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OLIVER DYER'S
PHONOGRAPHIC REPORT
OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL
FREE SOIL CONVENTION
AT BUFFALO, N. Y.

August 9th and 10th, 1848.

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OLIVER DYER.

TO ALL WHO WISH TO WRITE WITH THE RAPIDITY OF SPEECH.

"I would give FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS if I could write as fast as a public speaker usually utters his words." "I would give a THOUSAND DOLLARS, in a minute, if I could only report as well as you can." How often have these and similar remarks been addressed to us. Indeed it seems as though the most intense desire is felt by almost the entire (intelligent) community to acquire "that much-coveted art by which the orator's eloquence is caught in its impassioned torrent, and fixed upon paper as an image of his rich and glowing mind." People would give hundreds and thousands of dollars "if they could only report *verbatim*;" "if they could only write as fast as a man speaks in public." How are they to acquire this great accomplishment? That is the question. Nothing is more simple. Just enclose *one, two, or three* dollars, post paid, to DYER & WEBSTER, 66 South Third Street, Philadelphia; or to ANDREWS & BOYLE, 22 Spruce Street, New-York; and you will receive, by return of mail the books necessary to enable you to acquire this useful art. On sending THREE DOLLARS, post paid, to DYER & WEBSTER, Phonographic Rooms, 66 South Third Street, Philadelphia, you will be furnished with books and *such instruction by letter*, as will enable you, in a very short time, to make the most satisfactory progress in the art of *verbatim reporting*, and accomplishment possessing such great and obvious advantages that it cannot be necessary to enlarge upon the desirableness of its acquisition. Who would not give three dollars TO BE ABLE TO WRITE WITH THE RAPIDITY OF SPEECH?

OLIVER DYER.

The following report does not contain all the informal speeches made during the two days of the convention. It contains only the regular addresses. There were probably fifty informal speeches made during the 8th, 9th and 10th of August. From 8 o'clock in the morning till 11 at night persons were continually talking to the assembled multitudes. These informal speeches were for the most part mere repetitions of each other, varying only in anecdotes. All the ideas advanced during the sittings of the Convention are contained in the report.

Some speeches have been condensed, as they were but slightly different in thought from others that had been previously reported. We have received valuable, and indeed indispensable assistance in making out our report, from Mr. James O. Brayman, one of the most accomplished reporters with whom we have had the good fortune to meet.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NATIONAL FREE SOIL CONVENTION.

FIRST DAY.

WEDNESDAY, August 9th, 1848, }
half past 8 o'clock. }

Long before the hour for the organization of the Convention, an immense concourse had assembled under the tent in the Park to listen to a few preliminary remarks and speeches, and encouragements and exhortations to unity, and expressions of determination "to put the thing through," "no giving up," "no compromising," "free soil and nothing else." The various speeches were received with loud cheers, and excited great enthusiasm among the vast assemblage. At length it was announced that Giddings was present. No sooner was that name pronounced, than a shout of enthusiasm burst forth, such as we have seldom heard, and loud cries of "Giddings," "Giddings," "Giddings," re-echoed from all sides, but to the great disappointment of the assembly, it was found that Mr. Giddings was not present.

Mr. PECK, of Connecticut, offered the following sentiment for the adoption of the Convention :

"Let men of the *deepest principle* manifest the most profound *condescension*, and exercise the *deepest humility* today, and posterity will honor them for the deed."

This sentiment was received with acclamations.

9 o'clock.

By this time the concourse had become immense. Every available seat and foot-hold on the ground was occupied. The Ohio delegation came into the tent with banners flying, and were received with great cheering. The delegation was welcomed by Col. MILLER, from N. H., in a neat and spirit-stirring speech, which was received with applause.

Mr. EARLE, of Worcester, Mass., followed in a few remarks which consisted of a repetition of the charge against Gen. Taylor, that he [Gen. Taylor] is opposed to the Wilmot proviso. Mr. EARLE read from Mr. Botts's address to the people of Virginia to prove this charge.

Judge NYE, of Madison county, was here called for, and came forth amid great cheering. He said that he wished to make a few remarks in relation to this "Barnburning" movement. He was one that had voted for Polk in '44, and he was ready

to confess that they had been egregiously taken in, but he trusted that repentance would wipe out their transgression. The Northern Democrats made a great mistake in '44, when they admitted the two-thirds rule. They ought to have met that issue at once. [Cries of yes, yes.] Mr. Van Buren received the majority of the votes of that Convention, and ought to have been the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. But he was sacrificed to the Moloch of Slavery. In '48 the Jeffersonian Democracy of the State of New York assembled at Utica, to send thirty-six delegates to the Baltimore Convention. He was one of the "36." They went down there, but the doors of the Convention were closed against them. There was another band of delegates there from New York, who claimed to be Democrats, but they had no more title to the designation than the Devil has to that of Christian. [Laughter.] These men were ready to bow down and accept the pledge required by the South, before it was presented to them. [Applause.] Mr. Yancey, of Alabama, said the Democrats of New York had raised that Union-killing question, the "Wilmot Proviso," and they had better be kept out of the Convention, and they were kept out. The omnipotent South could carry the presidential candidate triumphantly into the chair, without the aid of the "*little state of New York*." New York was thrust out of the Convention. She had no voice there. She was heard but once, when Daniel S. Dickinson, with face elongated to its utmost tension, got up and said that if this indignity should ever be offered to New York again, it would excite even the indignation of Hunkerism. [Laughter.] The "36" came home and made a regular democratic nomination, and the Democracy of New York, and the friends of liberty throughout the vast extent of our country were rallying to their support. [Cries of yes, yes. You shall be supported.] They had nominated the victim of the slave power in '44, Martin Van Buren. [Cheers.]

But he would now speak of another Convention. The so-called Whig Convention held at Philadelphia. There was another noble son of liberty sacrificed upon the altar of slavery. Henry Clay—(at the sound of this name the most enthusiastic cheers burst from the assembly,) the old, and tried, and beloved leader of the Whigs

why was he sacrificed? (A voice, "slavery was the cause.") Yes, both the great popular leaders of the two parties had been sacrificed to slavery. But now the people have taken up the question themselves, and they will never rest nor allow the country to rest till it shall be definitely settled.—The Whigs had nominated Gen. Taylor, who was "a Whig but not an Ultra Whig." My friends, what would you say of a man who would proclaim himself a Christian but not an Ultra Christian, "and utterly refuse to be an exponent of Christian principles?" (Laughter.) Do you think he would be admitted into any respectable Church on such a confession of faith? (No, no.) No, nor will Gen. Taylor get into the Whig party. He may get into a small portion of it, into that portion constituted of men who have sons for whom they wish to get snug places—whom they wish to have appointed Midshipmen, or to some of the thousand lucrative offices which go to make up the executive patronage. Whigs tell you that you should go for Taylor, and Hunkers say you must go for Cass. There are five of these latter men in the town where I live and where we poll 500 votes. (Laughter.) We must beg to differ from them. (Laughter.)

This Convention must be a self-sacrificing Convention. A crisis had arrived when old prejudices had got to be laid aside—sacrificed upon the altar of our common country's good. He had come here to lay down all his former predilections upon this altar—to strike hands even with those against whom he had previously battled.—We mingle here with representatives from Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa and Michigan, thank God. Here they stood, representatives from the fair fields of the West—an empire in itself, from which slavery had been blotted out by a resolution drawn by the great man of our independence. Slavery had been excluded, and now the West had become the rich granary of the world. He had come on with representatives from New Jersey—that battle field of the Revolution. And Pennsylvania, too, that glorious old Keystone of the Union, is here—firm and true as steel—who cherishes within her bosom the patriot Wilmot. God raised up a David of old to slay the giant of Gath. So hath David Wilmot with the sling of freedom and the smooth stone of truth struck the giant slavery between the eyes—he reels—let us push him over! Massachusetts is here—and it is fitting she should be. A son of John Quincy Adams was here among her delegates. There was Samuel Adams, first among the statesmen of the Revolution, and he rejoiced that Francis P. Adams was in the front ranks of this great moral revolution.

He hailed this time as a glorious era. He liked this agitation. It was an augury of better things to come. He liked this mingling of heretofore discordant elements—drawn together by the great sympathetic cord of freedom. Vermont, New Hampshire, Missouri and Delaware, are here.—And he was told that Maryland was here, and it was a fact of deeply momentous importance, when in the South they begin to talk of the evils of slavery. Virginia, "the mother of Presidents,"

was here. The feeling is extending, expanding, not only at the North, but at the South.

If we are wrong on the Tariff, it can be righted in twelve hours. If we are wrong on Banks, it can be righted by legislation. But if we are wrong on the subject of Slavery, it never can be righted. It will reach down to posterity, inflicting curses and misery upon generations yet to come. Let, then, no preferences for men distract our councils. Let all meet upon a common platform, to accomplish a great—a noble purpose.

Mr. HUSBANDS, of Rochester, took the stand and informed the audience that he was one who had had his head taken off politically in '44 for maintaining the principles which they were now assembled to advocate. He had stood by the side of Judge Nye and had been decapitated with him. His heart was in this Convention and he was glad to see the respectable portion of all parties. And why was this? Why did he see Frederick Douglass here? (Three cheers for Douglass.) Why did he see the Whig party here, the respectable portion of it. And why did he see the Democracy here in their strength? Because they were all determined to curb and bridle and drive back and overthrow the proud and aggressive slave power, and he trusted that the people would now unite and shoulder to shoulder, fight in firm array till they should triumph. (Here the staging on which we sat went down with a tremendous crash, capsizing ink, paper, table, reporters and all, spoiling our gold pen, rasping the epidermis from our shins, and committing sundry other outrages of a similar nature. We finally succeeded in extricating self and traps from the "wreck of matter and crash of boards," and concluded to report no more of Mr. Husbands' remarks, because we couldn't.)

We finally got a corner of the table on which the Speaker was standing, when "Stanton," "Stanton," was loudly called, and came forward amid loud cheering, and gave notice that the Convention would be regularly organized at 12 o'clock, and was about to sit down, when there was such an outcry for him to "just say something," that he consented and said he would make a speech about as long as the ferule of his cane.

He said that the motto of this Convention should be that of the French republic, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." (Cheers.) They had come up to contend against a movement, on the part of the slave interest, to extend that cursed institution which takes the image of Almighty God on the immortal soul, and blots it therefrom by legislation and stamps in its place, by legal enactment, the name of brute, beast, and property; that that institution now struggling for existence on its own soil, shall be extended to territories where the lower morality and feebler republicanism of Mexico has abolished it. This is the issue which the South tenders to this country at the noonday of the nineteenth century. Waiving all my peculiar views, I am for joining issue with the South on that great cause. I am for trying it this year before the American people, and I am for getting a verdict, and entering up judgment, taking out an execution, and levying on the slave power and

taking possession of it, and hanging it up between the Heavens and the Earth where the winds of execration shall whistle through it. (Cheers.)—In order to fight this battle successfully we must be united, and again I say let us adopt the glorious motto of the new-born French republic: "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." (Cries of good, good, that's it, go it, give it to 'em.)

The great loadstone principle which has brought us up here from the Mississippi to the Aroostook, for it has been ascertained in general committee that all the Northern tier of slave States are represented in this Convention, [Good, good,] is the French motto, *Liberty*, the sun of this great movement, around which the other departments revolve, bound to it by the law of gravitation and from which all other subordinate movements receive their light and their heat. Then, sir, we come here to carry out that other principle of the French republic, *Equality*. Whigs, Democrats and Abolitionists, all parties are broken up and resolved into their original elements. Then there is that other word, *Fraternity*, completing the trinity of principles against which the united despotism of the world cannot stand. [Cheers.]—Now, gentlemen, I hope we may not divide— [Cries of good, good, we won't, we won't.]

Here a very fat gentleman rested his abdomen on our right shoulder in such a manner as rendered us wholly incapable of recording a word which the speaker uttered. It took us some time to arrange matters with our rotund friend and just as we got ready to resume our labors, Mr. STANTON concluded his speech by declaring that he was ready to go for anybody, with anybody, in favor of the free soil movement, and against anybody that is opposed to it. [Great cheering.]

President MAHAN, of Ohio, took the stand, but owing to the necessity of rebuilding the platform previous to the regular organization of the Convention, the audience was requested to divide into four parties, and each party to retire to a corner of the Park, where temporary stands had been erected, and where there were speakers ready to entertain them. The audience did accordingly, and we left.

12 O' CLOCK.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONVENTION.

Judge STEVENS, of Indiana, called the meeting to order, and proposed NATHANIEL SAWYER, of Ohio, as President of the Convention *pro tem*. Unanimously confirmed.

Mr. SAWYER came forward and ordered the stage to be cleared; and the stage was cleared.

The President nominated CHARLES P. WELLS, of Illinois, and CALVIN W. PHILLIPS, of Connecticut, as Secretaries. Confirmed.

Hon. PRESTON KING came forward, amid great cheering, and offered the following motion. He said that it was suggested yesterday that a committee consisting of as many members from each state as they have electoral votes, should be appointed to draft resolutions, and recommend certain propositions for the consideration of the Convention. The first thing for us to do is to unite. [Cheers.] He would read a resolution

which the committee unanimously agreed upon. There is nothing binding in the resolutions. They are for the consideration of the Convention:

Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal Government to relieve itself of all responsibility for the extension or continuance of slavery, whenever that Government possesses Constitutional authority, and is responsible for its existence.

Resolved, That the States within which slavery exists, are alone responsible for the continuance or existence of slavery within such States, and the Federal Government has neither responsibility nor Constitutional authority to establish or regulate slavery within the States.

Resolved, That the true, and in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Mr. NOBLE was unanimously confirmed by the Convention as the representative of the District of Columbia, and a resolution was passed to the effect that a committee of one from each State and one from the District of Columbia, be selected to draft a plan for the permanent organization of the Convention, and that each delegation appoint its representative. The States were called and the following gentlemen were appointed as the Committee:

Maine—Jabez C. Woodman.
New Hampshire—George G. Fogg.
Vermont—L. D. Barber.
Massachusetts—William Jackson.
Rhode Island—Wm. G. Hammond.
Connecticut—Thaddeus Wells.
New York—Preston King.
New Jersey—H. M. Conger.
Pennsylvania—Joseph Neide.
Ohio—S. P. Chase.
Michigan—Isaac P. Christmaney.
Wisconsin—Hans Crocker.
Illinois—Isaac N. Arnold.
Iowa—William Miller.
Indiana—Joseph L. Jarniga.
Delaware—Jacob Pusey.
Maryland—William Robinson.
Virginia—George Craig.
District of Columbia—L. P. Noble.

The Committee retired to the Court House, for the purpose of deliberating upon business to be presented to the Convention—nominating permanent officers, &c.

A committee of five, consisting of John R. St John, W. Larimer, jr., Dyre Tillinghast, Ralph Farnsworth, and John P. Hogeboom, was appointed to select and appropriate seats for the several State delegations.

The Convention then took a recess until 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

When we arrived on the ground at 2 o'clock, an hour before the time appointed for the assembling of the Convention, we found an immense assemblage who had pre-occupied the ground, filling the places reserved for Reporters, Officers of the Convention and Delegates, so that it was impossible for any of them to get their seats. After considerable delay the crowd was drawn off by sending a gentleman to the other side of the Park

to address the crowd, and we among the rest of the favored ones, were able to get our seat.

A great deal of trouble was experienced in arranging the delegations from the different States, owing to the unwillingness of those who were not delegates to make room for them. Men seemed to think that because they were Free-soilers, and had "left home to come up here," they had a perfect right to take possession of any position, place, or seat they might choose.

It is a great pity that men who have no ideas of propriety should be permitted to attend a Convention under any circumstances. A Mr. Cochrane, we believe, from New York, kicked up a great row by refusing to comply with the request of the Committee on Seats, to vacate the benches.

This Mr. Cochrane, supported by some persons of a similar pertinacious disposition, made himself particularly obnoxious and ridiculous by his obstinate stupidity. "We are the Convention," said Mr. Cochrane, and his assinine abettors, but the Convention voted on the motion of a member, that "the seats should be vacated," and the disturbers, deservedly rebuked, withdrew.

The Convention then proceeded to organize—but the box on which the Chairman stood when addressing the meeting was gone. Lovejoy, of Ohio, had it, and was speaking from the top of it, and he would not give it up. Another box was obtained, and Mr. S. P. CHASE, of Ohio, was appointed Chairman *pro tem.* in the absence of Mr. SAWYER. Mr. CHASE mounted the box and called the meeting to order amid such a din as never was heard. A scene of such noise and confusion would have completely annihilated Gen. Cass. The Chairman of the Seat Committee was giving in his report. About twenty gentlemen were speaking to all sorts of motions made and seconded by themselves. Cries of "gentlemen," "sit down," "get off my toes," "who has my seat?" "Mr. Chairman," "silence," "order," "keep still," was all that could be heard.

Finally, the Chairman of the Committee of Organization came forward to report, when he informed the assembly that CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Mass., had been selected as President. The audience gave him six hearty cheers, and Mr. ADAMS came forward and bowed in acknowledgments.

HON. PRESTON KING, from the committee of one from each State, on the permanent organization of the Convention, unanimously recommended

CHARLES F. ADAMS, of Mass., for President of the Convention.

That there be one Vice President from each State represented in this Convention, and one from the District of Columbia, to be selected by the Delegates from the several States.

