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## Political.

cording to these terms.

## FULL REPORT OF JUDGE DOUGLAS' SPEECH AT READING.

Enthusiasm of the Sterling Democracy of "Old Berks" at his coming among them.

Judge Douglas reached Reading early on Saturday morning, the 8th inst., by the Lebanon Valley Railroad, in charge of the following committee of the Democracy of that city: E. L. Smith, C. P. Muhlenberg, J. M. Sallade, Joseph Henry, J. D. Davis, A. Jordon Swartz, Col. S. L. Young, John Green, P. Lantz. He was also accompanied by a number of the Democratic State Central Committee and other prominent Democrats of the State, among whom we noticed the two old veterans, Gen. John Davis, of Bucks, and Hon. J. S. Schindle, of Lehigh.

On his way over from Harrisburg, he was met at Hummelstown, Palmyra, Lebanon, Myerstown, and Womelsdorf, stations on the Lebanon road, by large delegations, who came on to Reading. The citizens of Lebanon turned out very strong, with a band of music, and carried a banner, with the motto, "Douglas, the choice of the People." A national salute announced his arrival at Reading, and he was met at the depot by the Demorracy of Reading and the visiting delegations from the neighboring towns. A pro-cession was formed, Joseph Henry, Esq., acting as chief marshal, assisted by G. Smith, E. Pearson, and I. Brenholtz, and he was escorted through the principal streets of the city to De Bourbon's Mansion House. Every available spot of the wide space which surrounds this hotel was crowded with people, and, as Douglas alighted from the carrirge, the cheers which rose in the air were perfectly deafening. As he passed into the hotel the ladies, who thronged the balcony overhead, showered him with boquets. Shortly after his arrival, a committee of the Central Club of Philadelphia, headed by Wm. V. McGrath, Esq., had an interview with him in order to fix a day for his visit to Philadelphia. As his appointments, already published, extended far into October, he was unable to give them any assurance that he could visit this city before the election. When they expressed the regret which their people would feel at this disappointment, he told them that they had the consolation of knowing that here his presence was not at all necessary, for in Pennsylvania all his friends were heroes, and all the people were his friends. During the morning thousands Lewis Cass, and others, had been presented called upon Douglas to pay him their respects. The hour for the meeting was 1 o'clock, in order to give the farmers and others who had come from a distance an opportunity to hear him and return home before night. A stand was erected on Penn street, near the Mansion House, and an immense throng assembled around it an hour or two before the time announced for the meeting. At precisely 1 o'clock, James Nicholson, E.q., the President of the Democratic Club of Reading, appeared on the stand, accompanied by Judge Douglas and Hon. Wm. M. Heister, Secretary of State, who had been selected to extend the formal welcome of the glorious Democracy of Old Berks to the "Little

The appearance of Judge Douglas was greeted with loud and hearty cheers. President Nicholson introduced Mr. Heister to the people.

Giant.

Mr. Heister said : Senator Douglas, it becomes my pleasing duty, as the organ of this vast assemblage of your friends, to bid you welcome, a hearty welcome, to the city of Reading and the county of Berks.

I greet you, sir, the nominee of the Democratic party for President of the United States, and I thank you for the honor you have done us in coming here to-day, to enable the people of Berks county to hear, from your own lips, an exposition of the great principle of popular sovereignty, of which you are the ablest advocate and the bravest defender. We believe with you, that in the administration of this Government the inherent right of the people of a Territory, as well as of a State, to manage their domestic institutions in their own way, should be preserved and protected. That policy alone can keep out of the halls of Congress the exciting and dangerous subject of slavery, give quiet to the country, stability and perma-

nence to the Union. Sir, the people of Berks coanty have carefully watched your career in Congress, and admired your commanding talents and heroic courage, always devoted to the support of principles and measures near and dear to the loyal Democracy.

