

A Weekly Paper, Devoted to Literature, Politics, the Arts, Sciences, Agriculture, &c., &c --- Terms: One Dollar and Fifty Cents in Advance.

BY DAVID OVER.

BEDFORD, PA., FRIDAY, AUGUST 10, 1860.

SPEECH HON. JOHN HICKMAN. AT A REPUBLICAN MASS MEETING IN THE

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA. My subject, to-uight, fellow-citizens, is polit-

ical issues and Presidential candidates. The intelligent voter will so shape his actions will feel this to be more incumbent upon him at such a time as the present, when the tenden-garded as a marvel or a mistery; the responeies of parties are more distinctly marked than sibility of it rests with those Northern men in the effect upon the country of the election of the respective candidates for the Presidency.

ual men, it would possess but trifling importance, and 1 should not trouble you with either remark or suggestion. But as 1 regard the contest, the determination will soon be made not alone as to our value in the Confederacy, but as to the destiny of the nation itself.

The policy of our Government is, in many respects, undefined. The more serious quesand internal improvements, the regulation of the currency, and the distribution of the pro-ceeds of the public laads, are no longer agi-tated; and discussions upon them are only to be found in our past history, and in the fossil remains of extinct parties. It may in truth be said that old things have passed away and all things have become new. There was a time, not very far back in the past, when slavery was universally admitted to be a wrong *in se*, unwise in practice, detrimen-

regarded there as a necessity, it cannot be considered strange that the influence of the party should be so directed as to fortify doc-as our custom houses, post offices, navy yards, trines most congenial to the supposed welfare and mints shall be stocked with thousands seof those who direct the machinery. To many leeted virtually by those who are in branded it has seemed unaccountable that executive action and legislative and judicial proceedings we are instructed to believe, is compounding as to make it conduce to the success of princi should be shaped, from year to year, as to ple rather than the elevation of a man. He strengthen the few at the expense of the great in any previous campaign. It will be my ob-ject, this evening, to endeavor to exhibit, in a distinct light, the dividing line between the political parties of the day, and to ascertain, Congress, and there learn why it is that North- this mighty phalanx, scattered throughout the if possible, what, in all probability, would be ern capital and labor are constantly born down the effect upon the country of the election of by the enormous weight of Southern exaction. and powerful bond of nnion, are devising mea-When your reasonable requests are denied, I sures to dispoil our industrial classes, by con-If this were a strife merely between individ- tell you, with earnestness and emphasis, it is fining them in densely-crowded fields of labor, because eight millions of men control eighteen or forcing them to enter into competition and millians, through our representatives elected companionship with ignorant and brutalized by a party pledged to interests adverse to ours. bondmen. They all, yes all, have been brought Slavery educates its statesmen in a high school, to believe that the doctrines of the Declaration under able professors. It teaches that the of Independence are but sterotyped lies; that Northern men are cowardly, and that their am- founders of the nation had but a sorry concepbition is linked with avarice ; and, unfortunate- tiou of inalienable rights; that the Constitution ly for us, it has arguments to fortify its faith. which they framed was intended as an instrutions affecting us have but recently become In half a century it may not be credited that ment of cruelty and crime; and that the fairest topics of careful consideration. Our fathers less than a dozen men, trained under these cirtopies of careful consideration. Our fainers less than a dozen men, trained under these eir-were unable to forsee, during the formation of the Constitution, the greater embarrassment to which the future of the country was to be sub-jected, and consequently no provision was made against them. Subjects which distracted and divided them, in their deliberations, have lost cently been elevated. And yet not only this the public mind, and taint the public heart? Is much of their former consequence, and we seem has been done almost within our presence, but it not an Administration blackened with treachto be more anxious to ascertain what they the Representatives of free constituencies have ery, and crooked and tottering under the weight should have said further, than what they ac-tually did say. Even the controversies in labor into competion with that of white men, fice, and all the fascinations of position to utwhich we ourselves have been engaged within the last decade, have been settled or lost sight of, and we are now about to enter into that conflict which is to define many of the most now not only respectable members of the and fraitless beyond the limits of the present important powers of the Government, and to Douglas church, but missionaries among the States? If I am in error, what is the correct fix the character of the dominant institutions unbelieving and outside barbarians. I have interpretation of the political discords of the interpretation of the dominant institutions and outside barbarians. I have of the country. The propriety of eligibility to office, the cxact relations between Federal and local authority, the constitutionality of banks and internal improvements, the regulation of such as they denied to Kansas, and in denna-

