cause of free government, and to the durable interests of republicanism, by adopting the course and principles of the Eastern and Northern Federalists, even if we should be successful in securing a few offices in the state or under the general government, that would compensate for the sacrifice of consistency and honor, the surrender of position, the obliteration of the democratic landmarks, in short, for affording a practical illustration of the vaunted but ungrateful and groundless declaration that "the National Democratic Party is dissolved?"

The Democracy of New-York, who have maintained their faith and principles, felt that they conceded all that could be demanded or submitted to, when they proposed to meet those who have voluntarily separated from the Democratic Party of the State and Union, upon equal terms, requiring no admissions, asking no explanations, and agreeing, at once, to unite in a common organization and in the support of common tickets, upon the old democratic platform. Opposed to slavery as a social evil, opposed to its extension to free territory, and opposed to making sentiments upon this subject a political test, whether attempted to be imposed at the North or at the South, they have no new views to express on this subject, nor any declarations to make, inconsistent with the uniform tenor of their course and declarations as democrats. Leaving to whigs and abolitionists the "periodical agitation" of this question, in terms adapted to the incongruous position of a slave-holding Executive and an abolition constituency which secured his election, we concede to every democrat the clearest right of opinion upon this subject.

The object of the Democratic State Convention at Rome, the proceedings of which have been laid before you, was to obtain union and harmony among the democratic masses of this state. To attain this end, we were willing to disregard all questions of form, and sacrifice all personal considerations. We did not hesitate to go to the extremest verge of concession. We did not believe the slavery question a proper element of party discussion. We conformed in this respect to the uniform course and opinion of the Democrat-

ic Party, and regarded its connection with politics as pernicious in any form. We had been taught by the sages and statesmen of the democracy to leave the question where they had left it, strictly within the guarantees of the Constitution;--to avoid its agitation as a device of the enemies of the democratic party--as the weapon of ambitious and designing men, and as a scheme of ultimate disunion. Still, for the sake of harmony, we not only met on equal terms with those whose leaders, once belonged to the Democratic Party, and sharing largely of its bounty and honors, had deserted that party, and combining with federal and abolition opponents against it, had carried with them many of its former worthy friends, but we took the initiative, and invited them to a mode of union which could be offensive to none, and should have been acceptable to all.

We did not hesitate at the opening of our convention, to offer the other convention a committee of conciliation, with full powers to adjust differences and effect union. We were met at the outset, with what we cannot now but regard as an obstacle intended to be insuperable. Before the official notification of the appointment of our committee was laid before the Free Soil Convention, though not until after it was in possession of their chairman and well known to members, they hurried through two resolutions, the last of which avowed the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso. The mover declared in offering them that that they were intended as instructions to any committee they might appoint, and as their answer to any proposition that might be presented on our part. There was even some objection to the appointment of a committee to confer or meet with ours; and when a committee was appointed, they refused to invest it with any power, but restricted it to the nominal duty of receiving and bearing our propositions to their convention, and negotiating "on all matters *except principle*." Their leaders said they had assumed their position, and that there was nothing left about which to negotiate. Notwithstanding these indications, unpropitious to harmony, our convention received their resolutions--referred them to our committee, and sent the latter on their mission of conciliation.

Our committee at once offered to avoid the slavery agitation, in accordance with the uniform course of the democratic party, and waiving all questions of past division, to unite in one organization and upon a union ticket for state officers. This was refused by the other convention. Then, our committee, unwilling yet to quit the field of effort, offered the principle of opposition to the extension of slavery to free territory, declaring it as a sentiment of the North, but disclaiming it, in the language of the seceding convention of last year, as a test of party faith or as a condition of political association. It was earnestly hoped that the free soil convention would

not take a position further removed from the democratic party than that which they held when they seceded. But in this we were disappointed. This concession was also "distinctly declined." Their original resolution upon the subject of slavery was reaffirmed in the most explicit terms. We were invited to assemble with the free soil delegates in one common convention, and this invitation was extended upon the sole ground of adopting "the distinct expression upon the subject of slavery" put forth by them; or in other words, our express concurrence in the principle of the Wilmot Proviso was required as a prerequisite to union.

It is true they employed the ambiguous expression that they did not propose the declaration "as a test of any man's individual democracy, or of his right to membership and association with the party," but they avoided saying that it was not a *party test*, and in no stage of their proceedings were they brought to declare that they did not so regard it, and would not act upon this view of it. They assert that they do not assume "to deny any man's right to association with the democratic party, for a difference of opinion upon this or any other point." (Opposition to the Independent Treasury or the advocacy of a National Bank, is thus placed in the same category and equally tolerated with a difference of opinion upon the subject of slavery. This is a most significant fact. But their determination to adhere to their original resolutions as a test, is more distinctly presented in another part of the resolution of which we are speaking. After asserting that their original resolutions are "sound and democratic in principle," and that they are "entertained by the great body of the democratic party of this state," they remark most ominously, "when a candidate for public office, the political opinions of every individual become proper subjects for canvass, and he can hardly hope for success whose views are not in conformity with those of the majority of the party from whom he expects support." This language does not differ in import from the following, "Individuals may join with us. They may vote for us when we are candidates for public office, whatever may be their individual sentiments in regard to slavery, or the proper mode of preventing its extension. But they are not of us, unless they concur in our peculiar views on that subject. And if these views are not adopted by candidates, they can hardly hope for success or receive our support." In such terms we were condescendingly invited to unite in making a state ticket. It certainly can surprise no one that the democratic convention declined an invitation thus extended, though it is a matter both of surprise and regret that those who professed a desire to bring about union, should offer no other, and refuse to accept any different, condition.

It was not expected that efforts would be

made either by members of the free soil convention or others not belonging to that body, to disguise their position, or present it in any other aspect, but we find the fact otherwise, and we have therefore deemed it our duty, to prevent erroneous impressions, to make more extended remarks upon this point, than may appear necessary to those who have carefully examined the proceedings of the two conventions.

As a further and final effort to effect a reconciliation, the democratic convention adopted the following propositions, to which we invite particular attention:

1. Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of slavery to the free territories of the United States; but we do not regard the slavery question, in any form of its agitation, or any opinion in relation thereto, as a test of political faith, or as a rule of party action.

2. Resolved, That the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, and the particular modes of legislation thereon, are, among democrats, controverted questions; and that we concede to every one in relation thereto, the undisputed right of opinion, not regarding any particular mode of constitutional construction on this question a part of the democratic creed, or as essential to fellowship with our democratic brethren in this state, or in any section of the Union.

These resolutions, which embody our position, modified to the farthest point of concession to meet the assumptions of the other convention, and intended to concede all that could be conceded with honor, or with a due regard to the stability, the integrity, nay, the existence of a National Democratic Party, were, as all previous propositions had been, distinctly declined by the other convention as a basis of union. Their original declaration was unequivocally reaffirmed, with the conclusive assurance that it never would be abandoned; and their previous declaration in relation to tests upon the subject of slavery was referred to and reasserted.

It is evident, then, that at this stage of the proceedings, they still adhered to their test of the day previous. This is the precise point of difference which prevented the desired union. Stripped, then, of the ambiguous phraseology in which their communication was involved, and which contrasts so strongly with the direct and open course of the democratic convention, simply and plainly stated, it is this: While the democratic convention, pursuing the uniform course of the democratic party, refused to submit to any political test in relation to the slavery question, and proposed the avoidance of every such test as the basis of united action, the free soil convention evinced a fixed determination to adhere to such test, and in the event of a union, to act upon it.

It is true, we were presented with the remarkable expression of the belief that in the opinions of our delegates and theirs, "there was such an AGREEMENT IN FAVOR of

their principles of human freedom," (which they in the same communication reaffirm as those of the proviso,) that they could renew their invitation to meet in joint convention! Any such surrender of the position, principles and attitude of the democratic party of the state, as an integral part of the democratic party of the Union, being regarded by our convention, WITH ENTIRE UNANIMITY, as wholly inadmissible; and as the other convention refused to recede in the least from the extreme position they had taken and reiterated from the outset, notwithstanding the efforts of some of their most distinguished and intelligent delegates to induce them to accept our liberal democratic ultimatum, saying emphatically that it conceded all that they had any right to ask or expect, and urging its adoption as the olive-branch of peace and union, our convention signified its readiness to adjourn *sine die*, unless the other convention had some further communication to make; which being answered in the negative, our convention adopted, with entire unanimity, and with manifestations of the most cordial unity of sentiment, of spirit, and of determination, the following declaration to their fellow-citizens:

This convention having exhausted all honorable means to conciliate and harmonize the differences which have unfortunately distracted the democratic party, and the convention at the Baptist Church having rejected the overtures made to them with a view to secure that object, and this convention having thereby failed to accomplish a result so anxiously desired by the great body of the democracy throughout the state—it is now compelled to adjourn without having been able to establish a reunion: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That we appeal to our brethren throughout the State, on behalf of the sincerity and earnestness of our exertions to heal existing dissensions, and we cordially invite all true democrats, whatever may have been their former differences, to lay them aside and unite with us upon the principles declared by this convention.