Permit me to say, that no act of your pub lic life gave more lively satisfaction to the people of this county, or is held in more grateful remembrance than your brilliant and conclusive speech in vindication of the name and fame of Andrew Jackson, in which you became the hepiece of that highest court of errors public opinion—in reverting the unjust judgment under, which he had lain for thirty years.

A word more, and I have done. There are individuals elsewhere whose nice sense of delicacy is offended that you, the candidate for the high and dignified office of President, should personally engage in the canvass. Fam happy to say that no such sickly sentimentality exists here. If your course is unusual and unprecedented, let it be remembered that the circumstances which surround you are extraordinary and without a precedent.

Pardon me, sir, in saying that if you had not grappled successfully with this peculiar necessity of this campaign, as you have with every other emergency in your eventful life, you would not be Stephen A. Douglas. [Nina cheers were here given for Douglas:]

SPEECH OF JUDGE DOUGLAS.

Judge Douglas said:

Berks, and you, sir, (addressing Mr. Heis- ment. Look over the map of the United should be carried out; and because the Dem-

WILLIAM LEWIS,

---PERSEVERE.---

Editor and Proprietor.

VOL. XVI.

## HUNTINGDON, PA., SEPTEMBER 19, 1860.

NO. 13.

speech in vindication of the old hero, Gen. Jackson, for having saved the city of New Orleans from the hands of the British .-

was the public acknowledgment of General Jackson himself, at his own house, at the

[Great applause.] My object in appearing before the Democracy of old Berks to-day is for the purpose Douglas.] So long as we have principles to

the regular organization by which those principles are to be maintained. Eight years ago I visited the city of Reading for the first time, to make a speech in defence of the platform, the usages, the organization, and the nominee of the Democratic party of the United States. Although I have never been here since, I recognize this street, and the end of the market house, as the place where the meeting was held, over which James Buchanan presided, whilst I made a speech in defence of Democratic principles. [Cheers.] I propose to enter into a vindication of the same principles to-day which I advocated then, and which you applauded with so much enthusiasm. At that time General Pierce was the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. My own humble name, among those of James Buchanan, to the National Convention in opposition to that of General Pierce, but the instant that the telegraph announced to me at Washington, that Mr. Pierce had received the vote of the majority of the Democratic party in Convention, I immediately telegraphed to Baltimore, declaring that in my opinion he was entitled to the nomination, and I trusted my friends would conform to the wishes of the majority of the Democratic party. Applause. That despatch from me was read to the Convention before the official result had been recorded and promulgated. Again, at Cincinnati, in 1856, the names of General Pierce, James Buchanan, and myself, were presented to the Convention, and at the very instant of time that Mr. Buchanan received the vote of a majority of the delegates, I sent a despatch by telegraph withdrawing my name, and declaring that, a majority of the party having voted for James Buchanan, he was entitled to the nomination. (Cheers.) I desire to say to you, my friends, that my ambition never yet led me so far as to induce me to desire a nomination in opposition to the wishes of a majority of my party. (Three

cheers for Douglas.) When the Democratic party assembled in Convention at Charleston during the present year, they proceeded first to lay down a platform of principles. The platform they agreed upon was identical with the one adopted at Cincinnati in 1856, which was affirmed when James Buchanan was elected President and John C. Breckinridge Vice President of the United States. After thus making the platform, the party proceeded to vote for a candidate for the Presidency, and I received a majority of all the votes cast in the Convention, and a majority of the whole number of votes of a full Convention on a large number of successive ballots. (Applause.) I confess that I expected that the other candidates would then feel bound in in honor to treat me as I had treated them on former occasions. (Great applause.) Inasmuch as I had given James Buchanan the nomination in 1856, by withdrawing in his favor, under the same circumstances I had a right to believe that he would be as generous towards me as I had been towards him, (cheers;) and, inasmuch as my conduct at Cincinnati made John C. Breckinridge Vice President, I had a right to expect that he, as a gentleman, would feel bound to observe that line of conduct towards me that I had voluntarily adopted towards him. (Applause.) If that course had been pursued, there would have been no division in the Democratic party.— (There never should have been, either.)— Whilst there was a large number of candidates before the Charleston Convention, it so happened that I received more votes than all of them put together on every ballot, and almost two-thirds of the whole number. When the Convention adjourned to Baltimore, and it was ascertained that the majority of the party could not be made to succumb to the minority, the defeated candidates formed a combination to break up the party rather than permit the majority, under the twothirds rule, to govern as in former cases .--[A voice-"Bigler was at the head of the