That Charles B. Sedgwick, of N. Y.; C. V. Dyer, of Ill.; Thomas Bolton, of Ohio; Ralph Butler, Jr., of Maine; J. E. Snodgrass, of Maryland; A. M. Johnson, of New Jersey; Franklin Tayler, of Penn., be Secretaries of the Convention.

Geo. Rathbun of New York, and S. P. Chase of Ohio, were appointed a committee to wait upon Mr. ADAMS, and announce to him his appointment.

Mr. ADAMS took his seat amid the vociferous and repeated cheers of the multitude.

The following Vice Presidents were then nominated by their respective State Delegations:

Maine—William Bradbury.
New Hampshire—Moses A. Cartland.
Vermont—Lawrence Brainard.
Massachusetts—John Mills.
New Jersey—David L. Rogers.
Pennsylvania—E. D. Gazzano.
Ohio—Nicholas Spindle.
Illinois—S. J. Lowe.
Indiana—John W. Wright.
Wisconsin—Byron Kilbourne.
Iowa—William Mitter.
Michigan—Robert S. Wilson.
Maryland—Robert Gardner.
Virginia—George Craig.
Rhode Island—Walter R. Danforth.
Delaware—A. H. Dixon.
District Columbia—L. B. Noble.

The delegation from New York, not having agreed upon a nomination for Vice President, it was agreed to meet at 8 o'clock this evening for that purpose.

FIRST DAY.

EVENING SESSION.

Mr. ADAMS: Fellow Citizens, you will agree with me, I think, that the proceedings of this great body should be first commenced with prayer.—[Yes, yes.] I would then, invite you to listen to a prayer from the Rev. Mr. TUCKER, of this city.

MR. TUCKER'S PRAYER.

O God, our Heavenly Father, on this interesting occasion we would invoke thine especial blessing to rest upon this great multitude, assembled to deliberate upon subjects of momentous importance to the present and future well-being of our beloved country. Thou, O Lord, hast been our God, and our fathers' God. Thou hast watched over us with parental kindness and solicitude.—Thou hast had our country in thine especial keeping, from its earliest day to this auspicious hour.

We bless Thee, our heavenly Father, that in thy providential government of the world, thou hast seen fit to reserve this land for an asylum of the oppressed in the latter days, and that here the afflicted and the down trodden of every nation and kindred and tongue and people under the whole heavens can find a country and a home; a land of bibles, and of bible freedom. We rejoice, O Lord, that in thy good providence such a great host has assembled here today, from almost every part of this great confederacy, to deliberate upon measures to wipe out that dark spot, that foul stain upon our country's escutcheon, the enslavement of a portion of our fellow-men, and to proclaim liberty throughout all the land.

O God, we give thanks unto Thee, that when our fathers were oppressed in their own country, the land of their childhood, beyond the great sea, thou didst open for them an asylum in this Western world; a land sung by poets; a land seen in the visions of the Seers long before the advent of thy Son; a land far towards the setting sun, the

El Dorado of Human Freedom, where man would attain to his full stature, physically, mentally, and morally, and where he was to be a perfect being ere he finished his pilgrimage below. Thou didst direct the first vessels that approached these shores. Thou didst turn away the prow of every Spanish ship that thou mightest plant this land with the seed of Republican and Religious Freedom. Thou didst watch over our Colonies in their infancy. Thou didst fight their battles and win their victories.

O God, thou hast developed our resources.—Thou hast caused us to become great among the nations of the earth, till now thou hast made us the bright and morning star of the universal emancipation of all men every where; so that in this our day thou, in thy mysterious providence, art overturning the old thrones of despotism, and revolutionising the governments of men, and causing them to turn their attention and their hopes to this Western world. And now O Lord, we pray thee to continue to us this parental regard and protection. Give us wisdom to enable us to discharge the great and responsible duties which shall come before us, in a manner that shall conduce to our country's welfare and thy glory. O God, to this end give the presiding officer of this Convention that wisdom which cometh down from above. We pray Thee that the mantle of the father may fall upon the son and as the former has been gathered to his fathers to rest, full of honors and amidst the sighs and tears of a bereaved nation, may the latter rise up and with the father's love of Freedom and his fearless advocacy of Truth, fulfil the condition and destiny his revered and lamented parent filled in the eyes and councils of his country.

O Lord, grant every officer and member of this Convention wisdom sufficient to guide them harmoniously and profitably through all the business which shall come before them. Take them then into thine own keeping, guide their deliberations in such a manner as shall best subserve our country's weal and thy honor, and finally, when we shall have accomplished our duty and destiny on earth, bring us to our graves in peace, whence, in the morning of the resurrection, we shall be caught up to meet our God and King.

This through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

As soon as the Rev. gentleman had finished his eloquent, but very long prayer for such an occasion, Mr. Adams arose and addressed the Convention as follows:

MR. ADAMS SPEECH.

FELLOW CITIZENS: It is a matter of deep and heartfelt gratitude to me that I have been selected as an unworthy instrument to preside over the deliberations of this great body. I would apologize for my own unfitness were it not that I see in the multitude of speaking faces before me, and feel in the mass of beating hearts around me some guaranty that you will all contribute to make my labors light.

Fellow citizens, you have all assembled here today out of pure devotion to a principle. That principle, clothed as it has been in technical terms which do not express the idea, has yet rallied to us support the multitudes that I see before me.

This gives me an assurance of the intelligence and virtue of the people—which I never doubted—and without any necessity for long reasoning on the subject; without the need of those elucidations which are so often demanded in public affairs. No, when they heard the words of the Wilmot proviso their instincts told them that Human Liberty was in danger, and the answer that they have given to it is, that they are here. [Applause.] I have been told, fellow citizens, by those who do not sympathise in this glorious movement, that the Wilmot proviso is, after all, nothing but an abstraction. [Laughter.] Well, to a certain extent I am willing to admit that it is an abstraction. I am willing to say what it is not. It is not bread and butter. It is not roast beef and two dollars a day. [Laughter.] It is not a nice provision under government as a reward for party services. No, the Wilmot proviso rises above all these considerations. It is an abstraction to be sure, and so was Magna Charta an abstraction. And so was the declaration of independence an abstraction. [Yes, yes. That's it. There you have 'em.] So is the idea of right and justice and the truth of God an abstraction. And it is these abstractions that raise mankind above the brutes that perish. [Yes, yes. That's the fact. Go it.] It is these abstractions that raise a people and carry them on to glory for ever. And, fellow citizens, it is around these abstractions that we now rally in order to place our Government on a proper basis which it has deserted.

Fellow citizens, for my own part, I regard the Wilmot proviso as covering a great deal more ground probably than you may at first imagine. I regard the Wilmot proviso as, in substance, a struggle between right and wrong. As a contest between truth and falsehood, between the principles of Liberty and the rule of Slavery. [Good, good. Hurrah.] Now, fellow citizens, is the accepted time when we all come together to note what our position is and how far the government has drifted from the ancient landmarks which our fathers set up. Now is the accepted time when we are taking a new observation of the national ship, and if we have found that she has drifted from her course, we are to try to put her back again. [Applause.] The question now before us is one, which involves the proposition whether we shall adhere to the solemn principles of the Declaration of Independence; whether we shall deduce government from the consent of the governed; and whether we shall make this government a system which promotes justice or which sanctions slavery in the new territories of the West. [Yes, yes, that's the question.] Why, fellow citizens, this question rises above the mere consideration of common law. By natural law, by the law of God no people are authorised to sow the seeds of slavery in a rising community anywhere; and the Constitution of the United States never contemplated that we as a people should allow the creating of a system of injustice in any country which we may ever populate. Yet, it is a fact, fellow citizens, that these solemn principles which we have supposed to have been established for seventy years, are now called in question in

the high places of the Union. They have not only been called abstractions, but they have been declared to be actually false. It is highly incumbent upon us, therefore, if we mean really to stand by what our fathers told us; if we mean to sympathize with the principles of Locke and stand by the martyrdom of Hampden and Sidney, it is necessary to withstand the efforts of those who would carry us back two hundred years and place us under the tyranny of the principles advocated by the old English philosophers, Hobbes and other writers of the times.

Fellow citizens, I firmly believe the world is about to know, whether we are the devoted sons of Liberty or whether we are going to give up the whole of this great Western continent to the rule of those who do not acknowledge our principles but denounce them. Fellow citizens, we are obliged, under a necessity which we cannot resist, to denounce the organizations of the old parties as no longer worthy of the confidence of a free people. (Applause.) They have met, and they have shown by their action that they have no system of policy, excepting that which consists in fighting with each other in the endeavor to get place as the prize of the struggle. (That's it, good, you hit 'em there.) They are united, however, in one thing, and that is to put down the principle of liberty which is rising in this continent. Fellow citizens, we know the result of these bodies, and now that we have seen and understand what it is that they are contending for, let us go forward and show our fellow citizens what a different spectacle is exhibited by those who, looking first upon a solemn principle, are agreed upon that, and then turning their shoulders to the wheel see how it shall be carried out. (Cheers.) And, fellow citizens, we claim to be of those who, although they may desire to command success, yet, do not mean to forget that, in the event of success, they mean to carry their principles with them. (Great applause.)

But, fellow citizens, the eyes of the whole country are upon our action this day, and there are many ill-disposed persons who are greedily looking for some manifestation of distraction, and dissension and division, which shall succeed in defeating, as far as any human power can defeat it, the success of our movement. Looking at the results of their own Conventions, in which they have presented the mortifying spectacle of nothing but division, they do really suppose that we, who come here, are in just the same position — (Laughter, they are decidedly verdant.) They do not understand the difference between them and us yet. (No, no, they soon will though.) — They do not understand that they are fighting only for expediency, and are expecting nothing but place. (Ha, ha, ha, a good hit.) But here have we come together with an anxious and an earnest desire to mark out the way in which we shall arrive at truth, and when once it shall have been presented to us, not to quarrel, but unite together in its support. (Great applause.) They do not understand that we come here and say, "set up your standard of Freedom and Truth, everything for the cause and nothing for men." —

(Tremendous and long continued applause.) Let your deliberations then proceed and may the Divine blessing rest upon the result, so that we may take one step forward to realize that great idea of our forefathers, the model of a Christian commonwealth.

Mr. Adams took his seat amidst the most enthusiastic and long continued applause.

The Committee on Organization, &c., submitted the following further report, which was unanimously adopted:

This Convention assembled in pursuance of a recommendation of the State of Ohio held on the 28th day of June last. That Convention recommended the appointment of six delegates at large for each State that should choose to be represented, and three delegates from each Congressional District.

Several States have followed that recommendation as to the number of delegates while in other States, County and District meetings have appointed a much larger number than that proposed and in some a smaller number.

The committee appointed by the delegations of the several States to confer upon the subjects of organization and representation, have had the subject under consideration, and beg leave to submit to the Convention the following rules to remedy, as far as practicable, the inequality which would arise from voting in mass, per capita, or by States.

1. Each State shall be entitled to six conferees to be composed of its delegates at large, if it have them in sufficient numbers, if not they shall be appointed by the delegates in attendance from said State,

2. Each Congressional district of a State represented, shall be entitled to three conferees. The regular delegates of the districts shall be such conferees, if enough are in attendance. If not, the number may be supplied by the delegates from said state, from any persons attending from said state.

3. The said conferees shall constitute a Committee of Conference, and shall have full power to sit during the sittings of the Convention, and to entertain and decide finally any question referred by the Convention, or any question that shall be originated in said Committee of Conference; and shall have full power on the subject of representation.

4. Any question in the Convention shall be referred to said Committee for its final action, upon the demand of one hundred members.

SPEECH OF JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO.

[We are not certain that we have done Mr. GIDDINGS justice in the following report; we were surrounded by a set of unmannerly fellows who continually interrupted us by questions, and some even requested us to "pass up" papers and documents of various kinds to the officers of the convention. We hope that in future all these fellows' mothers will keep their unmannerly offspring at home.

REPORTER.]

Mr. GIDDINGS having been loudly and repeated-

ly called for, came forward amidst the most deafening applause and spoke as follows:

Friends, countrymen and fellow citizens: I know of no sublimer spectacle that could be presented to the eye of the Patriot, Statesman, or lover of mankind, than to see a people assembled in mighty Convention, for the maintenance of their own unalienable rights; and when my Reverend friend here made such beautiful allusion to that venerable statesman, who has lately taken his departure from this to a brighter world, my heart involuntarily responded amen to the sentiment he expressed. I firmly believe, that could that "old man eloquent," that mighty and irresistible champion of human rights from early youth to extreme age, have lived to see this day, he would have said like him of old, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace since mine eyes have seen thy salvation." [Great applause.]

Fellow citizens, that venerable statesman and patriot first called my attention to the usurpations of that power which now threatens to engulf your liberties. He has taken his departure from the scenes of political discord and strife, and it has been left to another generation to maintain the rights which he labored during his whole life to establish in perpetuity for the enjoyment of yourselves and your offspring. That beautiful allusion, made in the prayer to which you listened to this morning, to the Pilgrim Fathers who were tempest tossed upon a wintry and storm-ridden sea, as they fled from political oppression at home, and sought to establish this ever living principle of man's unalienable rights upon the shores of Massachusetts, reminded me, that in that same year—yes, fellow citizens, in that same year that our Pilgrim Sires landed upon those inclement shores, a Dutch ship, freighted with humanity made merchantable by the superior fraud and powers of piratical dealers in human flesh and blood, landed upon our coast at Jamestown, in Virginia. Yes, the element of slavery and degradation was established in the same year that our Pilgrim Fathers established Human Liberty upon the wild New England shores. And these antagonistic principles have been spreading and widening, and pushing out, and bearing fruit from that day to the present. And while New England has been, with devotion to her country, her God, and to mankind, endeavoring to extend her principles of liberty, Southern States have been eagerly and energetically engaged in extending and perpetuating Human Degradation and Slavery. And that institution existed when it was first brought upon the southern shores of these States precisely as it is now sought to be established in California and New Mexico. It was established there by force of the physical and intellectual superiority of the whites over the colored race.—In violation of heaven's high decree, the white-man seized his fellow colored man and compelled him to submit to his will. That state of the degraded African existed for years with no other law to sustain it than now exists in New Mexico and California.

He who reads the history of our country, and especially that portion of it which relates to the

introduction, establishment, and extension of the heaven-defying institution of Slavery, will understand the deep-laid schemes of southern Statesmen to establish Slavery in New Mexico by the entire absence of legislation upon the subject. Leave the slave-holder to convey his slaves there, let him but once gain a foothold there and by force of superior intelligence and power; by the bowie-knife, the scourge, the whip and the dread instruments of torture, he will establish slavery there unless prevented by the law.

John C. Calhoun is too deep read a man, he is too well versed in all the infernal measures of fraud, force and duplicity by which Slavery encircles its victims in its deadly folds, and enlarges its borders, and strengthens its power, to be induced by any means whatever to give his support to any movement that would in the least militate against his darling institution; and I tell you that the late Compromise, as it has been called, was a deep-laid scheme of those whose invention never fails them, to entrap you into the support of Slavery in New Mexico and California.

Fellow-Citizens, I do rejoice today to see the people come up here from the various States of this Union, north of Mason and Dixon's line, and thank God, some south of it, [great applause] in the spirit of devotion to maintain the self-evident rights of man for which our forefathers bled during the revolution. [Applause.] I can only say to you fellow-citizens, that if you expect to be instructed by my remarks today, you will be disappointed. I see none before me but patriots, friends, and philanthropists who wish to cheer me on in my work. I know not how to meet such. I have not been used to it. [Laughter and applause.]—I tell you I miss my sword. [Renewed applause and great merriment.] I know not how to meet you today as friends, for I have not been accustomed to such, and while I rejoice with joy unutterable, I feel unprepared to give utterance to the sentiments of my heart.

My friends, I know I have before me here persons who are members of all the political parties. [A voice, "who have been friends of the parties."] Have been; I thank my friend for the words. I will write it down in my book. [Ha, ha, ha, capital: give 'em jessie.] I say then I see before me men who *have been* members of all the political parties of the day. Men who have supported Clay and Jackson and Adams and Taylor perhaps. Men who have supported Cass. Of course no one thinks of supporting *him* now. [No. No. No.] Well I will speak of him as of the others, one who *has been*. [Ha, ha, ha. Poor Cass.—His mother never should have allowed him to stray from the maternal domicile.] I say fellow-citizens, that when I come here and meet men ready to carry into practical life the principles of '76, I can extend the hand of "Fraternity" to them. I feel that I am meeting friends, patriots who are willing to make sacrifice for the maintenance of those holy principles. [Applause.]