Such are the facts in relation to this whole question, which, with candor, without prejudice, and with sincere regret that the object so earnestly desired by the great body of the democracy of the state has not been effected, we deemed proper here to lay before you.—The question of opposition to the extension of slavery to free territory was conceded; disclaiming all interpolation of it, in any form, into the democratic creed. The question mooted was the power of congress in relation to such extension, and the demand that it should be exercised. It was the Proviso dictum, without change or qualification, and was insisted upon, from first to last, by their convention. We could not assert the power of congress, because many members of our convention held that congress had not the power, under the constitution, to interfere with slavery in the territories. We would not deny the power, because other mem-

bers of the convention, whose opinions were entitled to high respect, believed it within the pale of the constitution; and nearly all regarded its exercise as uncalled for and inexpedient. Nor was this view of the question limited to a portion of our own friends in this state. A prominent statesman of another state, who has been recently looked upon with favor and quoted with approbation by the free soil politicians, so regarded it; declaring emphatically, while he claimed the power, that its exercise by congress was unnecessary, because slavery was expressly excluded from the territory by the local law, and never could exist there, *except through the exercise of this power*; that it was therefore a useless and barren abstraction—which could effect no result if adopted; which was irritating and exciting as a sectional issue, and therefore pernicious and dangerous; and the agitation of which could not fail to be detrimental to the best interests of the country, and especially to the unity and redemption of the democratic party. Still, we did not refuse to make, in a spirit of conciliation, an unnecessary avowal on the subject, so far as we could do so, and stand upon democratic ground, maintaining our position as members of the great Democratic Party of the Union, as brethren of a common faith, and as adherents to the ancient and well-grounded principles on which it has ever stood. We regarded it as a controverted question, in relation to which every democrat was entitled to his right of opinion, without affecting his relations of fellowship and association with his democratic brethren of this State or of any part of the Union.

✓ We cannot but think that the source and consequences of these slavery agitations are now well understood; and that the Democratic Masses, discarding them and their authors, will, at no distant day, act together upon the liberal and just basis of our declaratory resolutions, in the counties, and when this sectional question shall be shorn of its power to mislead, throughout the state. They have now, as ever, before them a straightforward course. Having exhausted all efforts at conciliation—all our concessions having been met by an unyielding adherence to the Wilnot Proviso, as a political test—we have no reason to believe that further efforts would result in anything less than a renewed exhibition of ambiguous phrases, intended to conceal on the part of the leaders of the "free soil" organization, a determination hostile to any union upon fair and liberal terms, and a settled design to create a northern sectional party. Standing firmly upon the basis of the resolutions adopted with such entire unanimity by the democratic convention at Rome—taking no step that shall derogate from the high position in which that convention now stand before their democratic brethren of the

state and Union—fully appreciating any fresh professions of a desire for union, by those who were so lavish of them before the Rome convention, but who so signally contradicted them there—disregarding any insidious efforts to divide or embarrass the regular democratic convention at Syracuse, by those who made, without success, and with utter discomfiture, the same disingenuous efforts at Rome—the Democratic Party may rely with confidence upon the ultimate vindication of their cause, and such a support from the democratic masses, as will convince all true democrats of its justice, forbearance and elevation.

Appealing to you, fellow Democrats, for the rectitude of our intentions, we present these great historical truths touching the past, and the facts in relation to our recent course and proceedings at Rome, for your candid and deliberate consideration. We make no appeal to your personal feelings, and would not retort the personality, the crimination, and the attacks upon the prominent friends of the democratic cause and upon the well-known and well understood regularity of our position and organization. These we leave to such hostile leaders, as having deserted the democratic standard, formed new associations of the most incongruous character, embracing all creeds and factions, openly taken the field in distinct opposition to the Democratic Party and its national and state tickets, and having formally proclaimed the dissolution of the great National Democratic Party, with which we are proud to claim unabated affiliation, and to the principles of which we here reaffirm our unchanged attachment, seek to create a Northern Sectional Party, based upon a single idea, whose bond of cohesion is a desire of political power. We cannot believe that the Democratic Masses, however

divided by honest differences upon non-essential and abstract questions, will in any number, leave their old principles and associations, to follow those who have come to that stage in political life, in which the DIVISION AND DISSEVERANCE OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY, THE FORMATION OF A NEW SECTIONAL PARTY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF NEW AND DEGRADING TESTS, are the only means by which they hope to advance their political or personal aims. And we invoke all who have stood together in past times upon the old Jeffersonian and Jackson Democratic Platform—who will not allow a sectional and irritating question, which has never until now, at the direction of disappointed, ambitious or designing men, been considered a democratic principle, or allowed to be an element of division in the democratic ranks—who are willing to meet their brethren of every section in the spirit of amity and with a feeling of conciliation—who do not believe the Democratic Party dissolved, and will not with their consent see it rent asunder by a dangerous sectional dividing line—who are ready to rally under the old banner, and standing all together under it, restore the democratic ascendancy, and expel from power an Administration which came in under false pretences, and will assuredly go out under the baleful exhibitions of its true character.

In behalf of the Democratic State Convention,

L. B. SHEPARD,
CHARLES GA NUN,
A. C. NIVEN,
J. R. FLANDERS,
WM. PORTER, Jr.,
S. G. HATHAWAY, Jr.,
T. M. HOWELL,
T. A. OSBORNE,
WM. L. MARCY, Committee

THE DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.

At a Convention of Democratic Delegates, from every county of the State of New-York, assembled at Rome, on the 15th day of August, 1849, the following proceedings were had.

FIRST DAY.

Wednesday, August 15.—11 A. M.

The delegates having assembled in the Presbyterian Church,

Mr. PECKHAM, of Albany, called to order, and nominated

FRANCIS B. CUTTING, of New York, as temporary chairman.

This nomination was received with acclamation, and unanimously confirmed by the assembled delegates.

Mr. CUTTING, on taking the chair, was greeted with applause, which having ceased, he addressed the convention as follows:

I beg to return to the gentlemen composing this convention, my most sincere thanks for the honor bestowed on me individually, and for the respect thus manifested towards that portion of the democracy of the state of whom I am one of the representatives. Totally unacquainted with the duties of presiding officer of a convention of this description, I can only console myself with the reflection that my administration of them will be exceedingly brief, and that I shall have a claim on your kind indulgence for a very short space of time. It is not my purpose, gentlemen, on taking the chair, to do more than to advert to the very unusual and exceedingly interesting occasion that has brought the democratic party into convention here. It is my desire, as I know it to be the earnest wish of every member of this body, with whom I have conferred, to avoid all topics of an exciting character—certainly not in advance to discuss questions that might tend to inflame, rather than to advance the great purpose which has brought us together from all parts of this great state.