conspiracy. I believe the Democratic organization is essential to preserve the peace, the propriety, and the unity of this Republic. [Applause.] It is the only historical party now in existence in America, and it has achieved all the should be abandoned. They claimed that Mr. Chairman and fellow-citizens of Old progress during the existence of our Govern-

have been pleased to speak of my public ca- since the Revolution that has not been acquired by the old Jackson creed, they bolted, and [Cries of "Yes," three cheers for Douglas and reer. You have particularly referred to the by the Democratic party under a Democratic tried to break up the party. [Cries of "Jackfirst speech I ever made in Congress—a Administration. [Cheers.] Whenever disson, Jackson."] union and secession have raised their heads Now, I ask you, my friends, to bear in trine of non-intervention. Again, in 1856, in open rebellion against the Federal Govern- mind what took place in this city of Reading | the party assembled in convention, at Cincinment, it has been a Democratic President, in March last, when you appointed your del- nati, reasserted the doctrine of non-interfer-Cheers. There is no act of my public life sustained by the Democratic party that has egates to the Charleston Convention. I read ence by Congress with slavery in the Territhe memory of which I recall with more crushed the monster. [Cheers.] Never was the Reading platform at that time, and came tories, and Buchanan and Breckinridge were pride and more satisfaction than my defence there a time when the services of our party, to the conclusion that the Democracy of Penn-elected President and Vice-President on that of Andrew Jackson against his enemies and united and compact, have been required more sylvania were sound now, as they had been platform. I stand to-day by that identical the enemies of our country, and I will confess to you, sir, that the most consoling and the most gratifying incident in my whole career wide it. What is the excuse given by the district and the sylvatia were sound now, as they had been platform. I stand to-day by that identical imperiously than at this moment, and now in former days. [Cheers.] In order that I principle. The Convention which nominated might not be mistaken I have read again, me reaffirmed the same platform on which since my arrival in this city to-day, the Readorganizers who are fighting the party to which | ing platform, upon which General Foster was | 1856 and yet you are now told that I am not they formerly belonged, with the prospect in nominated for Governor, and the Pennsylva-sound, because I stand where they then stood. Hermitage, that my speech constituted his view of electing a Republican by a minority nia delegation was sent to Charleston and defence of his conduct at New Orleans .- vote? They assert that the platform adopted | Baltimore and I find that your State Conven-[Three cheers.] I wish to God that we had at Charleston, and reaffirmed at Baltimore, is defined affirmed the Cincinnati platform withaut and the Constitution." Mr. Breckinridge out dotting an i or crossing a t. [Three now regards the Cincinnati platform, and the cheers,] in order that we might grapple with your attention to that proposition for an in- cheers.] I am informed that those resolu- dogma of popular sovereignty incorporated in Northern Abolitionism and Southern Seces- stant. What is the platform which is thus tions, endorsing and reasserting the Cincin- it as so great an evil, that it is better to break denounced? It is no more and no less than nati platform, were adopted by the unani- up the party, destroy its organization, and sion and trample them into a common grave. chanan was made President and Mr. Breck- ty in the State. You will observe, therefore, inridge Vice President of the United States. | that the Charleston Convention simply reafof comparing notes with you in reference to the true policy which it is the duty of the Democratic party to pursue. The name of Berks county is historical in connection with the Democratic party. In Pennsylvania it requires the same platform which the Democratic party. In Pennsylvania it requires the same platform which the Democratic party. In Pennsylvania it requires the same platform which the Democratic party to pursue. The name of sound by the Democracy four years ago? [A voice, "It's as good that the contraction Convention simply reaffirmed the same platform which the Democratic party to pursue. The name of voice "Yes." Another voice, "It's as good ding this, leading political relations to the Office President of the Office States.