Of General Cass I will not speak. He has been a political opponent of mine, and is now. Of General Taylor I can only remark that I know not enough of him to say any thing in his favor or to

speaking evil of him. I can only speak of his principles and those of the old Whig party. [Ha, ha, ha. A decided hit.] I say to you I now stand where I stood in '44. I wish to repeat what was then often and deliberately asserted to be the principles of the whig party. Aside from the Tarif, and other principles of the campaign, we know that non-extension of Slavery was the issue.—May God forgive you Locofocos for your conduct then. I cannot do it. [Great laughter and applause.] That was the issue on which we joined battle under our old beloved and gallant leader.—Would to God we had such a leader now. [Applause.] Henry Clay laid it down in his letter at that time, that non-extension of Slavery was the ninth article in the whig creed. Do you remember that, friends of General Taylor? [Yes, yes, we remember it.] Henry Clay re-asserted this principle. [A voice, "tell us something about Mat Van Buren."] I will attend to him by and by, when I will do him justice. Henry Clay made that declaration, and is there any one here who denies it? [No, no.] Now you who support General Taylor, dare you come up to it? If you dare not, you have fled from the platform on which you then stood. Can a man make General Taylor assert what Henry Clay proclaimed in '44?—[No-o-o-o.] Henry Clay boldly put forth his sentiments, and his honesty and fairness brought his downfall. The slave power wrote on his wall the prophecy, "Mene, Tekil, Upharsim." Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting. Henry Clay was defeated in the Philadelphia Convention on account of that declaration. He lies low, smitten down by the ruthless slave power, which has never spared any however exalted, whom it suspected of a willingness to recognize the principles embodied in the Declaration of Independence. [A voice once more, "tell us about Little Matty. He's the boy for our money."]—Well, gentlemen, you all know that I opposed Martin Van Buren with all my powers. I left no stone unturned in '44 to defeat his election. Martin Van Buren rejected Texas in '37. She was then at war with Mexico. In '44 the slaveholders of Mississippi interrogated him upon this subject, which with them, was the transcendent question of all others, and he declared his opposition to the Annexation of Texas, in '44. This is a matter of truth and of history, and I declare it to be the brightest spot in his political life. There was in that act a perfect consistency, and a perfect adaptation to his present position as I understand it. You will understand that I am not an advocate of Martin Van Buren for the Presidency. He is not my choice, but if he shall be the fairly selected candidate of this Convention, then, I say I shall be for him. [Enthusiastic applause.] If not, then I say I am against him. Whoever is put forth, I will regard as my political brother, and I will sustain him as such. [Great applause.]

Fellow-Citizens—If you will excuse me now, I will resume my remarks precisely at this point, at some other time. [No, no. Go on, go on.] After considerable begging, Mr. GIBBINGS obtained leave to retire, when loud calls were made for Benjamin F. Butler and Mr. Culver of New York.

Mr. CULVER took the stand and addressed the audience as follows:

MR. CULVER'S SPEECH.

GENTLEMEN—I have lungs like a double bound, high pressure steam engine. [Ha, ha, ha.] I will make you all here just like a knife. [Ha, ha, ha.] Mr. Butler will speak after I get through.—It is always customary where I live to put the young steers first and let the old oxen come behind. [Ha, ha, ha, what a d— of a fellow he is, go it Culver.]

Fellow citizens, you have come up here from all parts of the country to signify your love of Liberty and hatred of Oppression. I consider this the sublimest spectacle my eyes ever rested on. I attended at Tippecanoe in 1840. I thought I saw faces there. I thought no man could number them, but they were nothing compared to this ocean of heads. [Laughter.] This immense concourse shows me that there is something at the bottom of this matter at work. What is it that has brought little Rhode Island, that little State which sets out in the sea, up here today to strike hands with Iowa? What has brought Virginia up here, that State of moonlight cotton bag abstractions? [Ha, ha, ha. He's one of 'em.] What has brought Ohio here, our elder sister, too old to have children, although she has several thousands here today, who are alive and kicking? [Ha, ha, hoo.] Gentlemen, I am just like a Connecticut beer barrel, and have wanted vent the whole day. [Great merriment.] What, gentlemen, is the one bond that has tied us together? Have you ever seen that gushing up in the old parties that links us together? [No, no.] What is that bond? Why, fellow citizens, we have seen down at the South a principle growing up and strengthening for fifty years. We thought it would grow weaker, but it has been continually rising up and growing stronger and stronger till at last it threatens to overwhelm us all. But we will not have our necks ground down, and this is what is rousing us up.

Fellow citizens, what is the glorious issue now at stake? It is something tangible. We have talked heretofore of Banks, Sub-Treasuries, and Tarifs, but now we have got hold of something tangible. Have you not seen that the slaveholders have always fashioned our movements?—When they said bank, we had a bank. Even Calhoun could go for it then. If they said Tarif, we had a Tarif. And if they said no Tarif, the Tarif was gone in a twinkling. When the factories were all going, and the factory girls making lots of money, and our farmers making money, and everything going on prosperously here at the North, the slaveholders said we must stop this. Those Yankees are going on too fast. They are becoming too rich and powerful, and they brushed away your prosperity as a housewife brushes a cobweb from the ceiling of a room. [That's a fact. Yes, yes.] Why can we not have our rivers and harbors improved? Because the South want the money to pay for a war down in Mexico, and to get slaves there. I have had a little experience in this matter. I was one of the immortal "fourteen" that voted against the war. I

voted against Texas when that base scheme was brought in, and the previous question called, so that one hundred young members were not allowed a word of debate. Three Democrats then stood by my side, Bradford Wood, of Albany, Horace Wheaton and Preston King, who don't fear either fire or thunder. [Applause.] When I asked King why he opposed the annexation, he laid his hand upon his heart, and said, I can never consent that the South shall acquire another *inch* of slave territory. [Great applause.] A few days after I got the floor, and then I lashed them with what I would have said on the day Texas was admitted. I had heard they were about to heat up the political furnace for the benefit of my three Democratic friends, and I told them that in old times three good men and true who would not bow down to the idols of their master, were cast into a furnace seven times heated, but that they did not get scorched half as badly as did they who threw them in. [Applause.]

I wish to say a word about compromises, now I stand upon middle ground. I know all about anti-slavery. Now there is that portion of our party, and the Whig portion, and the Democratic portion, and we may not all think to set our stakes at the same notch. Now it is important that we start out on some good ground and go it strong as thunder as far as we do go. [Good, good.] Only get them on the track, and the South will make these men all consistent by and by. There is a class of men, and I honor them, who say we must look out for the guaranties of the Constitution.—I have heard men talk as though the Constitution was got up for the express purpose of maintaining slavery. John C. Calhoun said that slavery was the only kind of property guaranteed by the Constitution, and he never blushed, but said it with all the *sang froid* of a Connecticut school-master.

Now the Constitution does not say a word about slaves. The honorable men that made that instrument remembered that when, twelve years before, at the opening of the revolution, they stuck their stakes and stuck them strong, it was necessary to have the sympathy of all the world, and they struck out a charter containing certain great landmarks of which they were proud, and it was a Virginia hand that drew it up, and they recollected that in the platform thus laid down were principles quite inconsistent with the existence of slavery in this land. But now you hear them talk about the compromises of the Constitution. Where do you find them? Nowhere. A Virginian thinks the Constitution is a great jug with the handle all on the Southern side. And when you ask them to look on our side of the jug to see if there are not some guaranties there, they raise the cry of interference or dissolution of the Union. But thank God we have guaranties there. A free press and the right of petition. And how did they abide by these guaranties when that venerable old man who has lately gone to his eternal rest presented a petition to the House of Representatives which had been sent up to him by a portion of the people of this country? Why they attempted to crush him, to thrust him from that House. But

the old man stood firm, and how did our hearts beat as we anxiously waited for the mails to bring us the tidings from the Capital, that we might learn whether the waves of Southern hate had overwhelmed him. But that old man triumphed gloriously and sent those Southern hounds crouching and trembling back to their kennels. [Applause.] And how did the South support the guaranties when my friend from Ohio presented his memorable petition? Why, they sent him home, and I say in the presence of that man's constituency, I have longed to see your faces.—You who in the dead of winter rolled up a majority of 3,000, put his credentials in his hand and sent the great six-footer back to torment the sensitive Southrons.

They told us we should have "freedom of the press," and do you remember that 11 or 12 years ago a New England man went down among them to establish a free press and that they attacked him, violated the sanctity of his home, and cast his press into the river? Did they say anything about the "guaranties" then? No—they sent four bullets and lodged them in his breast. They murdered him, and what stamps this nation with everlasting infamy, those men still go unwhipt of justice, and the murdered man has scarcely received an honorable grave. But let him alone. He will sleep but a little longer ere his resting place shall be marked by a monument to FREEDOM. [Applause.]

I challenge slavery for another thing. They talk about the guaranties of the Constitution. Do they wish to establish slavery in Southern States so as to break the balance of power? We will stand by the Jefferson Ordinance. Gentlemen, go down South and see the condition of the country. As you travel along you will see the works of slavery. A worn out soil, dilapidated fences and tenements, and an air of general desolation. But by and by you come before a neat white house with good fences, and the grounds wearing the air of fertility and prosperity. Who lives there? A Quaker from New York. You see another similar estate. Who lives there? A Yankee from Connecticut. And now do you want this land-desolating and prosperity-killing institution spread over California and New Mexico? [No, no, no.]

I recollect a subject that illustrates in a measure the spirit of the South upon all questions. It is petition day in Congress. A gentleman from South Carolina presents a petition to "take the fetters off of home labor." The petition is passed right along. I feel encouraged. I was green then. [Ha, ha, ha.] I present a petition that Congress shall, as far as it has power, remove the institution of slavery. Immediately a dozen members move to lay it on the table, and it is laid on the table in a twinkling. There was but little difference in the two petitions. The Southern members was to remove the fetters from *home labor*, and mine was to remove the fetters from *home laborers*. I felt like the green Yankee who went to work for the old deacon. They used to place a pitcher by his plate which contained nothing but water, while all the rest of the family used the contents of a huge pitcher which sat in the mid-

dle of the table. One day our Yankee friend boldly seized said pitcher and taking a hearty swig therefrom found it to contain the best kind of cider. The deacon, very much astonished, asked the young man "where he was brought up?"—"Where all fared alike, by G—d," replied he.—(Great laughter.) I came from a country where all fared alike, and I thought my petition should have been granted as well as the other.

Do you remember, my friends, when Massachusetts sent out a gentleman to South Carolina to look after the protection of her citizens visiting that State? The Governor sent a message to the Legislature and the Legislature ordered the gentleman to leave instant. He refused. A mob was raised and, at length, rather than jeopardize the life of his daughter, who was in feeble health, he chose to return to his home. The Legislature of his State got up some solemn joint resolutions and sent them to Congress. I remember when that old man, the oldest member of the House, presented them. They were sent to the table and Massachusetts was disgraced. The old man said with emphasis, Massachusetts will not always submit to this. [Shame, shame.] Why is this?—Had an eminent man come up from the South to Massachusetts, would the people have driven him out? No, they would have given him a considerable kind of good usage, they would have taken him home to their houses and kinder argued the matter with him. [Laughter.] I told them once in Congress that they could not bear the light.

Now gentlemen, I say cheek slavery where it is and then I will show you a man that will go still farther. We have never guaranteed that slavery shall rest on that 50 square miles yet.—[No, no, no.] When my constituents sent me to Congress, I told them plainly just what I meant to do. I said as long as there is a loophole through which I can fire on this abominable old institution, I shall fire away. [Good, good, give 'em hell.] Now I mean to be aggressive in this matter.—[Good, go it.] The cry is that it is unconstitutional, you can't prevent us going there and having our slaves there. Why suppose California had all the laws in all the States and all in operation at the same time. Suppose the laws of Polygamy were in force in Texas as they sometimes practically are, [Ha, ha, ha.] and it was punished as a crime in Mississippi. Why you would have to have a law in California for and against Polygamy. What a ridiculous farce is this, then, of talking about extending the laws of ones own state over this territory.

Friends we must unite. I have been a Whig for some time, and I greased Gen. Taylor and tried for a long time to swallow him, but after all I could do he got right across my throat and there he sticks. [Laughter.] I can not get him down. [Vomit him up then.] Well, I am afraid he will tear up my throat if I do. I shall go for the non-indeed of this Convention. [Applause.] We must unite and take up the glove where the South throw it down. We will draw a line. Stop says the South, or we will dissolve the Union. That is one of the richest farces ever played. Dissolve the Union. Why, I remember a hatchet faced

Virginian, whose face was so sharp that he could split an oak tree by looking at it. [Ha, ha, ha.] He came around by my seat and said, so that I could hear it, "I have a great notion to go home to Virginia and call a Convention to dissolve the Union," said I you had better leave a door behind you and take six weeks provisions with you, for in less than that time your negroes will bring you back again. [Tremendous applause.] I go for putting it to them. [So do I.] Don't give sweetened water to these spunky children. Put the string on them. But say they, do you wish to elect Cass? (No, no, no.) Nor do we wish to elect Taylor.

But say they, if you do not elect Taylor, Case will be elected, and out of two evils you should choose the least. But we say to them, we prefer out of three evils to choose the least. (Ha, ha, ha.) We must fight together. John Van Buren gave a beautiful illustration of this point, in a letter a few days since. "Suppose," said he "that at the battle of Bunker Hill, the soldiers, instead of uniting to beat back the common foe, had busied themselves in prying into all the past actions of their fellows." But they did no such thing. They forgot all past difficulties. Let us do the same.—These men will come up like a book by the bye. Remember what killed Van Buren. Remember what killed Clay. Unite and say to Taylor Whigs "come view the ground where you must shortly lie." (Enthusiastic and long continued cheering.)

The Chair announced the following Committee on Resolutions:

New York—Benjamin F. Butler, Joseph L. White, H. B. Stanton.

Maine—D. Farnsworth, Alfred Johnson, James C. Woodman.

New Hampshire—J. G. Hoit, W. A. Marston, G. G. Fogg.

Massachusetts—S. C. Phillips, Charles Sedgwick, Joshua Leavitt.

Vermont—J. Poland, Asahel Peck, Daniel Roberts.

Connecticut—W. H. Burleigh, C. W. Philleo, F. P. Tracy.

Rhode Island—W. G. Hammond.

New Jersey—John W. Stout, W. Dunham, George Updike.

Pennsylvania—E. D. Gazzam, John C. Wills, John Dougherty.

Ohio—S. P. Chase, E. S. Hamlin, W. A. Rogers.

Maryland—Edwin Thomas, J. E. Snodgrass, Thomas Gardner.

Virginia—George Craig.

District of Columbia—C. L. Noble.

Indiana—S. C. Stevens, S. A. Huff, Samuel Hoover.

Illinois—J. N. Arnold, Owen Lovejoy, Thomas Richmond.

Wisconsin—J. Coddington, Hans Crocker, J. C. Mills.

Iowa—William Miller.

Michigan—H. K. Clarke, H. N. Ormsby, S. P. Mead.

Delaware—Jacob Pusey, A. H. Dixon.

trust only to yourselves. First find out what is right, then pursue it—not putting your trust in Princes, nor in Generals. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens! the friends who have preceded me, have alluded, with great propriety and felicity of language and thought, to the extraordinary circumstances under which we have convened, to the fact occurring now for the first time in our political history, of a Convention assembled from seventeen States in the Union, and the capital—coming thousands of miles, and doing as they do and have done heretofore, oftentimes in serious and most exciting conflicts, to open questions of great magnitude, yet forgetting all their differences, and bringing together a congregation of free hearts and free minds, for the purpose of deliberating upon one of the greatest questions which has been submitted to the American people since we have been a nation. And it is, indeed, a spectacle as sublime and exhilarating, as it is noble and extraordinary.

Here we are, old actors upon the political boards. I barely allude to my actions, merely to say that I am not here to undo, or to unsay, any thing that I have ever before done or said. Not that I am infallible. I am a man, with the errors of a man. With regard to the political errors that I have committed, I will say that they were not errors of the heart, but errors of the head, and I am very free to say that now, that a new question has come up in which I, as an humble American citizen, am required to deliberate and act, I have tried to meet that question, with a just sense of my responsibility to my fellow men, and to Him who is the judge that sitteth upon the Throne, and shall weigh all the actions of men—the question whether freedom shall be abolished in four or five hundred thousand square miles of free territory and plant the curse of human slavery in these square miles or not.

How may I—how are the old democrats—I wish every democrat in the Union who has resolved to go for Gen. Cass was here, not that I could alter their determination, but I wish they were here to answer this question—how are we democrats, who profess to take Thomas Jefferson for our guide—how are we to meet this question? I will tell where I sought instruction to enable me to answer it. I went first to the Declaration of Independence, for that is the starting point. It was formed by those who pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honors—and these pledges meant something in '76—and I find it begins with this great foundation truth—that all men are born with certain rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And then I look to that other great charter of human liberty, as well as Divine freedom—to the Bible—and I find that of one blood hath God created all the nations of the earth. [Great applause.]

How can any reasoning in '48 from any mind, however powerful or acute—for I am not a man to disrespect John C. Calhoun, even for that mad act of Nullification, for the errors of a man of genius are sacred to him who has a mind to appreciate and enjoy its lightning action—can any reasoning of Mr. Calhoun, or any of his imitators,

or repeaters, or of his northern—what shall I call them? [Toadies, doughfaces, Lickspittles.] Can any of them convince me that the Declaration of Independence sets out with a falsehood and the Bible not true? How absurd! How ridiculous! Why, as well might the Southern Slaveholders attempt to repeat the miracle of Joshua and command the sun to stand still in the heavens, or to roll back with their puny arms Niagara's mighty flood, as to stop the outworking of these principles. These men do great injustice to themselves as well as to the great mass of the people of the South, to suppose that they can make any body of believe that these are not of the first of the truths in the political economy of our land.