past, when slavery was universally admitted to be a wrong in se, unwise in practice, detrimen-tal to both individuals and communites, and against the spirit and genius of our free sys-tem Now, however, it is declared to be di-vine, in its origin, the highest type of human eivilization, and indisgensible to the maintain-ance of a Democratic republic. Formerly it was regarded as a condition to be constantly re-duced and finally to be extinguished. Now, on the contrary, the demand is urged that in shall be extended, and made controlling. Here out violence, upon the natural man, whilst, on I find the cause or source of the great peliti- the contrary, the sentiments of freedom must cal issue of the present. Shall slavery become forever disturb the subjects of a despotism .-A national institution and a governing power The South, to be safe, must, therefore, extend, in the country, or shall it remain as the Con- through and beyond all the countervailing in-This is not an inquiry pro- fluences to which I have referred, and consepounded by us of the North, but forced upon quently our frontier possessions must be capus by our brethren of the South. They require tured. But as the inherent weakness of the an answer at our hands and we cannot avoid South is not equal to this task, oraft is resortresponse if we would. Silence upon our part, ed to supply the needed assistance. Upon whom can this be more advantageously brought ed otherwise than us affirmative of their claims. to bear than a President without courage, a I make the distinct avowal that slavery seeks judge without candor, or a legislator with the acquisition of all our new States; for two integrity ? We are sold or betrayed hourly, objects : first, to seenre the value of slaves, and if we had not more forbearance than disand, second, to direct the powers of the Fed- cretion we would terrify traitors. Millions of acres of fertile lands, every now and then, are "The irrepressible conflict," so frequently filehed from our industrial classes, who require commented on and denounced by the South, is them for the support and education of their families, to be turned into barren wastes by in case They are too astute as observers and sagavious those who have already blasted more than oneas politicians not to know there is a necessary half of our soil as with an avalanche of fire. and unending antagonism between liberty and Factories and workshops are tottering in runs, slavery. If they thought differently there would and families and neighborhoods left starving be more peace and harmony between the sec- and in rags, because fostered industry is not tions. It is there full appreciation of the strug- required in that region where the laboring man has no rights which the owner of men is bound flict, and induces them to wrestle for the victory. to respect. And ships rot at our wharves, and There is no more evident fact than this: the ad- storehouses become but a rendezvous for idlers vocates of slavery seek its extension so as to lim- and vagrants, for the reason that uncompensait the influence of the sentiment of freedom. We ted chattel sinews yield fruits more cheaply hate tyranny, and would prevent such a con- than compensated skill, and require no shield summation. They ask that all who shall be against the pauper products of Europe. If a held as property-be regarded, in the chaste change of tariff laws were required by the language of an eloquent Senator, as "mud-sills." We believe that God created all men of its accomplishment. In that case the Presiof an eloquent Senator, as "mud- South instead of the North, they not could fail free, and imposed labor upon them for their dent would advocate it with ardor, if not with Which hypothesis shall be proven sincerity, and our Senators would again illus-We shall see hereafter ! But know- trate the fact of their truckling subjection to ing that the principles of justice are uniform those who secretly abhor their baseness and and eternal, I presume to believe that those infidelity. Our earnest wishes are not only principles will prevail, and human rights be constantly degraded, but our prosperity is remaintained. 1 am not ignorant of the fact that morselessly paralyzed by our servants, without those who suppose they might rightfully make merchandise of mothers and their children not much averse, as we have often proven, to seem to think they can shape the designs of conferring new leases of offices upon such as Providence and rewrite the history of humanity, deceive us, to afford them further opportunities everything our fathers thought, and for the for mischief. Does this seem unaccountable ? maintenance of which they perilled life and I suggest no, in view of the truth I have just honor. I must be pardoned for disagreeing stated, that the party soliciting them has its with them, and protesting against such con- heart and brain in the South, and its obeying members merely in the North. The remedy The extension of negro slavery into the Teri- for this shameless evil is as casy as it is simtories of the United States has become a settled ple. We need but imitate the example set us policy of the Democratic party. This reality by those who have caused this condition of cannot be disguised, and ought not to be de-nied. It is accounted for. Unity of interest will accomplish all we ask. Nothing else and unity of desire will always produce a per-fect concentration of strength. The fortunes of the South have become completely identified with their peculiar domestic relations. By their Harmony they have been enabled to gov-ern the Domestic relations of the south and thoroughly disciplined and guarded eity, as for Northarn rights and Northern the Democratic party, and, thus far, to ern honor to be sustained by men in the pay govern the country through the agency of that and keeping of those who would weaken and