[A voice, "They were right then, but are firmed the same platform which the Democratic party to pursue. The name of voice "Yes." Another voice, "It's as good ding this, leading political in this State, now as it was then."] Mr. Buchanan him
who represented to the Office President of the Office States.

[A voice, "They were right then, but are firmed the same platform which the Democratic party to pursue. The name of voice "Yes." Another voice, "It's as good ding this, leading political relations to the Office President of the Office States.

[A voice, "They were right then, but are firmed the same platform which the Democratic party to pursue. The name of voice "Yes." Another voice, "It's as good ding this, leading political relations to the Office President of the Office Presiden occupies the same political relation as the self declared that it was so sound that there- denounced, and are still denouncing, the very Tenth Legion does in Virginia. I have just after he was the platform, and had no iden- platform which they were selected to repre-Tenth Legion does in Virginia. I have just returned from a tour through the Tenth Legion, and there I found the Democracy firm right."] But it may be asserted that there are their organization and their prin- was a difference of opinion in respect to the their dream. [Laughter and applause.] gion, and there I found the Democracy firm and true to their organization and their principles. [Applause.] I trust that I will find the Democracy of Berks equally firm in their latter of accounts to the Democracy of Berks equally firm in their latter of accounts and construct it has be asserted that there are change must have come o'er the spirit of their dream. [Laughter and applause.]

I stand to-day before the Democracy of Berks equally firm in their latter of accounts and acco adherence to the regular organization of the Democratic party. [A voice, "You will."] letter of acceptance, and construe it now as principles set forth by the Reading Convention, so far as the question of slavery is con-Great enthusiasm, and three cheers for nati platform without the dotting of an i or cerned, which are the time-honored princithe crossing of a t, together with the construct ples of the Democratic party as proclaimed defend, it is essential that we should preserve | tion put upon it by Mr. Buchanan in his let- | in all its National Conventions. [Cheers.] ter of acceptance. [Cheers.] In that letter then, and it is sound doctrine now. [Ap- more, [cheers,] and he is thus pledged by his plause.] It is the doctrine on which our nomination to the identical principle to which averred their loyalty to the Throne, their devotion to the British Constitution their affection for the people, and their desire to remain forever a part of the British Empire. But was distinctly set forth by the first Continental Congress that ever assembled, at Philadelphia, in 1774. The British Government would not acknowledge the right of their col-onies in America to control their own institu-was not nominated according to the usages of remaining one-third of the votes, all the mitions, slavery included, and for that reason the Democratic party. [Voices, "You were."] nority man has to do is to bolt, run against, the colonies declared their independence as a I suppose Mr. Breckinridge thinks otherwise, the regular organization, and demand a commeans of achieving it. [Cheers.] Hence, or he would not have said so. But he only promise and a fusion. When you come to