Then I passed to the Constitution of the United States. I am told that there are a great many compromises in that instrument, and so there are, for it was a work of compromise. But how was it made? Did a body of people attempt to get together at the close of a week of July, and attempt to patch up a compromise and act upon it in such hot haste that had it not been for the Magnetic Telegraph, which appears to have been providentially given us for the express purpose of defeating this compromise—they would have passed it before the people could have heard of their plot. Was that the way they made compromises in that day? No, it took about three years, perhaps four, of discussion in the Southern States, before they could get a convention of delegates called together for the purpose of ascertaining how the articles of confederation could be amended. After the articles had been thus discussed before they were prepared to be submit to the convention, the convention itself was in session from May to September, and there were such men as Washington, Adams and Franklin, in that convention, and they spent several months in the deliberation and then settled upon an instrument containing certain compromises, which they submitted to the several States as an instrument of government. And it did not go into effect till after it had been placed before the people and they spent nearly the whole of the next year in discussing it. It then came before the State conventions, and some of these conventions were three or four months in session, and it finally went into effect with only ten States. I now remind you of this, for I understand that our members of Congress are now hatching a new compromise.

The Missouri compromise also was before the people several years, and it went over from one Congress to another, so that the final bill, containing what is called the Missouri Compromise, was not passed till after an election had been held and the people thus had an opportunity, indirectly, to express their sentiments upon the question. And, therefore, I say to our national legislators, that before they attempt to pass another compromise, they will wait and let the people express their opinions next November, and enable every man to say whether or not it is Christianlike and becoming a free people to abolish Freedom in Mexico and California, and plant slavery there, and in the name of all that is right and just and true, if they would not make our name a hissing

and a by word throughout the earth, let this Congress withhold their hands from the passage of such an act, and especially, let the House of Representatives adhere to the position they have taken, and lay the bill on the table, not only by a majority of 15, but by three times 15. [Applause.]

There is another point which I wish you to observe. This compromise bill would have shuffled this matter off upon the Supreme Court. The Constitution says the Congress of the United States, not the Supreme Court, nor any other judicial tribunal, however learned it may be, shall have power to make laws regulating territories.

Well, now, here are three territories, Oregon, New Mexico and California. Well, now, they won't give the people of Oregon a government.—Why? Because no part of it lies below 36 deg. 40 min. No, it lies four or five degrees above and most of it in 42 deg. Why then? Why, because southern men say they won't vote for any President of the United States, unless he is in favor of allowing Slavery south of 36 deg. 30 min. and therefore, although all Oregon lies north of 42 deg. they will not pass a law giving a government to Oregon unless, *pari passu* you will pass a law authorizing Slavery in the territory south of 36 deg. 30 min. These territories are not on the footing of the old territories, and when they put the question to us will you help abolish Freedom there and plant Slavery in its stead, we of the New York Democracy said no. We have never been blamed for not going far enough with you, but we have often been blamed for going too far; and fellow citizens if you allow the federal government to take one step forward to abolish Freedom and establish Slavery in the territory acquired by unrighteous war, you become parties to the enormity, and the guilt rests upon every soul that takes part in it.

My old friend Thomas Ritchie says, that my mind must be overset, but it is one fortunate circumstance of such an event that the man who is so overset thinks he is right, and is happy in the thought. [Applause.] And I declare to you that I never slept so soundly, nor enjoyed such an appetite, nor had more pleasant dreams than since I threw myself into this movement. (Applause, go it, d—— an ultra Whig.) Mr. Ritchie said it could not be that I was to address the Burnburners' meeting in the Park, because my relations to the party would not admit of it. (Laughter.)

I hold office under the government which I got in the following way: Mr. Polk offered me a seat in the Cabinet, which I declined. A short time afterwards, Mr. Polk in conversation with a Senator from New York remarked, that he had offered a seat in his Cabinet to a gentleman who had declined, as he preferred to follow his profession, and suggested that perhaps he would accept the appointment to an office which he held for a few years under Mr. Van Buren. I think I have a right to make this statement. The part I took in the Baltimore Convention demands that I should make it. (Yes, yes, go on.) Mr. Dix informed me of Mr. Polk's remark, and urged various reasons why I had better accept the appointment to the office I now hold. U. S. Attorney for the

Southern District of New York. I replied to Mr. Dix that he might inform Mr. Polk that if he had not made other arrangements, that if he would not have to make any changes even of determination, that I would accept the appointment. And this is the way that I came into office, and when I saw that article in the Washington Union concerning me, a free citizen of the free State of New York, I felt no wish to have been born in Virginia. (Applause.) I could not have spoken as calmly as I did on that occasion had I seen that article before I went to the meeting.

Mr. Bright, of Indiana, heaven save the mark, the State of New York had the misfortune to be his birth place, said "if Mr. Polk don't turn you out of office there will be trouble." I said they shall not have the pretence of neglect of official duties to turn me out, and therefore I will not go out of the state of New York till I am turned out of office, (I hope you will soon be turned out.) but every moment that I can spare I shall devote to this cause. (Applause.)

Fellow citizens, the question now before us is a question of greater importance than any other that is now before the country or the world. The oppressed and down trodden of the old world look to this country for homes, and if we allow slavery to be introduced into the territories of the South and West, these people can never find a home there. Free labor can not exist where slavery holds sway, and that you see that this question embraces the interests of myriads that are to come after us, on both sides of the Atlantic. And, fellow citizens, of every kind, feeling the full importance of this question, I am with you to the victory. (Great applause.)

After the conclusion of Mr. Butler's remarks, he said that after having listened to several speakers, the Convention would doubtless be glad of some variety. He understood that the Hutchinson family were in the assembly, and he suggested that they should be called upon for a song.—The announcement was received with enthusiastic applause, and Mr. Jesse Hutchinson came forward and stated that he was the only member of the Hutchinson family in the city, but with the aid of some volunteers he would attempt to give the Convention a song.

In company with three others, he then came forward, and sung a song, which was rapturously received, amid the repeated cheers and laughter of the whole audience:

The Convention then adjourned until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

SECOND DAY.

THURSDAY MORNING, August 10.

The meeting was called to order by the President and its deliberations opened with the following prayer by the Rev. S. J. MAY, of Syracuse:

Almighty God—the Father of the whole family of man—the Governor of the nations of the earth—the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, we would reverently bow before thee as the High and Holy One to whom all praise and honor are due. We rejoice that the hearts of all men are in thy hands. We rejoice that we may not swerve

from truth with impunity, nor oppress our fellow men without its being rebuked by Thee. We confess before thee, who hath been the all-present witness of all that has transpired in the history of our country, our many sins. We confess the tremendous iniquity of holding thousands of beings created by Thee in bondage. We bless Thee, oh Father, that thy blessings yet remain with us. We rejoice before Thee this day that the heart of the nation is touched, the hearts of the people pricked, and the nation awakened with earnest feelings of contrition for the past, and are doing works meet for repentance. Blessings to Thee, oh God, for the proceedings of this day, that Thou hast caused this vast multitude to come up here for the high and holy purpose for which it is called together—to deliberate upon the great question of human freedom. And to Thee, from whom cometh down all right and justice, we look that Thou may'st preside over, control and direct all the determinations of this Convention. May it ever battle in the right and proclaim the high and holy principles upon which men are hereafter determined to act for the good of man, of our country and of the oppressed. And oh, may those who shall be called to stand before the people as the representatives of these principles be true men, men who fear the Lord, to do right in all things. And oh may that feeling which has brought us together, may it increase in strength—in power—in might—influence—until America shall become what we have long proclaimed her to be, the Asylum of the oppressed of all nations. May we accomplish all the high purposes of our Fathers, and lead those who are struggling in the old world, as a beacon to light and liberty indeed. Father, we attribute to Thee and thy dear Son, the feeling of freedom which is now rising up through the country. We thank Thee for the gift of Thy well beloved Son, and through Him would ascribe to Thee all honor, and praise, and gratitude forever. Amen.

Mr. TRACY, of Connecticut, stated that in the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions his name was placed upon that Committee instead of a gentleman belonging to the late Whig party. And circumstances had since transpired, which caused him in self respect to decline.

The declination of Mr. Tracy was accepted and Mr. J. G. E. Larned appointed in his place.

Mr. BRIGGS, of Ohio, came to the stand at the call of the meeting. What, he inquired, has caused this great multitude to come up here from Maine to the banks of the Mississippi—from the far North down to the middle South. We have not come up here to sing songs of laudation to any victorious General. But it is the great principle of human freedom which has magnetized all hearts—which, growing, rising, expanding, and lighting up the old watch-fires of liberty throughout the whole North, and East and West, and we shall, today, strike a blow upon the anvil of freedom which shall reverberate the country over.

He had no preference for men. All this he would sacrifice—he had sacrificed—and was ready to meet all upon one common platform. We had not come up here to discuss the questions of a tariff, of a bank, or any such things as these. But

to speak and to act for free soil—free speech—and free negroes, too. The fires are burning brightly in Ohio and throughout Indiana which will consume the last remnant of slavery, and bake the dough faces so hard that you could not cut them with a bowie knife. If there were any friends of Gen. Cass present he would advise them to retire to some cool shade and read his letter on internal improvements to the Chicago Convention. And if there were any who proposed to vote for Gen. Taylor they should read all his letters, where he crosses and contradicts himself, and—

“He wires in and wires out,
And leaves a body still in doubt,
Whether the snake that made the track,
Is going South or coming back.”

He did not care whether it was that Hale-storm in New Hampshire, which was to sweep over the country, or whether the mantle was to fall upon the “Son of New York,” with whom he had battled in many a well fought battle; he should go in for the nominations with all his heart; with all his strength. And he should not object to its being the younger branch of the Van Buren stock, for he considered that a little better than the original. It had not degenerated, but had grown better, as it came down from father to son. Should it be any of these—or should it be an honored son of Ohio, that state would rise up from lake to river, and greet the selection with 20,000 majority. Or, could it be an honored son of one of the fathers of the Republic—a son of the venerable Adams—it would create such a feeling, such an enthusiastic uprising of the people that would shake the foundations of Slavery to its fall.

The time had come when he rejoiced that they were to have the stated preaching of the political gospel. And when he heard the eloquent son of New York last evening, he hoped that this morning would have brought a telegraphic despatch announcing the removal of Benjamin F. Butler, and we would have nominated him for the Presidency, and elected him too. We would have shown Mr. Polk that there were some things which the people could do, of which he appeared to have little conception.

[Mr. B. spoke at considerable length, in a very animated manner, during which he was repeatedly interrupted by the applause of the audience.—But the similarity of the sentiments advanced to those of the preceding speakers, renders it unnecessary to give his views at length.]

HIRAM COMING, of Mass., next took the stand. He spoke of Massachusetts, and of her labors and sacrifices in the cause of freedom, in times gone by, and her position in regard to the great question now in agitation before the country.

He would state a single fact, a significant fact to show the public feeling in that state. In Worcester, out of the 1600 voters, 950 were upon the free soil pledge. At Lowell, which you know is ruled by her corporations, the mass were uniting and concentrating, and he did not know but that they would take cotton bags and all, and consecrate them to this free soil movement.

We must have the principle fully and faithfully carried out by the nominees of this Convention.—

And when that principle shall be laid down, the next step would be to select a man to carry them out. The next step which would undoubtedly be taken, would be to meet the efforts of the slave power to extend over territory now free, the nefarious system. And all the issues which now appear to exist between the two old parties, that were, is a struggle to see which shall be the honored instruments in the hands of the slave power to strangle liberty in these territories which have recently come into the Union.

In the recent discussion in the Senate of the United States, one man threw himself into the breach and for four days, battled alone with the entire Slave power, until others had time to load their pieces and come up to the rescue. The speeches which followed caused the slave advocates to recoil from their position and propose a compromise. And how admirably contrived. Upon the committee which was to consummate this compromise, it was proposed to place four democrats and four whigs—so that the whigs could make no capital against the democrats—and the democrats no capital against the whigs, but all their nicely balanced calculations failed.

MR. BIRKSHIRE, of Virginia, came forward.—He would say that Virginia, at this moment, was alive with barnburners. He had come here to have his say in what might be said here to-day. He came up with his hands untied—free to go for any man who should be nominated by this convention. He thought this was the greatest crowd he had ever seen. When he came to look upon the lake at Conneaut, and saw its upheaving waves—and when he seen upon the lake shore yonder, such a vast crowd; he was ravished. He came here with his credentials. He published an anti-slavery paper in Virginia called the *Crisis*. And he would say that there were barnburners in old Virginia, who were in favor of coming up to burn up these old barns, rats and all. [The speaker frequently repeated fellow citizens, and Mason and Dickinson's line, which it is unnecessary to report.]

Mr. Jesse Hutchinson was then called for, and came forward and in company with others, sung with much effect, a song.

Oh! what a mighty gathering,
From the old Free States,
Of the friends of freedom,
And the tillers of Free Soil.

Let the people shout together,
In old Buffalo;
We're the friends of freedom,
And our motto is Free Soil.

Oh! the South begins to tremble,
The old Slave States,
For the friends of freedom,
Are gathering in the North.

They will shake like old Belshazzar,
In the old Slave States,
For their days are numbered,
And 'tis written on the wall.

Heaven bless the brave Barnburners,
In the old Empire State.
For their fires of freedom
Are lighting up the land.

Oh! we pity the old Hunkers,
Yes! we pity the old Hunkers,
Poor broken-down old Hunkers,
In the old Empire State;
They are going up Salt River,
And will never more return.

And the old Whig Party's rotten,
Yes, the old Whig Party's rotten,
All that's left is damaged cotton,
In the Free States;
But the fires are burning,
Freedom's fires are burning,
And will soon clear up Free Soil.

JUDGE NYE. He exhausted himself yesterday, and could not say much to-day. His heart overflowed yesterday with the proud and sublime spectacle presented to his view, and the current that flowed in his veins, then, had not diminished, but had gone on increasing from hour to hour. Fellow citizens, were I not supported by the sustaining considerations that your feelings are consonant with my own, I should not feel able to address you. Massachusetts has been heard; Ohio has been heard; Virginia has been heard; and for a moment let the empire state be heard through her poorest and most unworthy representative in this convention.

He had been denounced as a disorganizer of the democratic party, to which he had ever been proud to belong. And when the few men assembled last fall at Herkimer—that tenth legion of democracy—they adopted a new system of masterly inactivity towards the candidates nominated by the conservatives of this state—who, of his certain knowledge, had never been heard of since, but were lost in the noise and confusion which surrounded them. But the scene is now changed. That system of masterly inactivity had been thrown off, and a system of active operations adopted. And when he looked around upon what remained of the old democratic party opposed to this movement, he felt in all the sincerity of his heart, to inquire with Ezekiel of old: “can these dry bones live?” From this little beginning, this work had gone forward, until 150,000—yea, 200,000 of the democracy of this state, were now rallied under this banner.

With all deference to the opinions of the gentlemen from Massachusetts and Ohio, he contended that the barnburners of New York, were entitled to be considered as the pioneers in this great movement. It arose from the bosom of him who the gentleman from Ohio, had denominated a little better than his father. The great principles of free soil were first put forth by John Van Buren, with firmness and directness which brought down upon his devoted head, the denunciations of all the conservative press with which the State is cursed, and he was pursued, day after day—year after year, with all the fury, which conservatives know so well how to employ.

He remarked yesterday, and he repeated, that he came here upon this altar and under this pavilion, to lay down all asperities towards individuals. There should be no looking back in this matter—but forward—to the glorious future. Remember Lot's wife. There is no reason why we should

not harmonise. There is every reason why we should. We have to battle with a common enemy. Let me tell you one thing. The south will not vote for Lewis Cass. And the north—(oh we have done talking about that man, said some one in the crowd). And let me tell Buffalonians, that the south will not vote for Millard Fillmore. Ephraim, (Ichabod, some one corrected him) is written on his wall, unless he bows to slavery. If ever he is to be Vice President, it will be as a free soil man. The south will vote for Butler. Already have Louisiana and South Carolina dropped Mr. Fillmore—they will have none of him. He would advise him, if he ever wishes to be Vice President, to come here and ask a nomination of this convention. But this he could not do—he was joined to his idols, let him alone.

But we are told, fellow citizens, that we are raising up a sectional party. This he denied.—This issue was forced upon us by the South.—Her representatives had come up to Baltimore, with pledges to support no man who was in favor of the Wilmot Proviso. And were we so dough-faced—had we so much a waxen nose as to be moulded to their views and purposes. He respected the south, and this glorious principle of freedom was doing more—much more for the south than it was for us. It was the great panacea for which the south had so long been endeavoring to discover. But he was told by the temporary chairman of the Baltimore Convention, Judge Bryce, that if this agitation took root, it would dissolve the Union. He replied if such was the case, he reckoned it was pretty considerably dissolved now, for he knew of roots which extended not only through the State of New York, but reaching under Lake Erie far into the heart of the State of Ohio. There is no danger of dissolving the Union. He heard these threats in his childhood, and they had become unmeaning and stale. He told Judge Bryce, that they might as well attempt to retain a flock of wild geese, as to keep their niggers on the borders of the Rio Grande, and along the line not unaptly denominated by his friend from Virginia, Mason and Dickason's line, and other flocks of wild geese would be on the wing. He thought the addition of one syllable a most appropriate one. And the remainder of the “colored gentlemen” would chase you back into the Union in a hurry at the point of the bayonet. He would as soon think of the Madison County being dissolved by her paupers, as this Union by the slave holders of the south.

[Mr. N. concluded with a very beautiful and appropriate anathema against any one who would attempt or countenance in any form or manner, a dissolution of the Union].

The President said that as evidence of the strong interest which was manifested in the proceedings of the convention, he had just had placed in his hands the following telegraphic communication.

Exhibit one issue—one front—one nomination—courage—enthusiasm—anticipate victory.

WILLIAM WILSON,

Pastor of the Church of Covenanters.

CINCINNATI, 10th August.