party. The vital force of that organization reduce us. In the ordinary business of life utter disregard of the circumstances by which he was surrounded and which should have restrained him. regarded there as a necessity, it cannot be can imagine no reason for engaging such as sen-Whatever conclusions may be drawn as to my

opposition to us, and whose principal business, politics with perfidy, it will be impossible to render our condition better than it is. These leprosy-yards must be cleaused. Their occupants load the air with a contagions corruption. Throughout their bodies and their souls they he had been as completely dedicated to the princi-ples of his bill, as some would make us believe, he would have urged investigation and carried it. So would have urged investigation and carried it. So far from having done so, he put himself in the lead of those Senators most, hostile to an exposition, and became the mere mouthpiece, advocate, and apologist of those engaged in the work of forcing slavery upon an unwilling people.

of the South, and his Democracy was ortho-dox, because he was loyal to his taskmasters, demands. He was then chairman of the Committee on Territories, and I call attention to his report as such, made March 12, 1856, as to encourage removal thither. He could dis- Ascertain what the action of the Illinois Westcover no irregularities in the return of Mr. ern, and North western Democracy was during Whirfield, the pro slavery delegate to the the protracted contest for en organization .-House of Representatives, but he clearly dis-terned that the Territorial Legislature was a legally elected body, with perfect authority to that the complaints of fraud and force were afford no assistance to any one not recognized

him. Whatever conclusions may be drawn as to my estimate of Mr. Breckinridge's character as a poli-lician. I can only say that my esteem for bin is profound when brought into comparison with that which I entertain for his Democratic competitor. There are few, if any, living men concerning whom more has been said, and less really known, than Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. There are thore are thous adds, by far too many thousands, now sustaining him under the mistaken and delusive idea that heis directing his efforts to counteract the plans of the Southern Democracy. This is a frightful halluci-nation, but a natural one, when we take into con-sideration the humiliating fact that all that devo-tion could do has been done, by those surrounding his person, to distort a true record, and to stamp a counterfeit character for him on the public mind. Viewing him as one of the most masfe and treach-drous of leaders, you will pardon me for certain statements which it now seems necessary should be made, and the correctness of which, I presume, will not be impugned. Thave not yet forgotten, when in the winter of 1855-56, during the first sea-sion of the Thirty-fourth Congress, the residents of Kansas, asseverating that the cardinal principle of the Kansas-Nebraska act had been wantonly and wickedly nullified, that pride asd violence, con-cocted in the blue lodges of Missouri, had invaded ther homes and imposed a foreign rule upon them for the purpose of forcing upon them institutions would respect the memory of Broderick we can never support Douglas, it would be a mark of baseness and servility. If ever there was a true son of the North, inhumanly broken in true son of the North, inhumanly broken in true son of the North, inhumanly server is the states stands behind impregna-ble defences, but it holds no charter to travel to the states stands behind impregna-ble defences, but it holds no charter to travel coeted in the blue lodges of Missouri, had invaded their homes and imposed a foreign rule upon them for the purpose of forcing upon them institutions which they abhore ed, and invoking the interposi-tion of Congress in their behalf, the prided father of "untrammelled popular sovereignty" turned his back upon his violated child, and closed his ears, as in death, to complaints of outrage alm ost without a paralhel in the civilization of the century. These despoiled pioneers, who had taken up their abode in the territory under the most solemn guarantees of self-government, only asked to prove their ac-cusation; and to be relieved from oppression. In other words, they declared they never had been able to enjoy self-government, that they were ruled by invaders, and demanded the sovereignty confer-red by law upon them Mr. Donglas should hare been the first man to fly to their relief, and if he had been as completely dedicated to the princivotary. Inscribe the name of Broderick in fiery characters upon your banners-he was your champion - and you at least can afford to do him justice. He rests in peace on the heights of the proud city of the Pacific, where no ingratitude can longer wound him, relieved from the warfare between heartless factions, He enjoyed at that time the full confidence and where his ashes will remain an eternal memento of his faith and his confidence in the ul-timate triumph of a down-trodden humanity. willing to do battle for their most extravagant These references have been made for a single purpose-to satisfy, if doubt exists, that in the great strnggle between the South and North, to his report as such, made March 12, 1856, as conclusive upon the point I have stated. In that paper he could find nothing to say against dences be demanded, then let an examination foreign conspiracies to invade the soil of Kan- be made of the Congressional Globe, containing sas and control elections, but he had much to the ballots for Speaker and Clerk during the offer in condemnation of Eastern associations last session of the House of Representatives.