> the Baltimore Convention? [A voice, "None Breckinridge will excuse himself for not rewhatever."] stump speech at Lexington, Kentucky, in not belong to the Democratic party, [shouts which he is represented as stating that the of laughter and applause, and was not bound Convention insisted upon a dogma in its plat-form, and demanded the representative of 1847, Major Breckinride went into a meeting am making this appeal to you to-day, not as that dogma as the candidate. Since Mr. at Lexington, Kentucky, and there denounced Breckinridge regards a political dogma incor- the Democratic party as a corrupt faction, ocrat who never faltered, and never wavered. porated in the Charleston and Baltimore plat- and declared in favor of General Taylor for and never cheated his party. (Three treform as a sufficient excuse for destroying the the Presidency; and no doubt his apology mendous cheers.) I am told that it is very party, let us inquire what that dogma is. - for not being bound by the regularity of the imprudent for me thus to speak without pre-The only dogma which the Democratic Na- nomination of Cass is, that he did not belong tional Convention demanded was the Cincin- to the party at the time he was nominated. nati platform. We did not desire any express and further, that he went hunting on election recognition or approval of any peculiar theo day and did not vote. [Uproarious laughter.] ry that I or any other member of the party But, my friends, while Major Breckinridge. might favor; we only asked that the time- in his Kentucky stump speech, confesses that honored principles, the ancient platform of he was in favor of Taylor in 1847, and went the party, should be affirmed and maintained hunting in 1848 so that he could not vote for by the Democratic organization. On the Cass, asserts that he made speeches for Cass alike. I have just returned from Virginia, other hand, Mr. Breckinridge and his friends | because the old veteran then represented his | North Carolina, and Maryland, and there I took the ground that the old creed of the De- (Breckinridge's) principles. Now, all you mocracy, the Cincinnati platform, on which have to do, in order to discover what Mr. he was elected, contained a dogma hostile to Breekinridge's principles then were, is to inreason and the Constitution. Why did he quire what General Cass was in favor of. [A great Democratic principles of non-intervennot tell us in 1856, when he pledged his hon- voice—"The Nicholson letter."] Yes, my or to sustain that same dogma, that it was friend, you have hit it exactly. [Laughter, hostile to reason and the Constitution? [Tre- and three cheers.] You have saved me the mendous applause.] Old Berks county then trouble of telling it. Gen. Cass had just gave Buchanan and Breckinridge, for Pres- written the Nicholson letter, in which he asident, between six and seven thousand major- serted that Congress had no power to interity on this very dogma which Mr. Breckin- fere with the slavery question in the Territoridge now scorns and repudiates. [Voices-"That's true," and cheers.] He now informs you that the man who holds to the principle you no better than Abolitionists when you

as it was then? | Voices-" Yes, indeed;

more so."] And yet the only reason the Breckinridge men give for breaking up the

platform. [Laughter and cheers.] They de-

slavery in the Territories, when necessary,

the nomination of the Cincinnati Convention,

the Tories of the revolution. The Dem-

ocratic party of to-day stands where Mr. Bu-

chanan, Mr. Breckinridge, and the party

stood four years ago, saying that Congress

domestic concerns of the people of the Terri-

the Cincinnati platform, on which Mr. Bu- mous vote of every delegate from every coun-

How, I ask, can a Breckinridge man vote he said that "the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves and object to me on the Charleston platform? whether slavery shall or shall not exist with-in their limits." [A voice—"Sound doctrine."] was nominated at Reading on the identical Yes, my dear friends, it was sound doctrine principle that I was nominated upon at Balfathers fought the battles of the Revolution. I am irrevocably committed. How can a man What was the point of quarrel between our vote for the one without supporting the other, ancestors and the Tories of Great Britain? - if he professes to be governed by principle? Remember, they did not desire independence [Three cheers.] I trust that every Democrat at the beginning of that struggle; they only desired the right of local self-government at and heartily around the banner of Foster and home, in the Colonies. In every petition to | non-intervention, [three tremendous cheers,] the King, in every address to the Crown and and when you shall have done that, how can the people of Great Britain, our fathers you refuse to sustain me, on the same platthey claimed that the people of the British stitution. If what he tells you is the truth, the thirds of all the votes cast and is nominated. Colonies in America had the sole and exclu- Reading Convention adopted the same dogma, and then the other bolts and proposes a comsive right to manage and control their own equally hostile to reason and the Constitu- promise by way of fusion. [Laughter and domestic affairs to suit themselves through tion. [Cheers.] I am very free to say to their Legislature, without the interference of you that, in my opinion, the national platform | sional Convention in old Berks county to nomthe British Parliament. [Cheers.] This right and the Pennsylvania State platform are both | inate a candidate for Congress, and of the asin harmony with reason and the Constitution. | pirants the regular Democrat, who never bol-[Immense applause.]