Mr. HEADLEY, of Pennsylvania, remarked that he merely wished to congratulate the vast assemblage before him on the prospects and certainty of success. Pennsylvania was waking up. Men talked of New York starting this movement. He might speak of a Wilmot. Did he not start this movement? Wilmot was not here but his spirit and his principles are here, and they will triumph. Gentlemen might count on the co-operation of the old Keystone State. [Applause.]

ROBERT WILSON, of Michigan, next took the stand.

He said, that he hailed from the little State of Michigan—where the Baltimore Convention's nominee resides. There are some few of us—about 300 from that State among you. He should not take up a moment of time to satisfy the Convention that the cause was a good one. He came here to tell them that he was one of the instruments in the Baltimore Convention in 1844, who was induced by the same power which nominated Gen. Cass in 1848, to believe that if Mr. VAN BUREN was nominated the party would fail, and with the party would fail the great principles which were involved in the issue. He came here to atone for what he had there done—to atone for the wrong done to MARTIN VAN BUREN.—(Immense applause.) When he was made to believe through the instrumentality—and he was about to tell what those means were—which induced the delegates of the north to abandon Mr. Van Buren. These were the means: Almost every Slave State preferred Mr. Van Buren to Lewis Cass—not that Martin Van Buren had deserted the principles of the party, but that if he were nominated, he would certainly be defeated—that they could not carry the south for him.

It was the watchword of the two old political parties that we should break up in a row—that a convention composed of such varied elements could not coalesce—could not agree upon any platform of common and harmonious action. This result, so devoutly wished by them, he was assured from the manifestations already witnessed from this great multitude, that they would be disappointed.

What man was best calculated to carry out the principles of this convention—(There was a pretty general response John P. Hale.) The speaker attempted to put in a word in favor of the radicals of the State, and their candidate, but was interrupted by the cries of “no special pleading.” He then asked, who would bring up a man who could assure the thirty-six votes of New York. Such an one he would welcome—would embrace—be he whom he might.

In regard to Michigan, he would say that although the nominee of the Baltimore Convention had nearly all of the democratic papers under his control, yet among the people there was a feeling deep and strong, of opposition to the spirit which had forced upon the country a candidate subservient to slaveholding power. It was a feeling which would grow stronger and deeper, until November, when Gen. Cass would hear a greater noise and confusion than prevented him from being heard at Cleveland. Let us go then—on with

one mind—with one purpose—with a candidate representing our principles—true, tried and faithful, and the grave of the old political parties is prepared to receive them as they shall fall before the effective blows of freemen given through the ballot box in the great contest for truth, and right and liberty which is rapidly approaching—nay, is even now upon us.

Mr. SEDGWICK, of Syracuse, said: God knows, fellow-citizens, that I have longed for this day. I have longed to meet an assemblage like this.

I stood in Faneuil Hall one day last year, and as I contemplated that old Temple of Liberty, I thought that if I could ever address the people of Massachusetts, it would be the crowning glory of my life.

In the great contests in which he had engaged he looked to the Old 8th district of New York as the strong hold of principle, and he had longed to visit them. He saw now not only the old 8th, but Massachusetts and Ohio, and the great Reserve was here also, in the pride of her strength. He had acted with the whigs from childhood, but when he heard from the Halls of the Philadelphia Convention the voice of Charles Allen, of Mass., proclaim that the whig party was that day dissolved, he heard the announcement with deep pain, for he believed it to be true. We have stood by the whig party from year to year in success, and we have stood by it in trouble and in storm, but we have seen its end, and now shall we be chained to its putrified corpse? (No, no.) What is the extent of party obligations? Does it bind us to the sacrifice of principle and truth, and justice?—Must we support any candidate, however forced and cheated upon us?

Gentlemen, I have not so learned party obligations. I have been taught to believe in principles; that the masses were acting for the benefit of the country, and that patriotism and love of country, entered into the strife.

Therefore, when the name of a candidate is presented to me, I wish to know whether his success will embrace the welfare of the country or merely subserve selfish and scheming demagogues. If the latter, then he would oppose the candidate, he would break through the coils of party. (Applause.)

Mr. SEDGWICK concluded with an examination of the principles of General Taylor, but as he introduced no new ideas or facts, we will not give his remarks.

The speaker incidentally referred to Ireland's wrongs and the martyrdom of the patriot Mitchell, and the audience burst forth in the most enthusiastic applause, which concluded with three cheers for JOHN MITCHELL.

We would suggest to speakers, that if they wish to be reported, they must advance new ideas, as all the old ones have been used up long ago. It is almost impossible for forty or fifty speakers to address the same audience upon the same subject and deal altogether in new coin, but then they should make short speeches.

Mr. GIMMIS was called for and came forward amid the cheers of the audience. He commenced an extended argument and laid himself out in

a manner that showed he intended to annihilate both of the old parties, but the committee on resolutions coming in cut him short, very much to the regret of the audience.

The President announced that Mr. Butler, of New York, Chairman of the committee on resolutions, would now read the report of the committee. This announcement was received with three cheers. Mr. Butler then came forward and remarked, that he had the inexpressible pleasure of announcing, that the report which he was about to read to them was the unanimous report of the entire committee. This announcement was received with the most enthusiastic applause.

THE PLATFORM.

Whereas, We have assembled in Convention, as a union of Freemen, for the sake of Freedom, forgetting all past political differences in a common resolve to maintain the rights of Free Labor against the aggressions of the Slave Power, and to secure Free Soil for a Free People:

And whereas, The political Conventions recently assembled at Baltimore and Philadelphia, the one stifling the voice of a great constituency entitled to be heard in its deliberations, and the other abandoning its distinctive principles for mere availability, have dissolved the National party organizations heretofore existing by nominating for the Chief Magistracy of the United States, under slave-holding dictation, candidates neither of whom can be supported by the opponents of slavery extension without a sacrifice of consistency, duty, and self respect:

And whereas, These nominations so made furnish the occasion and demonstrate the necessity of the union of the people under the banner of Free Democracy, in a solemn and formal declaration of their independence of the Slave Power, and of their fixed determination to rescue the Federal Government from its control:

Resolved, therefore, That we, the people here assembled, remembering the example of our Fathers in the days of the first Declaration of Independence, putting our trust in God for the triumph of our cause, and invoking His guidance in our endeavors to advance it, do now plant ourselves upon the National Platform of Freedom in opposition to the Sectional Platform of Slavery.

Resolved, That slavery in the several States of this Union which recognize its existence, depends upon State laws alone, which cannot be repealed or modified by the Federal Government, and for which laws that Government is not responsible. We therefore propose no interference by Congress with slavery within the limits of any State.

Resolved, That the proviso of Jefferson, to prohibit the existence of slavery, after 1800, in all the territories of the United States, Southern and Northern; the votes of six states and sixteen delegates, in the Congress of 1784, for the proviso, to three states and seven delegates against it; the actual exclusion of slavery, from the Northwestern territory, by the ordinance of 1787, unanimously adopted by the States in Congress; and the entire history of that period, clearly show that it was the settled policy of the Nation, not to extend, nationalize or encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage, slavery; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the government ought to return.

Resolved, That our Fathers ordained the Constitution of the United States, in order, among other great national objects, to establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of Liberty; but expressly denied to the Federal Government, which they created, all constitutional power to deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due legal process.

Resolved, That in the judgment of this Convention, Congress has no more power to make a slave than to make a king; no more power to institute or establish slavery than to institute or establish a monarchy; no such power can be found among those specifically conferred by the constitution or derived by just implication from them.

Resolved, That it is the duty of the federal government to relieve itself from all responsibility for the existence or continuance of slavery wherever that government possesses constitutional authority to legislate on that subject, and is thus responsible for its existence.

Resolved, That the true, and in the judgment of this Convention, the only safe means of preventing the extension of slavery into territory now free, is to prohibit its existence in all such territory by an act of Congress.

Resolved, That we accept the issue which the slave power has forced upon us, and to their demand for more slave states, and more slave territories, our calm but final answer is, no more slave states and no more slave territory. Let the soil of our extensive domains be ever kept free, for the hardy pioneers of our own land, and the oppressed and banished of other lands, seeking homes of comfort and fields of enterprise in the new world.

Resolved, That the bill lately reported by the Committee of Eight in the Senate of the United States, was no compromise, but an absolute surrender of the rights of the non-slaveholders of all the States; and while we rejoice to know, that, a measure which, while opening the door for the introduction of slavery into territories now free, would also have opened the door to litigation and strife among the future inhabitants thereof to the ruin of their peace and prosperity, was defeated in the House of Representatives, its passage, in hot haste, by a majority, embracing several Senators, who voted in open violation of the known will of their constituents, should warn the People to see to it, that their representatives be not suffered to betray them.— There must be no more compromises with Slavery; if made they must be repealed.

Resolved, That we demand Freedom and established Institutions for our brethren in Oregon, now exposed to hardships, peril and massacre, by the reckless hostility of the Slave power to the establishment of Free Government for Free Territories, and not only for them, but for our new brethren in California and New Mexico.

And Whereas, it is due, not only to this occasion, but to the whole people of the United States, that we should also declare ourselves on certain other questions of National policy, therefore

Resolved, That we demand cheap postage for the people; a retrenchment of the expenses and patronage of the Federal Government; the abolition of all unnecessary offices and salaries; and the election by the people of all civil officers in the service of the Government, so far as the same may be practicable.

Resolved, That River and Harbor Improvements, when demanded by the safety and convenience of commerce with foreign nations or among the several States, are objects of national concern, and that it is the duty of Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, to provide therefor.

Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy, which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States of this Union; and we therefore recommend it to the favorable consideration of the American People.

Resolved, That the obligations of honor and patriotism require the earliest practicable payment of the national debt, and we are therefore in favor of such a tariff of duties as will raise revenue adequate to defray the necessary expenses of the Federal Government and to pay annual installments of our debt and the interest thereon.

Resolved, That we inscribe on our banner "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men," and under it will fight on and fight ever, until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions.

THE PLATFORM was received with the greatest enthusiasm. Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, moved its unanimous adoption, which was carried with immense cheering.

The convention then adjourned to 3 P. M.

SECOND DAY.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

MR. GIDDINGS was loudly called for and came forward and addressed the convention as follows:

My friends and fellow citizens. I was remarking this morning on the circumstances of the Whig party in 1844. I speak of that party because I have a right to speak of it, and I give my friends to understand, that for ten years I have represented and enjoyed the confidence of the *strongest Whig district in the United States*. I have been elected from it and have received the cordial approbation of my constituents.

In '44 I was in favor of Henry Clay, and I say to you who were Whigs then, we stand where we stood then, opposed to the extension of that institution which has so long obstructed the prosperity of the country. We stand on that ground and because we stand there we refuse to go for Gen. Taylor. In '44 Henry Clay wrote a letter, expressly stating his position on the subject of slavery extension. History will hand it down to after time, that in that campaign he based his position upon just such a platform as this adopted here today. He explicitly denied the right of the Federal Government to interfere with slavery, and declared that *its existence must depend upon the power and authority of the States in which it was situated*. The supporters of Taylor cannot extort from him such a declaration as this of Henry Clay!

I said that history would hand down the noble position of Henry Clay; the same History will carry down the truth, that the Whigs who support Taylor have deserted the principles they then professed. Now I will tell you another thing, I am not waiting for these Taylor men to make war upon me, I will make war upon them, (Cheers) and commence it. I will carry this war into Africa! I say that the record of truth will show that they have departed from their former faith, and that it is, because we maintain our former position, that they are against us now. The Whigs see now the importance of standing where their leader stood in '44. The same power that put Henry Clay down in '48, put Martin Van Buren down in '44—the slave power struck his name from the roll of candidates for the Presidency. I rejoice to say today that Van Buren dares to assert those principles for which he was then ostracised. The man whom I have opposed so long now occupies the same ground that I have for years maintained. Fellow citizens, in the campaign of '44, on every stump in the country, the Whigs proclaimed their opposition to the war and to the admission of Texas. We pointed the people to the blood of their fellow citizens fattening the soil and their bones bleaching upon the plains of Mexico. We described the mourning and lamentation which would spread over the land for our lost sons and husbands and brothers, who would fall in this unjust war. When we came into Congress at the ensuing session, the question was put to us whether we would extend slavery? Who deserted our principles then? *Was it me?* (Loud responses—no, no!! not you.) It was Southern Whigs—slaveholding Whigs. I say I do not wait for them to make war upon me—they voted for Texas and they have abandoned their political faith and their opposition to the war, and I declare to those Whigs who are supporting Zachary Taylor, you have abandoned and deserted your principles of '44. True, you stood by your positions when you supported Henry Clay, but you are now upholding an extension of slavery, with its crimes and its inhumanity. But it is said by some that Taylor is opposed to the farther extension of slavery!—They say that a gentleman in Massachusetts (Abbot Lawrence) has received a letter from the General to that effect, that he is a Whig and is opposed to the extension of slavery. I will tell you about another letter, written by Col. Boone to the Hon. Jacob Thompson, member of Congress from Mississippi. I have the word of Mr. Thompson for saying, that Col. Boone's integrity was never doubted and never will be denied. He said to me that I was at full liberty to say that he, Mr. Thompson, fully endorsed him as a man of truth and unsullied honor. It will be remembered, that Col. Boone was one of a Committee of five deputed by the Legislature of Mississippi to invite Gen. Taylor to visit that body. The conversation detailed in the letter was had in the presence of that committee, two of whom were Whigs. These Whigs having seen the letter in print, have suffered it to pass as true and correct. Col. Boone says in the letter, that Gen. Taylor expressed himself in favor of the war and of prosecuting it until

we could obtain territorial indemnity, and that the South ought never to submit to the Wilmot Proviso. Do you believe this? I know you will admit its correctness. While Gen. Taylor nor his Whig friends who were present and heard the remarks, dare not deny its accuracy, you will give credit to Col. Boone's statement. And if any Taylor men undertake to say that he is opposed to the extension of slavery, just ask them to get Gen. Taylor's denial or the denial of his friends, of the statements of this letter.

Fellow citizens, I know that I am trespassing upon your time. (Cries of go on, go on.) I find that my voice is again failing, and I shall be unable to follow out any connected train of remarks. I am sorry to say there has been a geographical distinction between Whigs and Democrats from time immemorial. Southern Democrats have been opposed to Northern Democrats, and Southern Whigs to Northern Whigs. (Here Mr. G. was interrupted by a band of music as it passed through the crowd.) I like that music—our friend Hutchinson has been giving us some that was cheering—but I do not like *one* instrument there, the *drum*. The drum is discordant in a moral warfare like this. The friends of peace appeal to the heart and the reason—to the sober judgment. Our appeals are to the conscience.—The *drum* seems calculated for the field of hateful strife, the din of battle, the charge of the deadly conflict. We can fire the moral barn, wherein it is sought to imprison our consciences, with other appliances, as is emblematically exhibited on the canvas before us. (Applause.)

I only wish to say a word more. Fellow citizens, I feel that the consummation of our work draws nigh. When I heard the platform erected here today, and when I look back upon what has been done within a few years I feel inspired and encouraged—I feel that our labors have not been lost. The attention of mankind has been drawn to the question of slavery, to its encroachments upon the rights of FREEMEN as well as of others.—But, my friends, my voice is again broken. I am surprised at this, as it never failed until yesterday. I again repeat the expression of my gratification at hearing and witnessing what I have heard and seen today. Would to God I had the power to transport the House of Representatives from Washington to this scene to contemplate the moral sublimity of a mighty people rising in the support of the rights of humanity. Could I do this—could they have been here today—there would be no “compromise” bill passed at this or any future session of Congress. Why, fellow citizens, it must be within your recollection that for declaring that *Congress had no power to involve the People of the Free States in the support of the countrywide slave trade*, I WAS EXPELLED FROM CONGRESS, only six years since. Let the transactions of this day go forth to the country, and be sent out through the whole land, and especially to the ears of Congressmen who are continually legislating for the benefit of slavery and of the slave power, and they will cease thus to violate the Constitution and disgrace the freemen of our land. I feel that the crisis has been past—that

the great obstacle has been surmounted. We have erected a POLITICAL PLATFORM today by which your Representatives in Congress will learn what to do in future. One thing more. It is a fact that at this very moment arrangements are being made, and the energies of the Federal Government are put forth to *bring into this Union the Island of CUBA!!!* Cuba, with all her slavery. (Loud cries of Never, never.) It is not at this moment susceptible of legal demonstration, but it is well understood that this is the case. Will you receive it? (No, no.) Will you consent to go into Union with the slaveholders of this Spanish Island in order to strengthen slavery? To perpetuate its power? To give those Spanish slaveholders power over your rights and interests in proportion to the number of their slaves, counting five slaves equal to three of the freemen present here today? I do not believe it will be brought in, but before Heaven I believe that James K. Polk is now endeavoring to secure the annexation of that Island to our Union! I know that the fiat has gone forth from this assemblage that IT SHALL NOT BE DONE. This declaration here today will defeat that treason to humanity, to our Constitution, and to mankind.

The failure of my voice takes from me the physical power to say more than to thank you for your kind attention.

When Mr. Giddings sat down loud calls arose for Douglass, who took the stand and remarked, that he was sincerely grateful for the opportunity which the Convention had given him to offer a few remarks on the occasion. I deeply regret that I cannot comply with your kind invitation, and I would merely rise to be excused for not proceeding to address you. I have recently had an operation performed upon my throat which makes it improper for me to speak. One thing however I want to say, God speed your noble undertaking. (Applause.) The audience appeared to feel great disappointment when they learned that Mr. Douglass could not address them.