It will be necessary however, briefly, and in a general way, merely to advert to the circumstance that during the last general administration of the government, and during the last presidential canvass, topics of an irritating and exciting character were broached which had the effect to cause dissension and estrangement between those

who had before been well tried and mutually esteemed political friends. The consequence of these dissensions was that the democratic party, under a combination of other circumstances to which it is unnecessary to allude, were routed throughout the Union—its standard lowered—the flag of the enemy raised in triumph—and our party ascendancy lost both in the councils of the state and nation. The principles of the democratic party subsisted, and still subsist, but these principles unfortunately are not those which guide the administration of either national or state government. But, gentlemen, I trust a brighter morning has dawned on us. No sooner was the presidential chair occupied by the new incumbent, than all the pledges, all the persuasions by which a confiding people were deceived into the support of him who is now chief magistrate of the Union, were scattered to the winds—the thirsty and the hungry after office, as if secretly understanding the value of these pledges, began the controversy for the spoils, and he, who during the canvass had neither enemies to punish nor friends to reward, has made from the commencement of his administration down to the present moment, victims of every democrat in office under the general government, no matter what his claims in point of character, or for the fidelity and capacity with which he discharged his duties. In consequence, gentlemen, of these occurrences—in consequence of this total disregard of all these pledges by which the people of this Union have been so deeply deceived, and I may add, by reason of the exhibitions of great imbecility that have thus far marked the existing administration—the tide of popular feeling has begun, and that rapidly, to turn—as is evinced in the result of the first elections that have occurred after its installation in the high places of power; until now, so far as my observations have extended, we have had one continued stream of success and triumph, uninterrupted by a single reverse to the democratic cause. (Applause.) And I have no manner of doubt—not the least misgiving—that carrying the standard of our party proudly in the air, and

standing on the broad and liberal platform on which we have always stood and conquered—the day is not distant—nay, it is near at hand—when we are again to take charge of the administration of the general government. and again to apply the great principles which we profess, to the furtherance of the general good of mankind, and to the promotion of reform and progress.

Under these auspicious circumstances, it has been deemed advisable, in the liberal spirit which has always characterized the democratic party, to submit it to a delegated convention of that party, to ascertain whether now, at such a moment, when victory, at least in our own state, is almost within our grasp, we ought not to tender to those who have left us, the right hand of fellowship. We come here, not to discuss state politics—for I do not understand that there is a difference of opinion in reference to any matter that concerns our own internal affairs—but there is a subject on which the democratic party of the Union has been excited, and has been irritated—and our business has reference to this great national matter. On what basis can we so arrange this unfortunate controversy at home, as to accelerate our success and ascendancy as a party? If the effort should unfortunately fail, I am not one of those who believe that that failure is to destroy success. It may retard it; it is obvious that a cordial arrangement effected here will accelerate it. Still, I am not one of those who despair of the eventual success and triumph of the democratic party, though all our efforts here should fail to accomplish what we desire. Under these circumstances, gentlemen, we are sent here as representatives of the democratic party, for the purpose of ascertaining how to arrange these family dissensions

I confess myself to have been one of those, whose views were adverse to the calling of this convention. But yielding to those whose province it was to determine the question, and who had called the convention, I was willing to forego my own previous impressions, as I trust I always shall be wherever any such difference of opinion may arise between me individually, and the party with whom it is my pride to be associated. And I flatter myself that I know too well my duty, as a member of this body, having been sent here to promote its great object, and having accepted that appointment, to adhere to my original impressions in my action here. I am ready to go as far as the foremost man dare go, to promote that object, without trenching on principle, or sully the honor of the democratic party.— [Applause.] I will go as far as the foremost, in good faith, and in an effort to heal these divisions and bury animosities. I will go for this purpose to that point beyond which lies dishonor—and there is not a man in this convention who would desire me to go, or would himself go, beyond that verge. If, gentlemen, by sincere and zealous efforts, we shall succeed in accomplishing the object we all have in view, I shall go home with a clear conscience and a proud heart, and report the result to my constituents. If these efforts fail, my conscience will be equally free from reproach, in reporting to those who sent me here, that we had done all that we could do, to accomplish the object of our meeting. If we fail, whilst my constituents will regret, with me, that we could not unite with those who left us without severing our-

selves from those who stood by us, they will at least be able to congratulate themselves that their position is still with those who rallied round the democratic standard in battle, and in the hour of defeat. [Applause.] I feel convinced that such is the sentiment of all of us, and that if our best and most earnest effort to reconcile the difficulties which brought us here, shall be abortive, the cause of that failure must be looked for elsewhere than in this body.

On motion of Gen. HOUGH, of Madison, FRANCIS SEGER, of Lewis, was appointed temporary secretary, and on motion of Gen. WARD, of Westchester, CHARLES GANUN, of Putnam, was also appointed temporary secretary.

The list of counties was then called, and the delegates present presented their credentials, as follows.

Albany—Samuel G. Courtney, Rufus W. Peckham, Wm. L. Marcy, Dr. Herman Wendell.

Allegany—A. P. Lanning, M. B. Champlin Broome—Daniel S. Dickinson.

Cattaraugus—Robert H. Shankland, John B. Wilber.

Cayuga—Stephen A. Goodwin, J. Thompson, Robt. Bloomfield.

Chautauque—Thos. A. Osborn, Niram Sackett.

Chemung—Samuel G. Hathaway, Jr.

Chemango—Robert Monell, B. B. Andrews, Augustus Perry.

Clinton—St. John B. L. Skinner.

Columbia—Joseph D. Monell, Silas Camp.

Cortland—Robert O. Reynolds.

Delaware—Stephen H. Keeler, H. L. Mitchell.

Dutchess—John H. Otis, James Mabbett, J. Hasbronck.

Erie—W. L. G. Smith, W. A. Seaver, Orrin Lockwood, Allen Potter.

Essex—Charles M. Watson.

Franklin—Joseph R. Flanders.

Fulton and Hamilton—Michael Thompson.

Genesee—Frederick Follett, Chas. Danforth.

Greene—Frederick A. Fenn, R. Van Dyck.

Herkimer—Nathaniel S. Benton, Benj. Carver.

Jefferson—Lysander H. Brown, Eli West, E. B. Wynn.

Kings—Wm. Conselyea, T. S. Ten Eyck, E. Pell.

Lewis—Francis Seger.

Livingston—Benedict Bagley, Lyman Odell.

Madison—Peter B. Havens, Wm. J. Hough.

Monroe—R. Wickwire, John Murdock, Samuel S. Bowne.

Montgomery—William McClary, Thomas B. Mitchell.

New York—Oliver Charlock, Francis B. Cutting, Florence McCarthy, Henry M. Western, D. E. Sickles, R. H. Kittle, W. W. Dean, H. Shaw, E. C. Litchfield, Geo. J. Gallagher, Alexander M. Alling, A. Clark, Lorenzo B. Shepard.

Niagara—Nathan Dayton, Andrew Robinson.

Oneida—Samuel Beardsley, William C. Ruger, John Stryker, John D. Leland.

Onandaga—Wm. Porter, jr., Seth Hutchinson, Thomas G. Alvord, Samuel L. Edwards.

Ontario—Peter Mitchell, T. M. Howell.

Orange—Charles Borland, John G. Wilkin, C. H. Winfield.

Orleans—Silas M. Burroughs.

Oswego—William Lewis, jr., Avery Skinner.

Otsego—George W. Little, Schuyler Crippen, Levi S. Chatfield.

Putnam—Charles GaNun.
 Queens—John W. Lawrence.
 Rensselaer—Job Pierson, Charles J. Wilber,
 L. C. Hogeboom.
 Richmond—Thos. W. Clark.
 Rockland—A. P. Stevens.
 St. Lawrence—Ebenezer Miner, Edwin Dodge,
 Aaron Pride.
 Saratoga—William Shepard, R. H. Walworth.
 Schenectady—Jay Cady.
 Schoharie—Demosthenes Lawyer, C. Good-
 year.
 Seneca—Samuel Birdsall.
 Steuben—John J. Poppino, John McBurney,
 Thomas J. Reynolds.
 Suffolk—Joshua B. Smith, Grosvenor S. Ad-
 ams.
 Sullivan—Archibald C. Niven.
 Tioga—Erastus Evans.
 Tompkins—Daniel Jackson, Robert Halsey.
 Ulster—A. Taylor, N. R. Graham.
 Warren—Joseph Russell.
 Washington—A. D. Wait, I. W. Thompson.
 Wayne—W. Edwards, A. Salisbury.
 Westchester—Aaron Ward, John B. Haskin.
 Wyoming—A. S. Stevens.
 Yates—Andrew Oliver.

[Three absentees from New York, one from Schoharie.]

Mr. GOODWIN of Cayuga, moved the appointment by the chair of a committee, (one from each judicial district) to report the names of officers for the permanent organization of the convention.

The resolution was agreed to by the Convention, and the chair appointed the following as the committee.

Stephen A. Goodwin, of the 7th District, Daniel E. Sicles, of the 1st, Aaron Ward of the 2d, Joseph D. Monell of the 3d, Thomas B. Mitchell of the 4th, Samuel L. Edwards of the 5th, Schuyler Crippen of the 6th, and Fred-
 erick Pollett of the 6th

Mr. GOODWIN from the committee subsequently reported as follows:

For President—WILLIAM L. MARCY.