when Mr. Buchanan, in his letter accepting shows his ignorance of Democratic usages when he makes the declaration. The record same thing will occur. There will be a mashows that, in 1848, General Cass received at jority in favor of certain men, and a minorideclared that "the people of a Territory, like those of a State, shall decide for themselves Baltimore one hundred and seventy votes, ty in favor of other men, and the minority whether slavery shall or shall not exist within two-thirds of those present, but not two-in their limits," he was only asserting what thirds a full Convention, and thereupon our fathers asserted and maintained against the president of the Convention proceeded to sion by way of compromise. I ask you what declare him the regular nominee of the Democratic party. The record proves that, in the of Democratic unity and strength, which at-Baltimore Convention of this year, I received | taches to fidelity to principle, you will have one hundred and eighty-one and a half votes, if you sanction this principle of bolting and has no right to interfere with the local and more than two-thirds of all those present, but secession? Why it seems that in order to be less than twothirds of a full Convention .- | a true Breckinridge man you must vote had Mr. Breckinridge and his friends for Cass was nominated, according to the known their attempt to break up the Charleston and usages of the party. But I suppose Mr. garding the nomination of Cass as regular Mr. Breckinridge, three days ago, made a upon the ground that, at that time, he did

Mr. Breckinridge says that he made a Cass advocated his principles. Thus it apnot the Democratic platform as sound to-day the Nicholsen letter. [Cries of "good," and over the meeting. [Voices, "That's so."] ter,) will accept my sincere thanks for the kind and complimentary terms in which you State or a Territory annexed to this Union rejected their new article of faith, and stood

great enthusiasm.] Pennsylvania sustained Mr. Pierce by her electoral vote on the docon the platform which Mr. Breckinridge declares, after his election is "contrary to reason elect Lincoln by a minority vote, rather than allow the regular nominee of the party to be elected on it.

No man doubts but what I would easily have beaten Lincoln if Breckinridge and his friends had not bolted at Baltimore. They all acknowledge that I would have been elected if they had not bolted, and therefore they thought it their duty to prevent my election in that way, securing the election of Lincoln. could be elected himself. All they hoped for was through Executive patronage and Federal power to take off enough Democrats from the regular organization to enable Lincoln to be elected, and this they now prefer rather than see the nominee successful on its timehonored principles.

And now, you Pennsylvanians, you true and loyal Democrats of old Berks, you men who never bolted in your whole lives, are called upon to sustain the bolter! [Cries of "They'll see how we do it," and laughter.] I have only to say to you that I never bolted a regular Democratic ticket in my life. [Three. cheers for Douglas, followed by three more of the same sort. I never failed to vote the regular Democratic ticket, and I never went hunting on the day of a Presidential election. [Uproarious laughter and cheers.]

Hence, if bolting against the regular organization constitutes a claim to Democratic support, I am entitled to no credit on that score. [Applause.] But let me ask you, fellow-Democrats, what is to be the consequence if you applause.] Or suppose you call a Congrested in his life, gets two-thirds of all the votes But I find that Mr. Breckinridge has de- cast, and the equivocal Democrat, who goes nominate candidates for the Legislature the will bolt and refuse to support the ticket, unless you combine with them and form a fukind of Democratic organization, what kind else you must go hunting on election day .-

(Great laughter.)
Now, my friends, I desire you calmly to reflect on these considerations. I believe that the old Democratic party, according to its old organization and its old platform of principles, is essential to the peace, the security, a candidate for the Presidency, but as a Demparation, under the impulse of excitement, to large crowds; that I might say something which could be perverted to my injury, just as if a man, by uttering honest sentiments, prompted by honest impulses, would drive votes from among his supporters. (Applause) I hold no opinion which I am not prepared have explained to the people the same views I have submitted to you to-day. I wish to see the Democratic party preserved, and the tion by Congress with slavery in the Territories maintained inviolate. I believe that our prosperity depends upon maintaining that principle. (Applause.)