stitution treats slavery as a local municipal in-stitution, does not give to it a single attribute of nationality; that it has not an equal status with freedom, and that its extension is to be discouraged. How shall we act between these opposing views? I answer the inquiry. Our laboring classes deserve all the encouragement and protection we can give them. Southern statesman regard them as white slaves; let us not surrender them to such mercies as the owrers of chattel labor would extend to them .-Our farmers and manufacturers have long been cut off from all the bounties of legislation the force of Southern prejudice; we should en list on their side. Our country has suffered much in the estimation of mankind from our manifested attachment to a system, notoriously in counteraction to the principles upon which our Government was founded; considerations of morality, expediency, and consistency should without restraint. It has long labored for, but has not yet reached, a position of absolutism. It grasps for empire, as it is the only means by which tyranny can ever save itself. Our dangor is imminent, but we can yet overcome it, if we allow reason, rather than prejudice, to shapo our efforts. Democracy, as now interpreted by those loudest in the profession of it, and simost monopolizing its name, no lenger means the will of the majority; it contemns the masses; holds no association with labor, and utters no word of encouragement to the poor. Its pro-fessions are impostures, and must soon fail to deceive. It has become worse than the ally of slavery; it is its pliant tool. Wisdom and propriety must alike repudiate it, unless speedily regenerated.

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Our true policy is that of resistance to the extravagant and unconstitutional demands of the South. We can only make it effectual in one way-by the support of Mr. Lingoln. He is honest and capable, and attached to the prineiples of the Constitution, and his election will assign limits to sectional olygareby, and make labor honorable and remunerative.

The question, in its true aspect, is not as to which candidate should be elected by the peo-ple; it is this—shall Mr. Lincoln be elected:— The one hundred and twenty electoral votes of the South will be divided mainly, if not exclusively, between Mr. Bell and Mr. Breckinridge, and their support will be almost, if not entire-ly, confined to that section. Such effective force as Mr. Douglas may possess is in the North; but his most sanguine friends admit not only that his election is impossible, but that he canlegally elected body, with perfect authority to enact the most and arbitrary slave codes, and that the complaints of fraud and force were coln. Mr. Douglas's supporters can do nothing that the complaints of fraud and force were gotten up merely to stimulate and excite North-ern emigration. At the time of which I speak, there was no one in Congress or out of Con-gress, in office or out of office, who excited binself more untiringly to perpetuate that there was no one in congress or out of con-gress, in office or out of office, who excited binself more untiringly to perpetuate that there was no one in congress or out of con-gress, in office or out of office, who excited binself more untiringly to perpetuate that there was no one in congress or out of con-gress, in office or out of office, who excited binself more untiringly to perpetuate that there was no one in congress or out of con-gress, in office or out of office, who excited binself more untiringly to perpetuate that there was no one in congress or out of con-gress, and his fate was to be decided, how would certainly be chosen by the Senate—the binself more untiringly to perpetuate that reign of terror inaugurated to insure the ad-mission of Kanasa into the Union as a slave State. I fear there are many now bearing up the banner inscribed with the name of this Senator, who never have fully understood, or ing subserviency to the South, need not be attempted by the most ambitious in that linenot even by a Federal office-holder. Even if I could believe that the leopard could change his spots, and Mr. Douglas do the North justice, I would not sustain him under the circumstances which surround us, and amid the perils which now environ us. I have not attempted a speech. My purpose has been to talk plainly. I may have be fortunate in succeeding too well in this respect. Feeling, as 1 do, and knowing the vast importance of the canvass upon which we are just entering, I could not be less distinct in my expressions. Immense, inappreciable consequen-ces depend upon the decision we are about to make. We should tremble when we fear that those most interested in the present and the

nuder the circumstances, could not be construeral Government.