For Vice Presidents,

1st Dist.—ALEXANDER M. ALLING, of New York.
 2d " JOHN W. LAWRENCE, of Queens.
 3d " JOB PIERSON, of Rensselaer.
 4th " JOSEPH RUSSELL, of Warren.
 5th " NATHANIEL S. BENTON, of Herkimer.
 6th " LEVI S. CHATFIELD, of Otsego.
 7th " PETER MITCHELL, of Ontario.
 8th " NATHAN DAYTON, of Niagara.

For Secretaries,

JOHN B. HASKIN, of Westchester.
 ISAAC W. THOMPSON, of Washington.
 E. B. WYNN, of Jefferson.
 WILLIAM A. SEAVER, of Erie.

The announcement of Governor MARCY, as President of the convention, was received with tumultuous applause, and the report of the committee was adopted by acclamation.

Gov. MARCY, on being conducted to the chair by Chancellor WALWORTH and Gen. WARD, was received with applause by the convention, and returned his acknowledgments as follows:

Gentlemen—On taking the position in which your kind partiality has placed me, I return you my sincere thanks for the honor done me by the selection. I see around me many of more fitting qualifications for the discharge of the duties of the chair, and I could wish that it had been the plea-

sure of the Convention, to place in it one more experienced than I am in parliamentary rules and practice. But with my best efforts, aided by your liberal indulgence, I hope to do my duty in preserving order and facilitating the dispatch of business. After the impressive remarks of the temporary chairman, so eloquent in manner and sound in doctrine, you will hardly expect another speech from this seat—and certainly you could well excuse me if I did not consume time with any further remarks of mine. I would merely say, that from the composition of this Convention—for I see in it men of long experience, and eminent services in the democratic party—some of whom have served in the higher stations of the departments of State, as well as National government—I am certain that the democratic party, our constituents, look with uncommon anxiety to the proceedings of this convention—and it is my sincere hope that we may not disappoint their expectations. I presume every gentleman here is as well acquainted with the object of the assembling of this convention, as I am myself. That object does not require from me an explanation. I do not however understand that we have come here to revise the principles of the democratic party, in order to abandon any heretofore adopted, or to incorporate any new ones. [Applause.] I do not understand that we have come here to introduce any new usages, such as we have heretofore resorted to, and which have been found salutary, to unite our strength and secure success in the elections. It is undoubtedly a fact—I wish it were otherwise, that within a few years past, dissensions have entered the ranks of our party, and in consequence of them, we have been weakened—and as a further lamentable consequence, we have lost the ascendancy in the State, and I believe I may say in the Union. I do not propose to look back, or to say any thing of the origin of these difficulties and dissensions. It is not profitable now to enter into their discussion. But we may look back, profitably, to the period when these dissensions did not exist. We have to look back but four years, to recall the movements of the democratic party of the State and Union, which gave to an eminent and revered citizen of this State, the office of chief executive of New York, and to another eminent citizen of another State, the high position of Chief Magistrate of the confederacy. These men, both—though not far advanced in life—have descended to the tomb, and have left behind them their honorable memories—[Here Gov. Marcy's voice fell with emotion, and the reporter could not catch more.] Our object, gentlemen, in view of results like these, and in the hope of bringing about their recurrence, should be to make all honorable and proper efforts to unite all men who believe in the principles of the democratic party; and I am satisfied that we shall conduct our proceedings in such a spirit as will conduce to this end—and unite with us in future political struggles, those who formerly acted with us—and contributed to the success of our principles. Guided by this spirit, I trust all of us, as well as our constituents, may be able to regard this as one of the most fortunate events in the history of the democratic party.—[Applause long and loud.]

Chancellor WALWORTH here rose to submit a proposition. He remarked that he had been of

late years so entirely unused to political conventions, that he hardly felt competent to suggest anything here. It had not been his privilege for 27 years to attend one—the members of this body being well aware that his station had been such as to forbid his mingling in political strife. But though thus withdrawn from the active field of politics, he could not but retain a deep interest in the ascendancy of the party with which from boyhood up to 34 he had been actively connected. The great object of this convention was now to endeavor, if practicable, to devise some means by which we could get together those now separated from us, or rather, to induce them to come back to that common ground, on which the democratic party had so long stood and triumphed. It had been suggested to him that the better way was to appoint a committee on our part, to conduct negotiations between us and the other convention, and he had drawn up a resolution having in view that object.

Whatever might be the result of our exertions here—and he trusted they would result in a united party again—we might all rest assured that the great democratic party of the Union was not dissolved, and would not be dissolved,—[Applause]—that the democracy whose principles triumphed in the great struggle of 1800, and had ever since, with rare and brief intervals, controlled the administration of the government, and shaped its policy—and achieved its last triumph in the election of JAMES K. POLK—is destined to live and triumph while this government endures. [Applause.] With these remarks he submitted the resolution he had prepared:

Resolved, That a committee consisting of one member from each judicial district, be appointed by the Chair, to conduct the negotiations on the part of this convention with the other convention now assembled at this place, and to report the result of such negotiations to this convention; and that the President cause notice of this resolution to be communicated to such other convention.

Mr. CHATFIELD, of Otsego, without intending any disrespect to the Chair, or expressing any want of confidence in his ability or integrity in the selection of this committee, suggested that it be appointed by the delegations from the several judicial districts. He supposed the delegates from the districts were better acquainted with the feelings and views of their particular constituencies, than the Chair could be expected to be, and would be more likely to give entire satisfaction, from their presumed familiarity with and knowledge of these views and feelings.

Chancellor WALWORTH accepted the amendment.

The modified resolution was adopted—and the committee was constituted, under the reports of of the district delegations, as follows:—

4th district—	R. H. WALWORTH, Saratoga, Chairman.
1st "	FRANCIS B. CUTTING, New-York.
2d "	CHARLES BORLAND, Orange.
3d "	R. W. PECKHAM, Albany.
5th "	SAMUEL BEARDSLEY, Oneida.
6th "	ROBERT HALSEY, Tompkins.
7th "	SAMUEL S. BOWNE, Monroe.
8th "	W. L. G. SMITH, Erie.

Gen. WARD suggested that a committee be appointed to wait on the other convention, and approve of this appointment.

Mr. SICKLES, of New-York, said a copy of the resolution would of course be sent by the Secretary to the other convention.

The PRESIDENT said he should, without further instructions from the convention, do so.

Three o'clock, P. M.

The Convention having re-assembled, and having waited some time for a response to the message sent to the other convention—

Mr SICKLES of New York, said, he had learned that the other convention had as yet taken no action on our resolution of this morning. Of course, until that had been done, we had nothing to do; nor after that, could we expect to hear from our committee, until they had conferred with the committee from the other convention. He proposed, therefore, that the convention take a recess until 5 o'clock this afternoon.

The PRESIDENT informed the convention, that in pursuance of its directions, he had addressed a note to the presiding officer of the other convention, conveying a copy of the resolution adopted this morning. The note was sent by one of the Secretaries, from whom he had not yet heard.

The motion for a recess was lost.

After the lapse of half an hour, many delegates having left the Church,

Mr. BURROUGHS, of Orleans, moved a recess until 10 minutes after the ringing of the bell—which was agreed to.

Some time afterwards, the convention re-assembled, and Chancellor WALWORTH started an inquiry as to the time when the other convention was officially apprised of the action of this body.

Mr. HASKIN, of Westchester, one of the secretaries, stated that he handed he note of the President of this convention, to one of the secretaries of the other convention, a few minutes after they had opened their session this afternoon—and that he saw it laid on the table of the President of the other convention—before that body had adopted any resolution. In reply to Mr. STRYKER, Mr. H. added, that Mr. GROVER, of the other convention, was speaking when he delivered the note.

Mr. CUTTING, of New York, suggested that the other convention would have its organ, thro' which it would communicate to us officially their response—and that until we heard from that quarter in that way, we could do nothing as a convention on the subject.

The PRESIDENT again announced that he had sent the note by the Secretary, and the latter had stated when he delivered it.