Mr. Lapham, of New York, took the stand. A gentleman in the audience moved that each speaker be limited to 10 minutes. Carried. Mr. Lapham then proceeded. He said that Gen. Lewis Cass when travelling recently through the State of New York, had surrendered and was willing to sign a stipulation giving up the State of New York, if he could have certain other States assured to him. It had been said of Gen. Taylor, that he was one of those stern men who never surrender. But the circumstances under which that notable declaration was made must be remembered. It was on the plains of Buena Vista. Before him was a pitiable scrawny band of Mexicans, and with him were the flower of the American army. Could he but see this gallant band he would surrender instant. (Cries of time is up, time is up.) After a few more remarks by the speaker, the people again cried out “time is up,” “time is up.” The gentleman gave way, and immediately a dozen cries, for as many different speakers, arose, “Field,” “Coddington,” “Sumner,” “the nomination,” “Miller,” “Scoville,” “Smith,” “Jones,” “the nomination,” “go it,” “song,”

"music," "face the music," were a few of the cries, in which the audience indulged.

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT MAHAN, OF OHIO.

It seems to me, fellow citizens, that there are two or three questions which we should look at.—One is, have we a platform on which we can afford to stand and fight the battle of Liberty? Another is, whether the man, whoever he may be, whom we shall select will be able to carry out our platform? and another is, can we succeed? I know not that I shall be able to say a word to all these. A word about the platform. I said to my friends, when I came up here, that my bump of hope was very large and considerably excited. I had high expectations. Many of my friends said that we should fail, because we could not get up a satisfactory platform. That we could get none but a territorial platform. I said we could get up a broader platform. And now my friends, I ask the good sense of this meeting if we have not got a platform, on which the Genius of Liberty can walk through the length and breadth of the land? (Yes, yes, yes.) When our fathers were preparing to fight the battle of Liberty they prepared a platform that can never be improved. Every battle that shall ever be fought between right and wrong upon the earth, will be fought upon that platform. And so every battle that shall ever be fought hereafter between Liberty and Slavery, must be fought on our platform. (Yes, yes, yes.) Liberty friends, what more could you have asked? (Nothing.) Barnburners, what more could you have asked? (Nothing.) Whigs, what more could you ask for? (Nothing.) Then we have got our platform.

Let us ask another question. Will the man whom we may select stand up to it? (Yes, yes.) I tell you he will. There never was a convention like this, that laid their platform and placed their leader upon it, that was ever betrayed. Principles make men. I tell you that individuals under the principles of liberty are born men at once. They come out as the ancient Goddess did out of the brain of the King of thunder. They come out armed to the teeth at once.

Another question—can we succeed upon that platform? (Yes, yes, yes.) Yes we will succeed. Our opponents will feel about as the man did who came home intoxicated one night. His wife had spread his supper upon the table and gone to bed. He came in and sat down by the fire and said nothing. His wife asked him why he did not eat his supper and come to bed. "Are you drunk," said she. "No," replied he, "I am not drunk, but I feel almighty discouraged." (Laughter.) They are now so discouraged that they can not raise a hurrah that would frighten a chicken. (Laughter and applause.)

J. C. ADAMS, of Boston. He had found that on setting out in political matters, it was necessary to lay down certain principles. (Owing to the "noise and confusion" we were unable to get the first part of his remarks.) Persons were led away from time to time, by political excitement to do things for which they could give no good and sufficient reason. The Constitution of the country he regarded as a sufficient political

text book, and when he entered upon his profession, he swore to support it. And a support meant something more than an acquiescence—it meant an ardent, an active support.

Up to the time of the Philadelphia Convention, he had been a Whig, and it had been often remarked to him that it was unfortunate in a man just entering upon public life to be found thus early in the ranks of rebellion. He only knew this movement as one of great principle—a great truth in human freedom which has caused thousands to break away from their former attachments and to embark in this revolution.

He believed that the nomination made today would put an end to this Southern dictation—this giving to the north a candidate subservient to the interest of slavery. He did not pretend to speak officially for Massachusetts, but he believed that that State would cast as large a vote as any other in proportion to its numbers. In Massachusetts partisan organization had ceased to have any charm. The platform which had been presented today, would be hailed by the people of Massachusetts, with all the enthusiasm that greeted the ordinance of '87. It must satisfy every one cognizant of the history of this country.

Mr. SUTLIFFE, of Ohio, followed, and said—We were assembled here for a great cause. The cause is one which a few of us have been laboring for some time. It is in defence of human freedom and against the aggressions of slavery. He was one of the men that assisted in organizing the anti-slavery platform in 1833. When Mr. Giddings claimed the credit of the principles for the Whigs, and the Barnburners claimed it for the Barnburners, he too, put in a claim for the Liberty party. But we had today adopted a new platform, upon which all could mount—a platform embracing as its basis the great principle of fraternity.

He would do all he could for the nominee of this Convention. He was not afraid of any man who would come on to our platform.

The Rev. W. J. MAY, of Syracuse, was next introduced. He remarked that there were crises in the history of nations. There had been crises in our country, and happy were a people who knew when a crisis came and were prepared to act. There was a crisis when the Constitution was formed. There was a crisis sixteen years afterwards, when Louisiana was introduced into the Union, and had those who were upon the stage of action when that crisis arose, have seen a tithe of what we have seen, we should not have been compelled to meet here today to raise our voices in favor of free soil and freedom of speech. Sixteen years afterwards—and it was a remarkable coincidence that these important events have transpired every sixteen years—and the Missouri Compromise was adopted. And had the sentiment of the country been right, all this agitation would have been avoided. Another sixteen years elapsed, and the revolution in Texas took place; and from that event has come the annexation of that country to the Union, with its slavery and slave institutions.

He was one of the members of that Convention

in Massachusetts in 1845, who raised a voice against the annexation of Texas, and proclaimed the dissolution of the Union in the event that that nefarious scheme was consummated. And he believed it to be their duty to dissolve this Union, for so long as we fraternized with slavery we live in sin. But when he beheld this movement which had culminated today, hope was renewed, and he looked forward to the time not far distant, when the aggressions of slavery shall be rolled back.

We had been called here principally, he was aware, to take ground against the extension of slavery, and he thought it was but a small matter—a straining at a gnat, after we had swallowed the camel. But he, on reflection, had come to the conclusion that the extension of slavery was one of its essential elements—one of its main supports, and that opposing extension we struck a powerful blow at slavery itself in its strong hold—for it lived and was perpetuated—held on to its power and increased it by extending its withering curses over free territory. And now he went into this movement heart and hand—with high hopes of its speedy and thorough consummation.

The President pro tem, read the following extracts from a letter from Governor SLADE, to Mr. GIBBINGS:

"Let it no longer be said, then, that we *must* go for General Taylor, lest we have Slavery extension under General Cass. We should have it under either, and should therefore support neither. There is 'a more excellent way.' It is, to be *united*—to cease the divisions which are holding us in bondage to the slave power, and stand up in defence of our rights.

"But can we be united? That is the great question. To effect the desired union, strong ties must be surrendered and party aversions overcome. The difficulty of accomplishing this is not to be concealed. But is it unsurmountable? It seems to me it is not. We are in presence of a very great—a common danger. It is imminent, demanding immediate and united action. When the British, with mighty power, on lake and land, came upon us in 1814, party strife was hushed and all marched, shoulder to shoulder, to meet the common foe. But what, really, what was that danger compared with this?

"Union—then Union—should be our watchword. The vital interests of freedom are put at hazard, and the union that is doing it, I again repeat, must be met by union. Divided we have fallen, and divided we must forever fall, before the all-grasping, over-reaching, and never satisfied power of Slavery. Our own interests, and the interests of humanity alike urge us, with a voice of resistless entreaty, to unite and put forth our full strength against the daring attempt to extend and prolong indefinitely, the dominion and the curse of Slavery in our country.

Let then, the people come together, in mass meetings, and taking each other by the hand, ask, what is there worth contending about, when this question of swallowing up the country, in the bottomless pit of Slavery, is brought home to us for immediate decision. Let us thus do—fighting

this great battle with a union that shall be as the heart of one man; and then having achieved a victory, as we surely shall, if we are true to ourselves, and the cause of freedom, we will separate, and fight our battles over again, if we can find it in our hearts to do it. But, in the name of God and humanity, let us be united now—standing firmly and immovably, upon the platform of 'no more slave States—no more Slave territory. Free soil for free men.' A rally on this platform will give a tone and direction to public sentiment that will not long permit to be left undone, all that the Constitution will permit to be done, to separate the National Government from its participation in the guilt of Slavery."

Mr. BRIGGS, of Cleveland, read the following "item" from the *Commercial Advertiser*, of Wednesday, which was received with great good nature and caused much merriment:

"Among the delegates to the Convention in this city are some of the oddest looking chaps that ever were seen. Some of them are about as verdant as a stripling just escaped from his maternal parent's apron strings, while others look as if they could face a rampant, roaring buffalo without being in the slightest degree intimidated. Hats of all shapes and sizes, from the lofty bell-crown and majestic sugar-loaf to the squatty, rimless, and insignificant tub shape, are sported on this occasion. A few have whiskers and mustachios, but most of them are divested of these appendages. Coats that look as if every tailor in the country had struck out a new and original idea for himself, and which designate the wearer's particular views with more expression than many of the owner's faces, may also be seen. Unmentionables, varying from the liberal bag seat to the scrumpy-skin-tight, with legs both short and long without particular reference to the requirements of the wearer, help, in connection with the neat, tidy and fashionable appareled, to make up the variety.—Every man of them has the welfare of his country at heart, of course, and seems to imagine he is the particular individual on whom the entire responsibility of the whole free rests.

When he had finished the "item," he remarked—I think there are men here who would encounter a buffalo without flinching, and lick him too. (Ha, ha, ha.) (The gentleman on whom we had depended to report Mr. Briggs' very racy speech, we found had left his post, and we are compelled to give his speech *entirely from memory*.)

He said that he cared not what kind of hat or coat a man had on if his head and heart were sound. (Applause.) As for himself he was free to confess that he was a devil of a rough sort of a fellow. (Laughter.) But he had revolutionary blood in his veins. He had Bunker Hill blood in his veins; and he would face a buffalo or anything else in defence of principles he loved. He could not boast of noble blood, for all the noble blood they acknowledge in this country was Berkshire and Durham blood. (Great laughter.) They call this a farce, and they say no whigs are here. All who are whigs, say aye. (A tremendous aye.)—Democrats say aye. (Another big one.) All who will vote for the nominees of this Convention say aye. (A thundering response.) All who will vote for Cass say aye. (Three voices respond.)

Was that thunder I heard? All who will vote for Taylor say aye. (Half a dozen voices respond.) O what a still small voice. (Great laughter.)

We are told that we are fanatics, and have but one idea. He did not want but one idea. Luther and a host of others whom he could name to the going down of the sun, and to its rising again, had but one great idea, and from this great idea had flowed and irradiated all the great truths which had burst upon the world. (Applause.) Mr. B. continued in a strain of humor, for some time with much effect, and kept the audience in a continual roar.

Mr. MILLER, of Michigan, came from a little state. He wished to make a few remarks. He recognized the members of the Convention in that noble language addressed by Cremieux to the colored people of France. He greeted them as friends—as brothers—all engaged in a glorious cause.—He ceased to act with his former political associates for no other cause but that they had deserted and trampled upon human freedom. The speaker continued at some length, but the ideas were those which had been presented by other speakers who had preceded him.

Mr. BEEB, a colored fugitive, from Michigan, begged leave to be heard about five minutes. He came up to mingle in the deliberations of this Convention with much fear—with much jealousy—with much apprehension—for his rights were at stake. He had been asked what part of the country he represented. He had lived in Kentucky, in Alabama, in Missouri, and among the Cherokee Indians, from whom he escaped and took up his residence in Detroit, where General Cass lived. He had the honor to be personally acquainted with him, and as much had been said about him, he felt some pride in the matter. Last fall he attempted to vote, but was repulsed from the polls on account of his color. An attempt was made a short time since to make suffrage universal in Michigan; and in furtherance of this purpose he called upon General Cass, and asked him to sign the petition for universal suffrage, which he declined. He asked him if he was not favorable to the principle, and he replied that he was not at liberty to make any political declarations. And he hoped that the nomination of this Convention would emancipate Gen. Cass, and give him the liberty to act, if he so chooses, in favor of freedom, &c.

The speaker was asked in relation to his education. He replied that he had never had but ten week's schooling in his life, and that he obtained in Detroit about four years ago. The rest of whatever instruction he may have, he had dug out as he might, since that period.

After a song by the Hutchinson's, and a pause, in which various individuals were called, President MAHAN, took the stand, and wished to make a few remarks upon the subject of the origin of this movement. New York claims to have originated it, to which Ohio would enter some objections. But this should make no difference. It was a glorious movement, in which all could agree. When he came up to this text he had heard a shout, and learned that it was on account of the

supposed nomination of a certain individual, and with permission he wished to say a few remarks, particularly to his liberty friends. He was a native of New York, and it was known to a large number of his friends here, that he had never been an admirer of the political course of that individual. But one thing he would say, that Mr. Van Buren never avowed a principle and deserted his friends in carrying it out.

He had been disappointed in the platform which had been laid down. It was much broader than he could hoped to have obtained. And he would ask his liberty friends, if they could have had the drawing up of that platform, could they have produced a better. (Cries of no! no!) It was broad enough and wide enough for all. And cannot we trust Mr. Van Buren as the candidate of this Convention, bearing in mind the fact that he never betrayed his friends. A few years ago where was Mr. Hale. Side by side with Mr. Van Buren, fighting the battles of the democracy, and were he now upon this platform would we not trust him. (Yes! yes!) He had the fullest confidence in Mr. Van Buren. He had no fears that one who had never betrayed his friends would betray them. He was bound to them by ties stronger than those of party organization—by the strong ties of a common humanity.

Mr. GILLET, of Ohio, who had spent four winters in Vicksburgh, and wished to say a few words in relation to the pulse of the South upon this question. He had become acquainted with many of the leading men of both parties, and had been told by a leading democrat that if the party of the North would rally upon the principle of opposition of Slavery, he, and many others in Mississippi were with them.

Mr. PAYNE, of Wisconsin, took the stand and spoke as follows:

Mr. Calloun says men are not *born* but are produced by some other process. I care not whether this be true or not. At any rate quite a lot of them are here today, and they have come up to inquire about a certain barn—a slaveholding barn; and gentlemen, after a very slight inspection we find that it has been used as repository of stolen goods.

Just at this point, a nice little row was raised by one of the reporters, who took exception to a gentleman's placing his foot in his coat pocket. The gentleman thought he had a right to put his feet where he pleased. They were his own feet. The disturbance caused us to lose the rest of Mr. Payne's remarks, with the exception of his last sentence, which was that next November Wisconsin would cast her electoral vote for the nominees of this Convention. (Great applause.)

The president announced that some pocket-books had been found—empty, and that persons could obtain them by calling at the stand.

Mr. PECK, of Connecticut, said that the Free Soil boys of Old Connecticut, were all right and would roll up a large vote for the nominees next November. He had come up here to be baptised in this Free Soil principle, and he had also been baptised in God Almighty's great free soil fountain the cataract of Niagara. He was not a be-

liever in the efficacy of baptismal regeneration, but he thought that, as a last resort it would be well to baptise Taylor and Cass in this free soil principle. If that would not save them nothing would.

Mr. CHASE, of Massachusetts, told the old anecdote of the Methodist Deacon that *would* say amen, both in order and out of order, which elicited considerable laughter.

A gentleman in the audience announced that MARTIN VAN BUREN had been nominated as the candidate for the Presidency. This was received with a round of cheering, which was ended only by the exhaustion of the lungs of the audience.—Great enthusiasm prevailed.

It having been announced that the conferees had adjourned to take tea, it was resolved by the Convention that they would also adjourn, which they did, to meet at 8 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention was called to order, and Wm. Davis, Esq., of Buffalo, addressed the meeting as follows:

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Citizens:—Allow me to state that I had not expected to address this great and patriotic assembly. This is the first time that I have ever had an opportunity to address such a multitude, and, as a young man, I must feel that diffidence which always attends a first attempt to address a meeting like this. But I trust in the intelligence and the patriotism of the Convention to excuse me if I shall not be able to edify or instruct them. We have adopted a platform, and I trust we are now ready to carry out its glorious principles. What is the meaning of this vast assembly? Who of the Cass and Taylor factions would dare to say that this is not a Convention worthy of the character of the American people, and ready to carry out every plan and purpose which the welfare of our country demands. We have been told by all parties that this is not the time for such a Convention as this. And why have we been thus told? The South wants a little more plunder, and the obedience for a longer time of Northern dough-faces. [That's it—give 'em Jesse.] This is our plan and purpose—to give such nominations to the people, as shall enable them to elevate and brighten, and edify the country and the government. (Applause.) Let us then turn a deaf ear to all these insinuations and protestations of our opponents, and uniting together upon the great principles laid down in our platform—march forward, undismayed—turning neither to the right hand or to the left—but keeping our eye steadily fixed upon the great end which we have so much at heart, and victory shall crown our efforts. [Great applause.]

The Chairman announced that Mr. Bird, of Mass., wished to say a few words to the Convention. (Cries of Bird! Bird, spread your wings! Soar high.)