constantly admitted and acted on by them. gle for the mastery which arms them for the conadvantage. clusions.

should not be made instruments in the hands of any ambitious man, or the hands of any combination of reckless and unscrupulous men, to force an unnatural growth of slavery in the country, and to blast the hopes of our own people, contrary to what has heretofore been the understanding of the Constitu-tion of the United States, and in palpable violation of what has been regarded as a settled nation-al policy. It should be a matter of stinging regret to us, if from our bearing in the present contest we could be fairly charged hereafter with a violation of the principles we have long professed to cherish, or with having imposed any, the slightest mpediment in the pathway of a national, wellgrounded, and progressive liberty.

The all-absorbing question now presented to th merican citizen, for what will prove to be bis altimate decision, I have what will prove to be big hi-timate decision, I have watched narrowly as it has risen into importance from year to year, and I think I know the opinions of the several Presi-dential candidates respecting it.

I am not aware that the supporters of Mr. Brecknridge attempt any concealment as to his designs n case of his success. If they should desire to in case of his success. If they should desire to resort to prevarication, they have placed it entirely without their power, by the frankness and bolkness. and I had almost said the recklessness of their declarations. He has been brought forth promi-mently, alke in speech and platform, as the Achilles of the armies of the South, and as the determined foe of free soil, free speech and free men. He stands upon no single Democratic sentiment, un-less, indeed, what were regarded by all statesmen within the last fifteen years as the pretentious here-sies of John C. Calhoun can be so regarded. He within the last fifteen years as the pretentious here-sies of John C. Calhonn can be so regarded. He so reads the teachings of the sages of the past, and their primary law, as to make it fruitless to attempt an exclusion of his peculiar and favorite institution from the organized Territories, and so as to make it indispensable that Congresses, Courts and Presi-dents should exercise all their ingennity, and all their powers, to fortify and sustain it there. Leg-islative action is to be invoked, judicial decrees and executive flats pronounced, navies equipped and armies marshalled, to exclude forever every settler therefrom who will not how down before the and armies marshalled, to exclude forever every settler therefrom who will not bow down before the black god of his idelatrous worship.

I appeal to you, freemen, to know whether this the Democracy of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe is the Democracy of Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson. I appeal to you to know whether you have ever found anything in the ainals of par-ties so insulting to the understanding, autil within such a ruler upon us. But we may congradiate ourselves that even official zeal can perceive no chance for Mr. Breckinridge's election. If there had ever been any, the recent stamp speech of Mr. Buchinan would have effectually disposed of it... amount of popularity would be able to stand against the encomiums of such an advocate. His unid-night appeal can only be accounted for by suppo-sing the "old public functionary" was unable to outterate his sufmostities toward withe young gen-ter in iquity, the "English Bill." It was then the honored and hereie Harris, who now sleeps in death, shed tears of anguish, and gave ut-terance to his determination to vote for the great-of iniquity, the "English Bill." It was then the honored and hereie Harris, who now sleeps in death, shed tears of anguish, and gave ut-terance to his despire. Over this again the well has been carefaily and closely drawn by the guardians of Mr. Douglas's fame. His ad-mirers have acted wisely, as it has prevented, doubtless, many upleasant surmises and sug-gestions. To that boldest, and truest, and the constitution favore slowery as fully as free-dout the struction gave acted of the surface of all the warriors in the battle for a moment believe, after the investigations which have been had, and the exposures which hare been made, such testimony as he volunteered could be otherwise than runous to any cause.have been made, such testimony as he volunteered could be otherwise than ruinous to any canse. The daring evinced by him on the occasion, was only equalled by his lack of self-respect, and his

address, he has ventured to recur to it; but, as a blank in his life.