After another pause of some minutes,

The PRESIDENT announced a communication from the President of the convention sitting at the Baptist Church—[which was read by Mr. Secretary HASKIN, as follows:]

HON. WM. L. MARCY, President of the Democratic Convention at the Presbyterian Church:

Sir,—I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying resolutions adopted by the convention over which I have the honor to preside, now in session at the Baptist Church, which were adopted previous to the receipt of the resolution which you transmitted to this convention. I am also instructed to inform you that this convention has appointed a committee to meet the committee

appointed on the part of the convention over which you preside.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
WILLIAM TAYLOR.

August 15, 1849.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this Convention the present division in the democracy of New-York results from a supposed or real difference in principle on the subject of Slavery, and the construction of the Constitution of the United States, as to the legislative power of the Federal government and its duty to exercise it.

Resolved, That the views of this convention on this subject are as follows:—

1. It is not questioned or disputed that Congress has the power over slavery in the District of Columbia.

2. It is not questioned or disputed that Congress does not possess the power over slavery in the States.

3. The power of Congress over slavery in the territories of the United States is questioned. This convention holds that the Federal Government possesses the legislative power over slavery in the territories, and ought to exercise it so as to prevent the extension of slavery there.

(A true copy.) J. F. STARBUCK, Secretary.

Chancellor WALWORTH moved to refer the communication to the committee appointed this morning.

Mr. HOWELL of Ontario, desired first to know the extent of the powers of this committee. The other convention, it appeared to him, had prejudged the whole question that brought us together. Had our committee the power to agree to these resolutions as the sentiment of this body?

Mr. McCARTY, of N. York, moved to lay the resolutions on the table, and to refer the communication to the committee.

The PRESIDENT suggested that the motion was not in proper form. It should be a motion to amend by excepting the resolutions from the reference. This would send the letter, and not the resolutions, to the committee.

Mr. McCARTY modified his motion accordingly.

The amendment was negatived, the original motion adopted, and the entire communication referred.

The convention then adjourned to nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

SECOND DAY.

Thursday, Aug. 16—9 A. M.

The PRESIDENT called to order at precisely 9 o'clock.

The Convention after remaining in session about an hour, and hearing nothing from their committee appointed to conduct negotiations with the other convention—on motion of Mr. SICKLES of New York, took a recess until called together again by the ringing of the bell.

At half-past 12, the PRESIDENT announced that he had satisfactory information, that the committee would not be ready to report before half-past 2 this afternoon—and that he should not call the Convention to order until that time.

The delegates present then retired, re-assembled at half past 2, and again took a recess.

Thursday—3 P. M.

The Convention having re-assembled.

Chancellor WALWORTH, from the committee of conference, read the communications that had passed between the two committees, as follows:

To the Negotiating Committee of the Convention now assembled at the Baptist Church:

The committee appointed by the convention at the Presbyterian Church in this place, to conduct the negotiation with you on the subject of union, with a view to bring out the whole democratic party, and thus to secure the future ascendancy of democratic principles, propose, on the part of the convention for which they act, to waive all questions as to the regularity of the two organizations, and to pass over without remark the contraventions of the last two years. We are also willing to agree to the adoption by both conventions of such resolutions as have heretofore formed the democratic platform, or as have been usually adopted by democratic state conventions previous to the recent divisions in the democratic ranks.— And in the result of our negotiations it is our wish to see such nominations made and agreed to by each convention, as will be satisfactory to the entire democracy of the state, and which we trust would secure a democratic triumph at the ensuing election.

But as the question of slavery has recently become a subject of agitation in the democratic ranks in this State, it must in some way be disposed of before we can hope for the restoration of harmony and good feeling among all the members of the democratic party. The people of the North and of the South, as is well known, entertain different and adverse views from each other and even among themselves on the subject of slavery. It now is, and has for a long time been so; and while one region tolerates and the other prohibits slavery, nothing like unity of views on this subject, among the members of the democratic party of the whole union can be expected. There is no doubt that the general sentiment of the north is against the introduction of slavery into territory now free. Yet as members of a political party we cannot admit that a concurrence in that sentiment should be considered as a democratic principle, or be allowed to be made a test of democracy in any part of the United States. And we are not willing that it should be made so here.— The democracy of New York is a part of the national democratic party; which party can only hope to triumph by preserving its ranks unbroken throughout the entire Union. And this cannot be expected or even hoped for, if opinions upon the subject of slavery are allowed to be made matters of party faith, or to form the basis of party organization either at the north or the south. The democracy of the United States, well knowing this, have at all times studiously excluded the subject of slavery from their platform of principles, leaving every one to the enjoyment of his own opinions on that subject, and to act thereon as he should think proper, holding that a southern man who sustained the institution of slavery, was not for that cause less sound as a democrat than a northern man whose views were of an opposite character. These have always been the views of the democratic party of the Union, and here we propose to leave all questions on the subject of slavery.

If you concur with us in these views, holding that individual differences of opinion, here and elsewhere, upon the subject in question, must be allowed to exist, and that the opinion of no one on that subject can rightfully be called in question as involving a departure from democratic principles, or be considered a test of his democracy, and are ready to act with us upon

that basis, in the support of the regularly nominated candidates of the democracy of this State and of the Nation, we are prepared to join in supporting the formation of a State ticket satisfactory to the Conventions, and as we should hope, to the Association of the State at large.

R. H. WALWORTH, Ch'n. of the Committee.

August 17, 1849.

To this the committee of the Free Soil Convention returned the following reply:—

August 16th, 1849.

To the committee of the Convention in session at the Presbyterian Church:—

The committee of the Convention in session at the Baptist church, say that last evening, at the first meeting of the committees, neither of them were disposed to make any distinct proposition to the other, and nothing was done further than to communicate on the part of our committee the resolution defining our powers, and the communication from your committee, by the verbal statement of its chairman, that you desired the negotiation and communications of both committees to be in writing. We have at the meeting this morning received a communication from your committee. Our committee are prepared to state in reply to your committee, that we are willing with a view to unite the Democratic party, to waive all questions as to the regularity of the two organizations, and to pass over without remark the controversies of the past two years. We can say to your committee, that we adhere to all the established principles of the democratic party, and are authorized to assure you, that if the two conventions shall be found upon a statement of the opinions of each, to agree in principle upon the questions relating to slavery, we shall desire to unite—because we do not apprehend a difference on other questions of principle; and to form a single State Ticket for the whole democracy of this State, to reorganize by a single organization, and form one united party. We would remind your committee, that our convention has submitted to yours a proposition, upon the question of slavery, and the powers and duty of Congress upon that subject, in the territories, to which we would respectfully invite some action or expression of opinion on the part of your committee, and the convention you represent.

We will report your communication to our convention for its action, and will be happy to receive any further communication you may have to make.

Very respectfully,
PRESTON KING, Chairman.

Chancellor WALWORTH remarked here that the committee for whom he spoke, did not understand the resolutions sent in yesterday from the other convention, as a proposition for us to concur in or reject—but merely as a matter of information, of what the other convention had done. The committee, therefore, made no allusion to them in their first communication. But being apprised by the free soil committee that they expected a response to those resolutions, the committee addressed to them the following:—

August 16, 1849.

GENT:—From the tenor of your communication we understand that you submit to our committee the resolutions passed by your convention, as your propositions of compromise; we have accordingly given to them our respectful consideration. In

regard to the first and second of these resolutions, we presume that neither of them is doubted or denied at the north, and in regard to the last, and in fact upon the whole subject of slavery, we propose to recommend for the adoption of our convention, the following resolution—

Resolved, That we believe the people of the North are opposed to the introduction of slavery into territories now free. But we deem it to be unwise and impracticable, and that we cannot consent to make that question a party test or to incorporate it as an article of the political faith of the democracy of this State.

We stated in our communication to your committee, to which we beg leave to refer, that it was impossible to expect anything like unity of views on the subject of slavery, amongst members of the democratic party—that it had never existed, and was never looked for, and that it was wholly unattainable. We proposed to your committee as a basis of union wholly to discard that subject from the platform of democratic principles, leaving every one to the enjoyment of his individual views and opinions. We can act with democrats, whatever their views in regard to slavery may be, if in other respects sound—and we regret that you have not thought proper to inform us whether you insist on the adoption of your views on the subject, as a test of democracy—or a pre-requisite to union, and we desire to ascertain your views upon that point.