Mr. BIRD spoke as follows: Gentlemen, I had not intended to make a speech. I am unexpectedly placed in a position which I now occupy. I have only a few words to say, and that upon a point upon which I have been requested to speak

to this audience. They are matters of fact. An effort is now making by the Taylor papers to prove that John Quincy Adams spoke approvingly of the expected nomination of Gen. Taylor,—(Louder—we can't hear you)—and it was thought best to state a few facts in relation to this matter, that they might reach the sooner, all portions of the Union, than they would by the means which are now being taken to place them before the people of this country. No man, who knew Mr. Adams, can suppose for one moment, that he could ever have wished for the nomination of Gen. Taylor, unless it should have been with a view to the accomplishment of the very purpose which it has brought about. It may be that that far-seeing man anticipated in the first place, the nomination of Gen. Taylor, and, as a consequence of that nomination, the breaking up of both of the old parties and the bringing about this union of good men and true of all political parties which we see here today. It may be that Mr. Adams spoke as the gentlemen, who says he did—for they are men of honor—in such a manner that his words can be twisted into an approval of the support of Gen. Taylor. But there are men in Massachusetts who knew John Quincy Adams intimately, and they feel and know that that he never would have approved of the election of Gen. Taylor to the Presidency of the United States. (Cries of no, no, no.) The last meeting that the "old man eloquent" ever attended, was a meeting of "conscience Whigs," in Boston, held at the office of his only son. And he approved of the ground taken by them. And it is known that the elder Adams approved most cordially the opposition which his son has headed for the last six years against the slave power. It is hard, my friends, to prove a negative, but those who knew Mr. Adams intimately, cannot believe that that man who had been battling for seventeen years against the slave power—cannot believe that he could, under any circumstances, approve of the nomination of a man, who, if elected, will do more than any other living, to aid the encroachments of this power. I have nothing farther to say upon this point. I only wish to assure our friends here, that the facts in relation to this matter will be put right, and that whatever posthumous aid the Taylorites may expect to get from Mr. Adams they will be disappointed. (Applause.)

The audience here called loudly for Mr. Adams, but he begged to be excused, inasmuch as he felt so exhausted by the labors of the day, that he had no more voice left than would be necessary to perform the duties of his station. But he would introduce to the audience a gentleman from Ohio, who had made himself known to the country by his course in the House of Representatives upon the slave question, who might, indeed, be almost considered the father of the Wilnot proviso. He would introduce to them, Mr. Brinckerhoff.

Mr. BRINCKERHOOF, came forward amidst great cheering, and in a voice, every tone of which smote upon the ear like a brick bat, said:

FELLOW CITIZENS: I am not a very promising subject. (Ha, ha.) But I will make you one

promise, and that is, that I will be brief. (Oh, no, give us a good speech.) So that in case I should be tedious your tortures will not be protracted. (Laughter and applause.) I will, on another condition, make you another promise, and that is, that you shall be tolerably still—or as the Paddy said, “if you cannot be aisy, be aisy as you can be aisy,” (Laughter) and I will make you hear, for I believe you can do it. (Ha, ha, what a devil of a voice.)

When I was a small boy and went to school, I read the Testament. (Have you read it since, some one cried out.) And one of the questions there was what went ye out into the wilderness to see? Let me slightly paraphrase the question and ask you, what come ye up here to see? (To see Brinckerhoof.) A man in soft raiment? (No.) A reed shaken by the wind? (No.) To see the mighty up turning of the great deep of public opinion—such as is stirring in the popular mind, such as the annals of this country give no account of. To see such a demonstration of public sentiment in favor of free speech and free soil as will make the advocates of slavery propagandism tremble? If you have, you will see it.

You will see men by the side of David Wilmot, Hannibal Hamlin and others, under trials that made us sick for a week, but who held on, still having faith like unto a grain of mustard seed, that you, after your noses had been held to the grindstone till they were ground completely off, and the grinding had reached to your eyelids, that you would be aroused to a sense of your responsibility and come to our aid. And now, thank God, you have been aroused, and have come up to aid us in the struggle, and you will, I doubt not, reap the fruits of your doings. “What went ye out into the wilderness to see?” What came our enemies here to see? They have prophesied dissensions and strife, they have said that this Convention would be composed of such discordant elements that they could *never* be united, and they have been sneaking around here, day after day, in the hopes of witnessing the fulfilment of their prophecies. But they have been disappointed, and I glory in the torture they experience under it.—(Cheers.) We were not—I can now speak authoritatively—we were not such fools as to quarrel for the especial gratification of the *Presidential Bakers*, Thomas Ritchie & Co. (Laughter.) We were not so very near what one of the Presidential candidates would be if a letter of his name were omitted (ha, ha, ha,) as to fall out by the way. We were not so much disposed to rejoice the hearts of that pattern of all that is spaniel-like—that prince of *blatherskites*, (great laughter,) Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York. I heard a Senator the other day, from a Western State, pretending to represent one of the States blessed by the ordinance of 1787, in a company of Southern men, say that he was ashamed of his native State—New York. I am a native of New York. Whatever I am I owe to her common schools, the product of her free soil, and I have never seen any thing in her to be ashamed of, except that she gave birth to him.

No, fellow citizens, we have not quarreled. We

will not quarrel for the especial gratification of these men. The waters are moving this great multitude, which no man can number, which defies the powers of Arithmetic, and all the powers of the infernal world, and John C. Calhoun, to boot, (laughter,) cannot stop it. We, the first martyrs in this modern Wilmot Proviso movement were the anticipators of this thing, and we rejoice over it, and rejoice in this compromise of personal and party interests. The people have got hold of it, and will carry it on. I mentioned the name of John Calhoun. I am no admirer of him, nor of the Satanic system of political philosophy of which he is the exponent. But I do agree with him that the country is in the midst of a crisis—an important—a momentous crisis. And it is for you—the people—to decide the question—the most important ever submitted to the deliberations of a free people since our own revolutionary era—whether or not the vast acquisitions which we have made upon the shores of the Pacific—the foundations of mighty empires—the home of unborn millions—which have been purchased, and cheaply, too, by all the blood and treasure which have been expended for them—it is for you to decide whether they shall be the theatre of free labor—the home of free mind—of enterprise—of progressive civilization—the land of common schools—or whether they shall be cursed with manacled labor—where enterprise dies out of itself—where the common school is impossible—where labor is dishonorable and therefore unproductive—where the hot and burning feet of the slave scorch its plains and hill, into barrenness. It is for you to decide this momentous question.—Shall it be decided in favor of freedom—man and humanity, or of slavery, injustice, oppression, villany. (By the crowd, freedom, freedom.) Well, my friends, upon you—you the people—the sovereign people rests a fearful responsibility.—Don't trust to politicians. You have trusted them too long already. Trust only yourselves—your own generous instincts—your own sagacious judgment—your own upright intentions—uninfluenced by the hope of office. Trust to them, and attend to your own interests. Why, what difference does it make to you who is President? You do not expect to be appointed on a foreign mission, or to a seat in the cabinet, or to a clerkship in the post office. It makes no difference to you who is President. But it is of vast consequence to you, individually, whether or not, you give an honest vote. Is it not of importance to you whether you give a vote which shall commend itself to your consciences, and upon which you can look back with satisfaction, not only in life, but in death.—Aye, surely, it is.

As that rising empire on the Pacific is moulded, so will it continue for all coming time. The happiness or misery to be bestowed on the millions yet unborn, is to be decided by the mould into which you now cast their institutions. Shall we so act as that future generations shall rise up and call us blessed, or shall we make ourselves the fit objects of their curses, so that they will blush to name us as their ancestors?

I heard a remark on this stand today—made

innocently, no doubt—but being made without reflection, it did injustice to its subject. I heard the name of Locofoco used with reproach. Now, gentlemen, I have gloried in that name. Who was it that first gave that name to any political organization? William Leggett, of the city of New York, and I will ask your Chairman if that man ever breathed who advocated, with more intense zeal, with more glowing eloquence, and in a style which genius might have envied, the cause of freedom better than William Leggett? (No, no, no.) It is a fact. Would to God that he were alive now! He would be with us—his voice, calling us to combat the influences of slavery, would be heard, eloquent as of yore.

I glory in the name of Democrat—adopting the sentiments of Jefferson, who was one of the most consistent advocates for free soil in the great Northwest, and had he never done anything else to merit the admiration of future ages, that alone would have rendered him

“One of the few, the immortal names,
That were not born to die.”

Some of my friends have said, “Brinkerhoof, you are no Democrat.” Why? “Because you don’t vote for Gen. Cass.” [Laughter.] Now, I have always been under the impression—the silly impression it may be thought—that democracy consisted, not in men—nor in organizations—but in principles. If the Wilmot proviso is not democracy, then Gen. Cass’s democracy is entirely new. It is very green. [Laughter.] For, not longer ago than one year, he was loud in his complaints against John Davis for talking against time, and thus preventing him from having an opportunity for voting in its favor. Lewis Cass was *then* no Democrat, according to the logic of his advocates, or else he has *flipped* over. Shall I therefore, turn. I am not made of such flexible material. Why, the entire North, with the exception of three votes, went for that proviso. Where are *they* now? Gone off after a mess of political pottage. Let them enjoy it. [It may poison them.] No fear. Nothing will injure them, except an infusion of honesty. Give me the joy which arises from the sense of honor maintained—duty discharged, and freedom defended. [Applause.] One year after that time I heard Gen. Cass speak in the Senate of the United States.—He then professed to be in favor of the principle, but said it was not the time to act upon it. But a short time before, he thought it was both the time for action and expedient to act. Now I cannot turn with him. I defy Gen. Cass to contradict this statement. If he attempts it, I can bring the testimony of nine men—every one of them as good as myself—to substantiate what I have said. [We don’t want them—your word is sufficient.] He knows it is true, and hence the expression in his letter, “he thinks there has been a change coming on in the public mind, and in his own.” [Great laughter.] I would respect Gen. Cass’s opinions, if I thought they were sincere. I respect the sincere opinions of any man though they lead to change, for I have experienced such myself. But I believe that Gen. Cass thinks as I do

that the proviso is both expedient and constitutional. I believe that he put his hand in his bosom and took out his soul and laid it out in view of the devil for the purpose of receiving a little temporary elevation. Let the North repudiate him. I believe the South will, and if they do, perhaps there will be others getting up parties to burn barns. [Laughter.]

Gentlemen, I said I would be brief. (Go on, go on, we like the way you talk.) I cannot go on—my health is feeble—it has always been feeble, and nothing else, and thanking you for your kindness, I will relieve you. (Great applause, and three cheers for Brinkerhoof.)

Mr. J. R. Doolittle, of Wyoming county, N. Y., was then loudly called for. He came forward, and in a singularly full and pleasing voice, commenced addressing the assembly, in a very eloquent and forcible manner, but was cut short at the commencement, by the arrival of the committee of conferees, announcing the nominations.

After considerable delay, the conferees obtained their seats, when, S. P. CHASE, of Ohio, Chairman of the Committee, announced that MARTIN VAN BUREN, had been unanimously selected as their candidate for President of the United States.

This announcement was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations. Hats, and banners, and handkerchiefs were waved, and cheer followed cheer.

Mr. CHASE remarked that a letter from Mr. Van Buren had been received, requesting that his name might not be allowed to interfere with the action of the Convention—declaring it to be the greatest convention that had been held since the Congress of 1787. (Cheers.) Mr. CHASE continued, I am further instructed by the Committee to present another name, as a candidate for the Vice Presidency—a name honorable, not only for the actions of him who bears it, but more honored still by those of the “old man eloquent” his father. (Great applause.) The convention has anticipated that name, and renders its announcement only a mere form—but a form which must be gone through with. I present, therefore, as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, the name of CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, of Massachusetts (Great cheering.) What action will the convention take upon these recommendations? (We will adopt them by acclamation.) And they were thus adopted.

Mr. NOBLE, of the District of Columbia, moved that a committee, consisting of Benj. F. Butler, Joseph L. White and S. P. Chase, be appointed to inform the nominees of this convention of their nomination, and request their acceptance, which was adopted unanimously. Mr. Chase remarking, that in spite of all that their enemies could do—and of their predictions of strife and contention, the convention did every thing unanimously.

Mr. WILKS, on behalf of the Pennsylvania delegation, moved that John Van Buren, be requested to waive all personal considerations of delicacy, and invited to stump the State of Pennsylvania. (We want him in New York. He must stump

Ohio—they need him in Mississippi. Let him stump the world.)

The resolution was finally passed inviting Mr. Van Buren to stump the United States generally.

We will here state that the conferees held their meeting, while selecting the candidates, at the Universalist Church on Washington street. We could not obtain admittance to their deliberations, as all persons not belonging to the committee were, very properly, excluded. We learn, however, that Mr. Chase, of Ohio, was called to the chair. After the organization, Mr. Butler, of New York, was requested by the committee to give any information he might possess in regard to Mr. Van Buren's views in reference to the action of the convention, whereupon he addressed the committee at length on the movement of the real democracy of New York, and the posture in which they stood towards Mr. Van Buren as the nominee of the Utica convention. In the course of his remarks he read a letter from Mr. Van Buren, which we give in another place. The letter was received with great applause.

Mr. BUTLER, of New York, followed its reading with a speech of some length, in which he approved most cordially of the resolutions adopted by the convention, and expressed the belief that Mr. Van Buren, if nominated by the convention, would accept the nomination.

Mr. H. B. STANTON, of New York, then announced that Mr. Hale was willing to submit to the action of this convention.

The conferees then proceeded to an informal ballot for President with the following result:

Whole number of votes,	-	-	466
For Martin Van Buren,	-	-	234
For J. P. Hale,	-	-	181
For all others,	-	-	31
Mr. Van Buren's majority over all,	-	-	22

When the result was announced Mr. LEAVITT, of Massachusetts, made a most eloquent speech, and moved the unanimous nomination of Mr. VAN BUREN, which was seconded by Mr. LEWIS, of Ohio, in an appeal to the friends of Hale, which we have seldom heard surpassed. The motion was adopted by acclamation. The cheering at this moment was terrific. The conferees adjourned for tea.

On their re-assembling, it was agreed to proceed to the nomination of Vice President. The name of Mr. Giddings was withdrawn, when CHARLES F. ADAMS, on motion of a conferee from Ohio, was nominated for Vice President by acclamation. Shortly after the conferees adjourned to make their report to the convention.

Hon. JOSEPH L. WHITE, of the city of New York, was loudly called for, and addressed the Convention as follows:

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—I find myself, for the first time since I arrived at the years of maturity, acting politically with strange men, but not standing upon strange ground. Born and bred in the Whig faith, my earliest attachments were for the Whig cause, and for Whig principles, and I am proud to say, I still feel yearnings for my early love, and shall only abandon it with my latest breath. But I am here because I find in the platform of principles that has been laid down by this great Convention, the ground upon which, as a man of Northern birth and Northern education, but of national views, I have always stood, and, by the blessings of God, shall ever continue to stand.—

Up to the period of the Philadelphia Convention, it was the pride as well as the pleasure of your speaker, to act, with that great, respectable and distinguished party, with what I conceived to be a still greater—still more distinguished—still more respectable head—the man that I conceived to be not only the man of our party, but the man of the world, but who, by the foulest treachery of pretended friends, has recently, by the Philadelphia Convention, been tossed, together with Whig principles, and the obligations of gratitude and personal honor, into one common grave. And since that period, I have felt that the Whig party, as such, has abandoned its organization—that its principles have been discarded, and that that portion of them who assembled to perpetrate that work of infamy, have recorded to the world their determination to fight, henceforth and forever, as a band of guerrillas, devoid of all the obligations of gratitude—caring not for the welfare of the land that gave them birth—casting off all ties of patriotism and honor, for the mere spoils of party and plunder of office.

That Convention at Philadelphia, gentlemen, I attended, and it is upon the actions of that Convention that I purpose to give to my Whig friends a chapter. When its deliberations were over, every Whig who was so unfashionable as to possess that thing called a conscience was constrained to ask himself the question, "Where shall I go?" And from that period up, to this Convention, and even later than the commencement of the session,—aye, up to the period when you had the resolution to pass that honorable platform, I was still uncertain where, as an individual, having at heart the good of the country, as I believe I did have, I should go, and where I could commit myself—for I believed that the government of this country could not be administered upon any isolated principle—and I watched with fear and with trembling the action of this Committee upon Resolutions, for the purpose of discovering whether they would lay down a broad platform upon which Whig, Democrat, Liberty party men, Loco Focos, and Federals, could all stand by common agreement, or whether they would adopt one that would exclude men who thought as I did. I was soon, however, relieved from all fear, and when the Committee of which I had the honor to be one resolved to report that platform to the Convention I breathed freer—felt stronger—stepped lighter, and stood taller, as I do now.—(Applause.) When I return to my constituents I shall feel a pride in proclaiming to my fellow citizens at all times that I shall act shoulder to shoulder, hand to hand with these, my fellow citizens, here and elsewhere—striking such blows as I can in this great—this greatest of causes—the cause of Freedom. [Applause.]