veil has been carefully and closely drawn by the guardians of Mr. Douglas's fame. His ad-mirers have acted wisely, as it has prevented, doubtless, many unpleasant surmises and sug-gestions. To that boldest, and truest, and

who have forgotten, this tarnished page in his all. Col. Forney, who never hesitated to ad- las must tend to the elevation of Lane, who, bistory. If there has ever been a more deter- vance the fortunes of Mr. Douglas, when he possessing neither education, experience, nor mined foe to the growth of freedom in Kan-sas, or to the principles of the Nebraska-Kan-sas till than Stephen A. Douglas, he has been able to keep himself very much under cover. It is crutifying however, to make a single re-the peculiar institution. Others may choose It is gratifying, however, to make a single re- to forget all thie, and I will not criminate them mark in his favor; it is this, that he seems as for doing so, but I promise never to forget it. 1 willing as the most ardent of his friends to am for my friends and against those who oppose to divert attention from this period in his ca-reer. I am not aware that, in either essay or be extended to me-I cannot help it.

I have said all I desire to say of the repreon the contrary, he seems disposed to treat it sentatives of the two Democracies. There is a preference between them. The one is outspoken Whilst these proceedings were progressing and evident; the other is concealed and tricky. in the Senate, the other branch of Gongress Of the two I much prefer Mr. Breekinridge, carried resolutions of investigation under a and yet I cannot imagine the circumstances unclose division of parties, and sent a select der which I could be induced to support him. committee to the Territory. The consequence He asserts the Supreme Court has decided that was such an exposure as satisfied the country slavery is an existing constitutional institution not only of the truth of everything charged, in all our Territories, and that it is the duty of but of existing conspiracies beyond anything the Government to sustain it where it thus lethat had been imagined. The published evi-dence effectually revealed the intentions of the have not yet so decided, but if they shall do South, and made a deep impression upon the so, it will then become the daty of all good future, the frugal artisan and laborer, may fail North. It was then established that neither citizens to respect the decision, and of every to comprehend them. But let us hope, citi-law nor proprieties were to be allowed to stand branch of the Federal Government to enforce zens, that we are so far right as to be able to in the way of slavery extension, and we are it with promptness and fidelity. This is his almost driven to the conclusion that the repeal platform. If our Federal Court has not alre. Leg- of the Missouri Restriction was but a part of ready given a decision in accordance with the the Republic, autil it shall become a proper exthe general and well-matured plan of opera- uotions of Mr. Breckinridge, no one doubts it ample to the nations of the earth, and a blesthe general and well-matured plan of operations of as soon as the question shall be sing to universal man! tions, at the head of which stood the self-brought distinctly before it. So, at best, the Mr. Hickman was listened to with the deepment. Mr. Douglas's term of office was now only point of disagreement between these rival est attention, only interrupted by tremendous approaching its close. It is not unlikely that candidates, is that of time only. If, in the and long contined outburst of cheering whenthe conviction forced upon his State by the vention placing Mr. Douglas in nomination, and other striking points. examination alluded to, induced him to look justly partly quoted, it becomes the duty of all the lifetime of the youth who has not yet reached his majority. I appeal to you to know whether the honesty, intelligence, and numixed blood of the offspring of Northern mothers can ever accept an excluse for those who would endeavor to fasten such a ruler upon us. But we may congratuiste ourselves that even official real can perceive a

state a sudden and mirsculous change came that other theory of Mr. Boughs, that, no mat-over him, and for awhile be seemed to glory in the name of "robel." He opposed the admis-sion of Kansas under the Lecompton Consti-tution with secoming seriosness, and then an-nounced his determination to vote for the great-nounced his determination to vote for the great-

ever he spoke in eulogy of Lincoln or made any

At the conclusion of the address, Geo. A Coffey, Esq., offered the following resolutions, which were adopted with much enthusiasm:

Resolved That the unanimous and hearty thanks of this meeting are owing, and are hereby presented to the Hon. John Hickman, for his lucid, powerful and unanswerable exposition and defence of the principles and positions of the two millions of voters who are bearing Abraham Lincoln and Haunibal Hamlin to the highest offices of the Union.

Respleed, That we cordially welcome John Hickman into the ranks of those yast Republican hosts which are gathering and advancing to vindicate the Liberty, Justice and Welfare