A State Convention of those you represent, held at Utica in 1848, adopted on this subject the following resolution:

"Fourthly—although such are the opinions we entertain upon this important question, and which we feel it to be a conscientious duty to maintain to the utmost, unless convinced of their injustice and unconstitutionality, we have never sought to impose them upon others. Still less have we made any acquiescence in our views of the subject, a controlling test in an election, as has been unjustly charged upon us. The annals of our party proceedings may be safely challenged, for the proof that such test has been advocated by us. We have neither made such a test, nor will we submit to it, when made by others; nor can the democratic masses of the State be induced to sustain those who do either."

In the spirit and sense of the Utica resolution above set forth, we have submitted to your committee the foregoing modification of the last resolution of your convention—and if your committee shall agree with us in that proposition, we will recommend it for adoption to our convention.

R. H. WALWORTH,
Ch'n. of the Committee.

Chancellor WALWORTH read the reply of the Free-soil committee to this last communication, as follows:—

Thursday, August 16, 1849.

GENT:—In your second communication, you submit a substitute for the resolutions sent to your convention yesterday. You will perceive that our powers over the subject are limited. We propose, therefore, immediately upon the assembling of our Convention, to submit your proposition for their action. You also state, that we have not thought proper to inform you whether we insist on the adoption of our views upon the subject of Slavery as a test of democracy or a pre-requisite to union. The resolutions submitted by our Convention, are silent upon the subject of a test, and in our opinion, propose none. The action of each Convention, is, in our judgment, necessary to determine what is a pre-requisite to union.

Very respectfully,
PRESTON KING.

Chancellor WALWORTH said the committee acting on behalf of this body, regarded this communication as a termination of negotiations, as the other committee then for the first time stated that they had no power to negotiate. And as that committee had notified us that they would submit our proposition to their convention, he had been instructed to offer to the convention the following:—

Resolved, That until we are informed by the Convention at the Baptist Church, of the result of their action upon the last communication, submitted to their committee of negotiation, the report of the committee of this Convention be laid upon the table, and all action thereon suspended.

This was seconded by Mr. HATHAWAY, of Chemung, and adopted, *nem. con.*

Mr. SHEPARD, of New York, offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of one from each judicial district, to report an address and resolutions for the consideration of the convention, after the deliberations of the committee of conference shall be concluded.

The resolution was laid on the table.

The convention then took a recess, to await the action of the other convention.

Half-past 4 P. M.

The convention having re-assembled, but nothing having been heard from the other convention, again took a recess.

Half-past 5 P. M.

The convention again assembled,

Chancellor WALWORTH stated that during the recess, he had received a communication from the chairman of the committee of the other convention, informing him that the other convention had passed a resolution and directed that it be handed to the committee of this body, to be by them presented to the body itself. Waiving any question as to the power of the committee of this convention, he had called the committee together, and they had concluded to comply with the request, and he would read the communication of the other committee:

[The letter of the F. S. committee, communicating the resolutions, was a formal note, stating that the last communication of the democratic committee had been laid before the F. S. convention, when the resolutions following were adopted, which their convention presented for the action of the democratic convention.]

Before reading the resolution the CHANCELLOR stated that it would be seen that it proposed substantially, that we should adopt the Wilnot Proviso as the only ground on which they were willing to unite. He then read as follows:

Resolved, That the committee appointed to negotiate with a committee from the other convention be instructed to deliver to that committee, with a request to present the same to the body it represents, the following communication from this convention.

“The Democratic Convention, assembled at the Baptist Church in this village, unwilling to dissolve without further effort to effect the object for which they were delegated, respectfully submit to the Democratic Convention assembled at the Presbyterian Church, the following suggestions and invitation:

“Satisfied that the resolutions yesterday adopted and communicated by this convention to your body are sound and democratic in principle—confident that they are the sentiments of a great majority of the people of this state, and especial-

ly of the democratic party, regarding their public avowal by the representatives of the democratic party of this state at this time, as essential to the best interests of the country, and believing that the election of democratic candidates to the state offices cannot be secured even upon a united action of these two conventions, without a distinct announcement of the principles of these resolutions:—This convention has been instructed to insist upon them as a frank expression of the views entertained by the great body of the democratic party of this state. It regards the expression as due due to the party in this State—to their brethren in the southern States, and to the world, that there may be no concealment of the real sentiment of the people on this subject. While they are thus tenacious on this point, they are free to say, that they propose it as a test of a man's individual democracy, or of his right to membership and association with the party. Every individual may, and of necessity, must entertain such opinions as his judgment dictates. Perfect freedom of individual opinions constitutes the very basis of democracy, and this convention would make it a duty to express those principles in a conference with those of the party it represents, does not take upon itself to deny any man's right of association with the democratic party for a difference in opinion upon this or any other point. Each individual must judge for himself with which of the two great political parties his convictions lead him to associate.

“Having formed his steady attachment, he is bound in good faith to carry out its measures so far as they may be entrusted to his hands, but is entirely free to hold his own opinions, and by propagating them, to endeavor to direct the action of his party to the accomplishment of his favorite measures.

“When a candidate for public office, has political opinions of every individual become proper subjects for canvass, and he can hold them for success, whose views are not in conformity with those of the majority of the party from whom he expects support. Under this explanation of the position held by this Convention, it now invites to the other Convention an invitation to assemble together in one common Convention, a bold and distinct expression upon the subject of slavery, and leaving the other subjects, upon which they apprehend no disagreement to the action of the united Convention.

“If this invitation shall be accepted, the members of this Convention will be prepared to their joint action, with those of the other, to make the most liberal concessions upon any point, matter of detail in the business which may come to the attention of the United Convention, and to unite with them in cordial harmony in the support of democratic men and measures without regard to the past.”

The CHANCELLOR said he had been instructed by the committee to offer the resolutions which he held in his hand. It would be seen that the other convention had not considered at all the propositions presented either to them or their committee. They had expressed no opinion, either of concurrence or disagreement to what was contained in them, except what might be inferred from the purport of their resolutions. The resolutions he was instructed to submit were these:

Resolved, That as the convention which meet in the

Baptist Church, in their last communication to this convention, reiterate and insist upon a concurrence in the last of the three resolutions passed by them, and as this convention cannot accede thereto, nor go beyond the proposition already submitted by our committee of conference, and which has not, as yet, been distinctly accepted or rejected, it is inexpedient, until an agreement shall have occurred, to entertain any proposition to meet in joint convention.

Resolved, That the President transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the other convention.

Mr. SICKLES moved the adoption of the resolutions, and

They were adopted by acclamation—the second with two or three dissenting voices.

The convention then took a recess for an hour—

Seven o'clock P. M.

Mr. SHEPARD moved the appointment by the chair of a committee (one from each judicial district) to prepare an address to the democratic electors of the state.

The resolution was adopted—when

On motion of Mr. HASKIN, (who also put the question,) the President of the convention was added to the committee.

The committee named by the chair are Messrs. SHEPARD, of New York, GANUN of Putnam, NIVEN of Sullivan, FLANDERS of Franklin, PORTER of Onondaga, HATHAWAY of Chemung, HOWELL of Ontario, and OSBORNE of Chautauque.

Mr. BURROUGHS, of Orleans, offered a resolution—to which he understood Mr. CHATFIELD would offer an amendment—as follows:

“Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of Slavery into any territory of the United States now free; and that we will use all constitutional means to prevent such extension.”

Mr. CHATFIELD, of Otsego, had a resolution which he wished to have considered at the same time.

“Resolved, That so long as entire unanimity of opinion among democrats, as to the extension of slavery to the free territory of the United States, and the power of Congress over the subject, does not and cannot be expected to exist—it is impracticable to make any opinion on those subjects a controlling test in an election!—that we will, therefore, neither make such a test, nor will we submit to it when made by others;—nor can the democratic masses of the state be induced to sustain those who do either.”

After debate, Mr. CHATFIELD withdrew his resolution; and Mr. BURROUGHS also withdrew his.

After farther discussion,

About 10 o'clock, the PRESIDENT announced a communication from the President of the other convention, which was read as follows:

Hon. W. L. MARCY, President of the convention assembled at the Presbyterian church.

SIR—I have the honor to transmit to you the accompanying resolutions adopted by the convention assembled at the Baptist church, for the purpose of having the same submitted to the convention over which you preside.

I have the honor to be respectfully yours, &c.
WM. TAYLOR, President.

August 16, 1849.