Follow me, my fellow whigs, for there are many of you here, and to you I address myself in order that you may carry home to your constituents, the observations which I shall address to you—follow me to the Philadelphia Convention—a body of men considered whigs—committed by every obligation of duty—of principle and of honor, not to travel beyond the whig party to find a candidate

for the Presidency, and to select none but a man pledged to support and carry out the great principles for which that party has been struggling for nearly half a century. This was their duty—how was that duty discharged? The gratitude of the whig party—aye, the affections of the whig party all pointed to one man beyond the Alleghenies.—There, rose and set the very sun of the party. To him the affections of all these delegates were directed by a confiding constituency, that when at Philadelphia, they would carry out the views of those who sent them thither. Yet, by the scheming politicians of the South, when it was discovered that Henry Clay had proclaimed no more slave territory; even he, the man that in youth and in riper age they had been taught almost to deify—they were found ready to sacrifice upon the altar of this institution, because they thought that he was too much attached to northern institutions—to northern principles and to northern men. And they took up, and presented for the suffrages of the whigs of this Union, what I have denominated a living insult to the intelligence of its members. Who was he whom they presented to us as our candidate? A man who had distinguished himself in civil service? No! He had fought four battles and written four accounts of them, and therefore, he was to be our candidate. An *honest old gentleman*, who in the honesty and simplicity of his rough western nature, told them plainly, I have not the qualifications for this place, but if you choose to make fools of yourselves and vote for me, I will do the best I can for you; but God knows what it will be, for I don't. (Great laughter.) Well, this old man's nomination by the schemers of the South was anticipated, and thinking it to be rather an anomalous position for a party to be placed in, they undertook to question him upon his principles. In one letter he informed them that he was a whig, but not an ultra whig. All this went very well; but after that a gentleman of Louisiana wrote him to ascertain what were his opinions upon the Tariff and the Mexican War. His answer was that in relation to the latter, he was engaged in it himself, and as for the former, he had passed his life in camp and had never had time to examine it.—Thus, we get a definition of what General Taylor means by a "whig, but not an ultra whig." It is a whig without opinions. I was not willing to trust such a whig. Upon the principles for which the whigs had been battling for forty years, General Taylor had no opinions. He was nominated—a whig without opinions, and without concealments, for he took good care to tell you all he knew; and he took especial care to let you know that that was, *nothing*. He took care also, to inform you that he would not veto any bill which Congress might choose to pass, but he would express no opinions and give no pledges. Now, I understand the principles of this government to be that at the ballot box the popular will is to be represented; and how shall this be done unless the voter knows what principles he is supporting when he casts his votes.

Our candidates are, or should be, the exponents of our principles. We do not vote for men

but for principles. But who knows what principle he is voting for when he casts his vote for Gen. Taylor? He requires us to go it blind and trust to circumstances. If under such circumstances, I could have got my own consent to go for Gen. Taylor, I should have considered that I would be bound to subscribe to all the acts he might choose to perform, (That's a fact,) because by so voting, I should have authorised him to perform any act he might choose to perform. It would be, in fact, investing him with all the authority of all the despots of the old world. Has one Whig—has one American citizen, any disposition to confer upon him or upon any one else that power? (No, no.) Well, Gen. Taylor was nominated and after his nomination a gentleman from Cincinnati addressed him for the purpose of ascertaining whether he would veto or sign a bill, prohibiting slavery in the new territories. Now, election was over, "high reaching Buckingham had grown circumspect." His answer was sent, "he had no intention to express any opinions on questions of *policy*." He did not even consider it a question of *principle*. I could not give my support to such a candidate—the candidate of a party neither Whig, Democrat, Native American nor Liberty party, but of a new party which I think can only be described by calling it Miscellaneous, (Ha, ha,) and I cast about to find a platform on which I could stand. I have found such a platform and on it I stand. (Applause.)

Perhaps, gentlemen, it is possible that this old man may be elected. [No, no.] If he is, what sort of an administration will he have? [Miscellaneous.] Miscellaneous, some one says. True—pledged to nothing but himself, you would find this government turned into a kind of military hospital for sick, sore and superannuated soldiers. Imagine that that old man occupied the white house. Bewildered by the strangeness of his position, he would surround himself by his friends from the army, for, as I understand it, he has not slept in a civilized bed for forty years, and of course, his only friends and associates have been those of the camp. On one side you would see Corporals, wounded in the leg or arm. On the other, a Colonel, wounded, in the face, of *course*. [Laughter.] Here you would see a Captain stumping it thro' the avenue with a wooden leg—and then a Major parading his epauletts and plume, minus an arm. You would see this motley assemblage thronging Pennsylvania Avenue, and the places of emolument and trust, occupied by these friends of this old man—their only fitness for the various offices, derived from the accidental accuracy of a Mexican bullet. (Laughter.)

I remember that in 1828 and 1832 we made this country, as Whigs, vocal with our denunciations of men military being raised to the Presidency on account of their military qualifications. But Gen. Jackson had been a distinguished Senator in Congress and an able Judge in Tennessee, and the mere fact of his military qualifications was no serious objection to him, and our mouths were thus stopped. But now, in 1848, this same conscientious Whig party that taught me this principle in 1828, and '32, by way of showing the ut-

ter insincerity of all party professions, presents, for my suffrage, a man fresh from the gory battle field, with no qualifications except that which he has wrought out by his sword. Such was not the purpose for which the Whig party was organized, and such was not its character, as I understand it. And when at Philadelphia, it turned executioner and sexton of its principles, I turned from it, and was alone until this Convention took me to its arms, God bless it. (Applause.) I confess, gentlemen, and the motive of integrity compels me to confess, that there is still another consideration which induces me to take the course I have here, provided that I could stand upon principles dear to me of old. And that is the manner in which Henry Clay was treated by the Philadelphia Convention. In all my love for the principles laid down in your platform, there mingles much of personal hate and a strong desire to avenge the fate of Henry Clay. I claim no exemption from any of the imperfections of men.

I desire to fight with free soil men while they fight, but when they adjourn, I will fight on my own hook, and under my own banner, and that banner shall be "Liberty and Revenge."

It has been charged by the South that this is an aggressive movement upon them, for the purpose of destroying their domestic institutions. That question we have put at rest in the platform which has been reported today. Denying all right to interfere with the internal policy of the various States, we plant ourselves upon free soil, and tell our Southern brethren that not one inch further shall your institution of slavery go—and we say to them, this soil must remain free—enslave it if you can—try it if you dare. (Great applause.) Long enough have we endured the sneers and the encroachments of the South. We have endured it until toleration has ceased to be a virtue, and now we plant ourselves upon the platform that our fathers planted themselves upon, and say to the South, "Beware, the blood of the Round heads is aroused!"

I wish I had time to proceed farther in this discussion. I would like to argue the question of the power of Congress to exclude slavery from the territories, but I feel myself bodily exhausted—mentally, I shall never die. What I ask, gentlemen, in conclusion, is, that when we go home from this place that every man shall go with a determination to spare no pains, no time, no exertion to achieve that victory which the justice of our cause will in the end ensure if we will only do justice to that in which we are engaged. As Northern men we have a duty to perform to ourselves, to humanity, to truth, to justice, to the world. And if by the trickery of slave power freedom is again stricken down, when we put our heads upon our pillows let it be with the convictions at least, that our duty has been performed, and while the groans and cries of their victims mingle with the triumphant shouts of the victors, we can look Heaven in the face and say, "Thou canst not say I did it."

One word in relation to the candidates. In 1840, then a resident of the State of Indiana, although born and reared in this my native state, I had the

honor of being an elector upon the Harrison ticket, and in 1844 I made the woods of Indiana vocal with my denunciations against the policy of Martin Van Buren. But times have changed and men are changed with them. Mr. Van Buren, now I can as cordially go for as in 1840 I opposed him: (great cheers,) and it is for the reason that this, my motto, has ever been "principles, not men." (Applause.) I do not know Martin Van Buren in this contest. All I know, is, that circumstances have placed him in the van as the leader of freedom's hosts, and while he is there, and I am actuated by the sentiment of eternal hostility to the slave power, I am nothing but a private in the army, bound to fight for the common cause. (Great applause.) So much for this candidate, and as for the other, I cannot separate him from his father (applause) and when I cast my vote for him I shall see standing side by side the substance of the son and the spirit of the father. (Applause.) All are merged now in one common party. (Name it.) It is the "Free Soil Party." (Great applause.) All past predilections and prejudices are to be forgotten. Here upon the altar of our country's truth they must be sacrificed. My attachment to this party is the result of circumstances and not of choice.

When the Whig party was dissolved by the action of the Philadelphia Convention, I was forced to turn my attention elsewhere. When they sacrificed that NOBLE HEART upon the altar of despotism, I felt the time for action had arrived. HENRY CLAY! As long as exalted Patriotism, transcendent Genius, nobleness of Soul, and love of Freedom, shall command the respect of the Minds and sway the impulses of the Hearts of men, the name of HENRY CLAY shall be cherished with love, and admiration and delight. (Enthusiastic applause.) Next to this man now stands him whom I have fought from my earliest youth. That man is MARTIN VAN BUREN. [Tremendous cheers.] When I saw this man that I had formerly believed to be timid, cautious and calculating; this man enjoying the universal confidence and affection of the great Democratic party, willing to sacrifice all this personal regard and forfeit all this public confidence and esteem, and plant himself upon the spot where Freedom dwelt, and bid defiance to the South; it was a sublime spectacle—it was the poetry of politics—it was the religion of patriotism. [Applause.]

When I saw it, then and there, on that occasion did I surrender up all personal prejudices against that man. (Applause.) I say, fellow citizens, that a man like this deserves the favor, the support, the honorable mention of every lover of liberty in this and other lands. (Yes, yes, he does.) And that we may be able hereafter to reward him with the office to which we are all striving to elevate him, shall ever be the effort, as it now is the prayer of him who now addresses you.

Mr. LEWIS, of Ohio, next addressed the meeting. He said, on taking the stand, that he had but a few words to say, and would detain the audience but a moment, and we believed him, and consequently did not attempt to report him, but he

kept on talking and talking, and saying and saying, till he said one of the longest and best speeches, (so we are informed,) that was made before the Convention. We were sorry after he got through that we had not reported it, although if we had the probability is that we would have been absolutely killed off—an event which would have been anything but pleasing to us—for we had sat from 9 o'clock in the morning till 11 at night, without dinner or supper, reporting and writing out Free-soil reports, till it seemed as if we were nothing but a mass of Free-soil itself. However, notwithstanding our fatigue we would have reported Mr. LEWIS had he not put us to sleep by saying that "he would only say a few words." Let this be a caution to public speakers in future, and especially to Free-Soil orators. We are an out and out Free-Soiler and would like to save every really good durable remark upon the subject.

At the conclusion of Mr. Lewis' remarks, Mr. Butler of New York offered the following resolution, which was adopted with great applause.

Resolved, That JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, by his fearlessness, fidelity and ability as a senator, and the readiness, disinterestedness and patriotism with which he placed himself, though a candidate already in nomination, at the disposal of this Convention, has entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the friends of human rights and of the great cause of true Democracy.

HON. STEVEN C. PHILLIPS, of Massachusetts, said that Massachusetts felt honored by the distinguished complement which the Convention had so unexpectedly paid her. Massachusetts had got everything she asked for, in the platform of the Convention. She could enter the contest with a stout heart to battle valiantly in support of such a platform. And again he would say that Massachusetts had been honored by the action of the Convention, for in honoring the Adamses they honored Massachusetts. (Applause)

But he would not make a speech, (go on, go on,) He only wished to state a fact and he hoped that the reporters would be careful to do it justice, because interested and unscrupulous parties were busily engaged in the work of calumny and misrepresentation, and would resort to all and every means, however false and despicable, to accomplish their objects. It had been said that Massachusetts had been bribed by the candidacy for the Presidency. (No, no, no.) Now he wished to state distinctly, and in the most positive language, that the nomination of CHARLES FRANCES ADAMS for the Vice Presidency of the United States, by this Convention, was in no manner or sense suggested, intimated, or even desired by a single member of the Massachusetts delegation. (Applause.) It was not even thought of by any one of them. It was proposed by a member of the Ohio delegation. (Applause.) Massachusetts did not seek this honor at the hands of the Convention, but she thought no less highly of it, and she will sustain the act she would not have proposed. (Cheers) From this time forth till victory shall crown our efforts, the rallying cry of Massachusetts shall be VAN BUREN AND FREE-SOIL, ADAMS AND LIBERTY. (Enthusiastic cheers.)

The HUTCHINSONS sang one of their melodious and spirit-stirring and soul-enlivening songs. If the HUTCHINSONS only possessed the power of ubiquity, and would attend every Free soil gathering from now till November, Martin Van Buren would be elected President of the United States to a certainty. At any rate, we would give our opponents Jesse.

A resolution of thanks to the Officers of the Convention was passed; also

A resolution of thanks to the inhabitants of Buffalo for their kindness and attention to members of the convention.

DUNLY FIELD, Esq. of New-York, then read the following letter from Mr. VAN BUREN, which was received with three cheers.

LINDENSWALD, Aug. 2, 1843.

GENTLEMEN:—It has occurred to me that a direct communication of my feelings upon a single point, may, in one event, serve to remove embarrassment in your action at Buffalo. You all know from my letter to the Utica Convention, and the confidence you repose in my sincerity, how greatly the proceedings of that body, in relation to myself, were opposed to my earnest wishes. Some of you have also had opportunities to satisfy yourselves, from personal observation, of the sacrifices of feelings and interests, which I incurred in submitting my future action to its control. None of you need be assured of the extent to which these feelings were relieved by the consciousness that in yielding to the decision of that body, that the use of my name was necessary to enable the ever faithful Democracy of New York to sustain themselves in the extraordinary position into which they had been driven by the injustice of others, I availed myself of an opportunity to testify to them my enduring gratitude for the many favors I had received at their hands.

The Convention, of which you form a part, may, if wisely conducted, be productive of more important consequences than any which has gone before it, save only that which formed the federal Constitution. In one respect it will be wholly unlike any political Convention which has been held in the United States since the present organization of parties. It will, in a great degree, be composed of individuals, who have all their lives been arrayed on different sides in politics, state and national and who still differ in regard to most of the questions that have arisen in the administration of the respective governments, but who feel themselves called upon, by considerations of the highest import, to suspend rival action upon other subjects, and unite their common efforts for the accomplishment of a single end—the prevention of the introduction of human slavery into the extensive territories of the United States now exempt from that great evil, and which are destined, if properly treated, to be speedily converted into a wilderness of free minds. I need not say how cordially I concur in the sentiment which regards this great object as one sacred in the sight of Heaven, the accomplishment of which is due to the memories of those great and just men, long since, we trust, made perfect in its courts, who laid the foundations of our government, and made, as they fondly hoped, adequate provision for its perpetuity and success, and indispensable to the future honor and paramount welfare of our entire confederacy.

It may happen, in the course of the deliberations of the Convention, that you become satisfied that the great end of your proceedings can, in your opin-

ion, be best promoted by an abandonment of the Utica nomination. You will not, in that event, want assurances of my uniform desire, never again to be a candidate for the Presidency, or for any other public office; but you may apprehend that it might not be agreeable to me to be superseded in the nomination, after what has taken place in regard to it. It is upon this point that I desire to protect you against the slightest embarrassment, by assuring you, as I very sincerely and very cheerfully do, that so far from experiencing any mortification from such a result it would be most satisfactory to my feelings and wishes.

Wishing the Convention success and honor in its patriotic efforts, and begging you to accept for yourselves assurances of my unfeigned respect, I am, very sincerely, your friend and servant.

M. VAN BUREN.

To the New York Delegation in the Buffalo Convention.

After the applause, with which the letter was received, was subsided. Mr. Field remarked:

Fellow Citizens, may I not be permitted to say, after reading this letter, in the language of England's greatest poet.

"Now is the winter of our discontent,"

Made glorious summer by this Son of New York,

And all the clouds that lowered upon our cause,

Are in the deep bosom of the ocean buried!

[Applause.]

Let me say another thing. We have unfurled our banner, laid our platform, and planted our standard; and in the beautiful language of our great poet we say.

"Forever float that standard sheet;

Where breathes the foe but falls before us,

With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,

And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us."

(Great Applause.)

The Convention then adjourned, and the vast multitude forming into a grand procession, with banners streaming, drums beating and torches glaring, marched through some of the principal streets of the city, making the air vocal with their rallying cry, "VAN BUREN AND FREE SOIL, ADAMS AND LIBERTY."

POSTSCRIPT TO THE REPORT.

We have just obtained the informal vote of the committee of conferees for the candidate for the Presidency.

It was stated that the vote of the committee would be entirely informal, and not at all binding upon the convention or the committee. With this assurance the members went into the poll, which resulted as follows. It will be remembered that every state was allowed three delegates in the committee for each congressional district, and the District of Columbia, one.

	Van Buren.	Hale.	Giddings.	Adams.	Ellsworth.
Me.	5	6			
N. H.	0	15			
Vt.	7	11			
Mass.	20	11	4		
Conn.	11	6			
R. I.	3	3			
N. Y.	72	29	2		
N. J.	12	6		2	
Pa.	34	32	7	3	
O.	37	31	5	5	
Ind.	14	14		2	3
Ill.	16	6	5		
Mich.	8	6		1	
Wis.	9	3	scattering one		
Iowa,		1			
Del.	1	2			
Md.	4				
Va.	1	1			
	244	183	23	13	3

Whole number of votes cast - - - 465

Van Buren's Majority - - - 22

As soon as the result of the poll was announced, JOSHUA LEAVITT of Mass. moved "that the vote be considered unanimous for Mr. Van Buren." This motion was seconded by Mr. Lewis of Ohio, and was adopted by acclamation.

We deem it our duty to state, that the foregoing information was furnished us by a member of the committee of conferees, and can, doubtless, be relied upon.—REPORTER.





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Jan - Feb 1989
We're worth bound