Resolved, That this convention have heretofore declined to accept the proposition of the committee of the other convention, as a sufficient expression on the subject of slavery, and have communicated such declension to the said committee; but as it has not been so understood by the other convention, this convention now distinctly decline to accept the same:—the proposition of the said committee, being in the words—

“In regard to the first and second of those resolutions, we presume that neither of them is doubted or denied at

the North, and in regard to the last, and in fact upon the whole subject of slavery, we propose to recommend for the adoption of our convention, the following resolutions:—

“Resolved, That we believe the people of the North are opposed to the introduction of slavery into territories now free, but we deem it to be unwise and impracticable, and we cannot consent to make that question a party test, or to incorporate it as an article of the political faith of the democracy of this state.”

Resolved, That we respectfully request the opinion of the other convention on the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories of the U. S., and on the propriety of exercising such power.

By order, &c.

J. F. STARBUCK, Secretary.

August 16, 1849.

Mr. CUTTING moved that the communication be laid on the table—[which was done.]

Mr. CHATFIELD moved an adjournment, until to-morrow morning.

Chancellor WALWORTH suggested that unless there was some business requiring our attendance here longer, the convention had better adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. ALVORD of Onondaga moved an adjournment to 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.—[Lost.]

Mr. CUTTING moved thereupon that the committee of conference be discharged from the further consideration of the subject entrusted to them. [Carried.]

Mr. STRYKER then moved a vote of thanks to the committee of conference. [Agreed to with one dissenting voice.]

Mr. SICKLES said, that having done all we could to effect the object which brought us here—and having failed—the time had arrived for an adjournment. He moved therefore that this convention now adjourn *sine die*.

Mr. BURROUGHS moved to amend, by adjourning to 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

Both motions were however waived, for the present, and

Mr. CHATFIELD moved a vote of thanks to the trustees of the church.

Mr. BROWN, of Jefferson, a vote of thanks to the President and other officers of the convention.

Which votes were given with acclamation.

The motions for adjournment now coming up, The ayes and noes were taken on adjourning *sine die*, and there were ayes 61, noes 47.

Mr. HOWELL, of Ontario, before the vote was announced, said he saw so many desirous of continuing the session, that he was unwilling to insist on terminating it to-night, as he had voted to do. He therefore moved a reconsideration.

The vote was reconsidered, by consent, when

Mr. SICKLES said, that in view of the fact that so large a minority desired to wait until to-morrow, he withdrew his motion for a final adjournment—and

The convention at half-past 10, adjourned to 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

THIRD DAY.

FRIDAY, August 17—8 A. M.

The Convention having re-assembled,

Mr. CHATFIELD, of Otsego, said that notwithstanding our friends over the way had not met us with the respect and courtesy which we had extended to them—nevertheless, waiving all points of etiquette, he had prepared, and now offered a proposition which he hoped would meet the unanimous concurrence of this convention, as

a still further effort to harmonize the differences now existing between the two conventions and their constituencies; and, at all events, with a view to present to the other convention a distinct proposition, either for their adoption or rejection. He thought his proposition could not compromise any man's opinion in this body. It was this:—

Resolved, That we are opposed to the extension of slavery to the free territories of the United States; but we do not regard the slavery question, in any form of its agitation, or any opinion in relation thereto, as a test of political faith, or as a rule of party action.

Resolved, That the power of Congress over slavery in the territories, and the particular modes of legislation thereon, are, among democrats, controverted questions; and that we concede to every one in relation thereto, the undisputed right of opinion, not regarding any particular mode of constitutional construction on this question, a part of the democratic creed, or as essential to fellowship with our democratic brethren in this State, or in any section of the Union.

Mr. BOWNE, of Monroe, offered the following additional resolution:

Resolved, That a copy of the foregoing resolutions be transmitted to the Convention in session at the Baptist Church, and their adoption by that body requested, with a view to a union of the democratic party.

Mr. LITTLE, of Otsego, said that under the instructions of his constituents, which conformed to his own inclinations and judgment, he considered it his duty, with a view to facilitate union with the opposite faction, to offer an amendment, by adding, after the words, "U. S.," in the resolutions the following:

"And we will resist such extension by such constitutional and legal means as we may possess, whenever and wherever we are called upon to meet the question."

The amendment was lost by nearly a unanimous vote.

Mr. CHATFIELD's resolutions were then adopted with but two dissenting voices.

Mr. BOWNE now called for the question upon his additional resolution.

The resolution was adopted, and the convention took a recess.

Half-past 12 P. M.

The PRESIDENT laid before the convention the following:

Hon. WM. L. MARCY, President, &c.:

Sir,—I have the honor to transmit to the convention over which you preside, the accompanying resolutions, adopted by the democratic convention now in session at the Baptist Church.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
Aug. 17, 1849. WM. TAYLOR, President, &c.

Resolved, That in regard to the resolutions last received from the Convention sitting at the Presbyterian Church we respectfully reply: That while we concur in so much of said resolutions as expresses opposition to the extension of slavery, we cannot accept them as a full expression of our sentiments on that subject; and that as to so much of the resolutions as relates to political tests and rules of party action, we respectfully refer to our communication of yesterday, as containing our opinions on that subject.

Resolved, That this Convention reaffirm the principles of human freedom, which they have heretofore declared—that we can never abandon them—and that we will devote our best energies to secure their firm establishment.

Resolved, That on conferring with the members of the Convention assembled at the Presbyterian Church personally, by committees and by resolution, and from an intimate, familiar, and life-long intercourse with those whom they represent, we are satisfied that there is such an agreement in favor of the principles of human freedom, as not only authorises, but demands the reunion of the Democratic Party of New York; and that we look to such reunion to rescue all the great principles of civil liberty from

the hands of a whig President who differs with us in regard to all principles, as far as we know, and to lodge them where they have been heretofore predominant and secure.

Resolved, That this convention therefore propose to the Convention assembled at the Presbyterian Church, to form such re-union, by meeting in one body, making a single democratic organization throughout the State; recommending to the democratic electors a single State ticket to be supported at the approaching fall election, and to transact such other business as may come before them.

Resolved, That the President be requested to communicate these resolutions to the convention in session at the Presbyterian Church.

By order,
J. F. S. PARBUCK, Sec'y

Aug. 17, 1849.

Chancellor WALWORTH (the communication having been read) said unless we could dispose of this finally before dinner, the convention had better perhaps take a recess. [Cries of—"no," "no," "no," "go on."]

Mr. BOWNE said it struck him that the communication just read, precluded all farther negotiation between the two conventions. The other body had now said to us emphatically that nothing but the resolutions adopted by them the first day of the session would satisfy them. To those, Mr. B. apprehended they could not get the assent of a single member of this convention. [Applause.] We had offered them fair, just and liberal terms. We had been patient and enduring, he might say, under insult. We had not only endured this, but we had treated them with kindness and courtesy, from beginning to end, as all our proceedings would show. He moved therefore that this convention refuse to concur in these resolutions communicated to this body.— [Applause.]

Mr. CUTTING suggested the addition of a clause, requesting the President of this convention to communicate the result to the President of the other body, and accompany it with the message that unless they had some other communication to make, this convention was ready to adjourn *sine die*. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. BOWNE assented, and reduced his motion to writing as follows:—

Resolved unanimously, That this Convention declines to concur in the resolutions last received from the Convention held at the Baptist Church, and that our President be requested to communicate this resolution to the other Convention, and at the same time to inform them that having no farther business before us, we will adjourn *sine die*, unless they have some other communication to make.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. CUTTING laid on the table the following: saying that he should call it up after the recess, provided nothing should then have been heard from the other convention:

"This Convention having exhausted all honorable means to conciliate and harmonize the differences which have unfortunately distracted the democratic party, and the Convention at the Baptist Church having rejected the overtures made to them with a view to secure that object, and this Convention having thereby failed to accomplish a result so anxiously desired by the great body of the democracy throughout the State—it is now compelled to adjourn without having been able to establish a reunion. Therefore be it

"Resolved, That we appeal to our brethren throughout the state, on behalf of the sincerity and earnestness of our exertions to heal existing dissensions, and we cordially invite all true democrats, whatever may have been former differences, to lay them aside, and unite with us upon the principles declared by this convention.

"Resolved, That the convention do now adjourn *sine die*"

The resolutions were received with applause. The convention then took a recess.

Half-past 4 o'clock P. M.

The Convention having re-assembled,

The PRESIDENT announced a communication from the President of the Convention sitting at the Baptist Church, which was read as follows:

Hon. WM. L. MARCY, President, &c.:

Dear sir,—Agreeably to the instructions herein, I have the honor to transmit to you, and through you to the Convention over which you preside, the enclosed resolutions just adopted by the Convention in session at the Baptist Church.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,
WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Resolved, That this Convention has no further communication to make to the Convention now sitting in the Presbyterian church.

Resolved, That the President of this Convention be requested to communicate a copy of the foregoing resolution to the other Convention.

By order, &c.

E. G. LAPHAM, Sec'y.

Mr. WILKIN, of Orange, then called up the resolutions offered by Mr. CUTTING this morning [see above], and they were again read.

Here were loud calls for "Cutting," "Chatfield," "Bowne," "Peckham," and others, and these gentlemen severally responded briefly to the call.

The question was then taken, and

Mr. CUTTING's resolutions were adopted unanimously.

The convention then adjourned *sine die*—with three cheers "for Marey," three "for the Democracy," and three more "to make it nine."

Signed by order of the Convention.

JOHN B. HASKIN,
ISAAC W. THOMPSON,
E. B. WYNN,
WM. A. SEAVER,

Secretaries of the Convention.

The Democratic State Convention.

The brief official report of the Proceedings of the Democratic State Convention held at Rome, together with the Address issued in behalf of that body, are here given to the reader.

It was one of the largest delegated conventions ever held in the state, every county being represented, and every delegate being present except four, and three of these from the city of New York.

From first to last the proceedings were such as to reflect the highest credit upon the Convention, its character and its purposes. They were characterised with great courtesy towards the adverse convention, and with entire decorum and propriety.

Never in the annals of our politics, has a political convention assembled in this state, so highly distinguished for talent and position and personal character, as this. Nearly all its members had been prominently connected in the public affairs of the state; were known to the people, and had been honored with marks of their confidence and consideration. They had too much character at stake, and the objects of the assemblage were too important, to allow the exhibition of any feeling of irritation, whatever may have been the provocation; and their sense of the responsibility under which they assembled, to the democracy of the State and the Union, would not permit

them to depart from the high line of duty due to both. That they have discharged that duty, in a manner that will meet with the approval of their constituents, and with the approbation of their brethren of the other states of the confederacy, we have no doubt. Nor can we doubt for a moment, that the moral force of their example of FIRMNESS, CONCILIATION, AND ENTIRE UNITY OF PROCEEDING, will produce the most salutary and encouraging effect upon the democratic party of the State and throughout the Union.

The opening proceedings of the two conventions were characteristic. The democratic convention met on Wednesday forenoon, organized, and appointed a committee of conference, directed the fact to be communicated to the free soil convention, and adjourned for dinner. They at once took the initiative in the efforts at reconciliation and union. The free soil convention met, organized, and adjourned for dinner. They avoided any preliminary action for union. Several of their delegates were present in the democratic convention when the committee of conference was appointed, and the fact was well known. Their convention assembled after dinner, and Mr. Grover addressed that body, and concluded by offering a series of resolutions, embracing the Wilmot Proviso. The message from the democratic convention, announcing the appoint-

ment of the committee of conference, was in the hands of the President of the free soil convention before Mr. Grover had concluded his speech or offered his resolutions, and the fact that a communication had been received from the democratic convention was stated by the Chair; but they proceeded with hot haste to adopt the resolutions, and to direct them to be sent to the democratic convention, the President carefully stating that they had been adopted *previous to the receipt* of the message announcing the appointment of a committee of conference. This was the starting device. The fact of the appointment of the committee was well known to the free soil convention, and the fact was officially in the hands of the President of that convention *before* their resolutions were acted upon. But the design was to hurry the resolutions through, before the first and obvious proceeding could be adopted, for the purpose of committing the convention to the Wilmot Proviso, and for the purpose of throwing before the democratic convention positions which it was perfectly well known could not be and would not be adopted.

This spirit may be said to have pervaded all the propositions on their part during the conferences and proceedings.

It will be seen that the starting proposition, adopted in the manner above stated, *distinctly recognized the principle of the Wilmot Proviso*. It was avowed that this had been adopted as their basis of union. From this attitude they did not recede in the slightest degree. Although adopted immediately after the organization of the free soil convention, three days subsequent negotiation and conference, and as stated in their resolution, "personal" intercourse, produced no other result than an unyielding adherence to it. In their last communication on Friday, their convention resolved, "That we re-affirm the principles of human freedom which they have heretofore declared—that we can never abandon them, and that we will devote our best energies to secure their firm establishment."

We mistake the honest and clear-sighted judgment of the true democracy of the state, if they do not see in all this a foregone conclusion on the part of the free soil leaders, that there should be no union on fair and equal terms of reciprocity—and that matters were managed and shaped by them from the outset, with a view to effect that settled purpose.—The "Free democracy," hand-cuffed and manacled, before perhaps many of them were aware of the effect of such a committal, by

Mr. GROVER's declaration of faith and practice, at the opening of their session; unable to relieve themselves, if they would, from these restraints upon their freedom of action; rested, willingly or unwillingly, literally in chains, all through; and came out, as they went into convention, trammelled by an expression "which they could never abandon," and which it was never intended they should abandon—and in the attitude of asking every thing and conceding nothing. All this is obvious enough to all who choose to see and know the true reasons why the result of this effort on the part of the democracy of the state, to harmonize existing difficulties, failed.

The Address of the Democratic State Convention at Rome.—We lay this strong, and as we think, convincing paper, before our readers to-day. It will, we think, claim the perusal and attention of all true democrats in the State and throughout the Union.

The Address presents a history of the Slavery Agitation, from its origin in the *Hartford Convention*, through all its stages of what Mr. Van Buren characterized as the "periodical return of this dangerous agitation," to the present moment; and it presents also the facts in relation to the proceedings and results at Rome. To those who desire to look at the question in its true light, and to understand its important bearings, it affords the opportunity.

It cannot fail to be seen—no sophistry or pretension can avoid the irresistible conclusion—that the agitation of the Slavery Question has been resorted to, from first to last, by the adversaries of democratic principles, as the most effective weapon to DIVIDE, DISSEVER and DEFEAT the Democratic Party—that they seek the same object now by the same means—and that, becoming bolder in their hostility, they do not hesitate to declare it DISSOLVED. Let all sincere democrats ponder upon these undeniable facts, and act with an unflinching confidence, that, as in all the past history of these efforts, the Democracy of the State and Union will recover its position, and triumph over all the arts and efforts of its enemies whether in the guise of its open whig opponents, or through the covert assaults of apostasy.

Undoubtedly we shall have fresh proclamations of an ardent desire of union from those who made such profuse but empty professions before the assembling of the Rome conventions; and insidious efforts will be made to affect, by various means, the Syracuse regular state con-

vention. But no one who witnessed the true spirit and the entire unanimity of the Rome democratic convention, will imagine that they will hesitate for a moment to maintain every where the liberal, just and democratic position they planted themselves upon there.

Union.—The democratic state convention at Rome adopted a basis of union on which all democrats, whatever may be their views of the slavery question, can stand and act together. It invades no man's sentiments upon this question; but leaves to every one, in relation to it, the undisputed right of opinion. This is the only ground on which the democrats of this state can continue to act, as they have done, as an integral part of the Democratic Party of the Union.

While every proper effort should be made, and has been made, to unite the democratic masses, no true democrat will suppose for a moment that *union* can be effected by a surrender of the democratic position and organization, or by the adoption of new creeds and tests at the dictation of leaders who have separated from the democratic party, who have declared it *dissolved*, and aim, through affiliation with whigs and abolitionists, to produce that consummation.

To the friends of the Democratic Cause.

WEEKLY ARGUS.

ONE DOLLAR A YEAR.

We would remind our Democratic friends throughout the State, that the WEEKLY ARGUS is now published at the low price of ONE DOLLAR a year.

We have made this liberal reduction as much with a view of enabling every Democrat to have in a convenient form, a record of the political movements in the State and Union, at the same time giving a good general newspaper, as to any view of pecuniary benefit to ourselves.

We have printed a large edition of the present number, and can supply all who may wish to date their subscriptions from the present time.

Aug. 31, 1849.

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