You now find this country divided into two sectional parties-one appealing to the passions and prejudices of the North to prohibit slavery wherever the people desire to have it, and the other demanding that the Federal speech for Cass, although he had up to that Government shall pass laws to maintain and which he, and you, and I, pledged our joint time been for Taylor, when he found that protect slavery wherever the people do not want it. The Northern Republicans or Abohonor to maintain, four years ago, is no better than an Abolitionist! [Laughter.] Were pears that in 1848 Mr. Breckinridge was for litionists do not propose that Congress shall Cass and the Nicholsen letter. [Laughter prohibit slavery anywhere except where the voted for Buchanan and Breckinridge? Is and cheers.] And I, too, was for Cass and people want it, for they say truly that wherever the people do not want it they will proapplause.] So we were together in 1848.— hibit it themselves, and hence it is not neces-[Laughter.] Again, in 1852, Mr. Pierce was sary for Congress to do so. On the other nominated at Baltimore, on the platform of hand, the Breckinridge Secessionists tell you party is that the party would not change its | non-intervention by Congress with slavery in | they are in favor of Congressional interventhe Territories. As I before remarked, I tion only when it is necessary. When it is manded that the principle of non-intervention | came to Reading that year, and made a speech | necessary for Congress to intervene according for Pierce and non-intervention from yonder | to their theory? Certainly not when the peocivil reforms, and all the great measures of the doctrine of Congressional protection for market house, James Buchanan presiding ple are in favor of slavery, for the reason that in every such case the people themselves will And I appeal to every old citizen here pres- pass laws to protect it, the same as they have

(Laughter.) This Breckinridge party, therefore, is pledged to use the power of the Federal Government to force the existence of slavery wherever the people are opposed to it!

I tell you, my friends, that Congress shall never prohibit slavery where the people want it if I can prevent it, (cheers,) and on the other hand, that Congress shall never force slavery on a people who do not want it if I can prevent it. (Cheers.) I am equally hostile to the Northern Abolition doctrine and the Southern Secession doctrine. (Applause)
I am in favor of the good old Democratic

slavery wherever the people do not want it

principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories. If the people want slavery they have a right to it; if they do not want it no power on earth shall be permitted to force it on them. (Cries of "That's right," and cheers.) If you acknowledge the propriety either of the Abolition doc-trine, or of this Secession doctrine, you are then bound to have the whole time of Congress occupied with the discussion of the slavery question. Who can deny that for the last four or five years Congress has utterly failed to perform

the duties for which it was created. Any of you who feel an interest in any great measure of legislation may inquire of your Senators and your Representatives, when they return home, what become of your bill, and they will tell you that it was lost for the want of time; and when you ask them why it was that Congress had not time to attend to that measure, they are bound to tell you that the slavery question occupied the whole session: and so there was no time left for other business. Take the question of revenue as an illustration. For the last four or five years the expenditures of this Government have averaged about \$20 000 000 a year over and above the income. Whenever a proposition has been brought into Congress to increase the tariff up to the grade of expenditure, or to reduce the expenditure down to the rate of the revenue, you find the slavery question becomes the point of discussion, and the bill is lost at the end of the session for want of time. The consequence has been that just as the session is about expiring Congress has been compelled to pass a law borrowing twenty million of dollars more money; or issuing twenty millions more of treasury notes to make up the deficiency in the Treasury. Now, let me ask the people of Pennsylvania if they expect to ever get the question of the tariff revised and reconsidered, unless they first drive this slavery question out of Congress. Every interest you have connected with the revenue and with the tariff is sacrificed by this eternal agitation of the negro question. I undertake to say that no statesman can defend for a single moment, the policy of

spending twenty millions of dollars a year over and above the income. You must do one of two things. You must either increase the revenue or diminish the expenditures. The Democratic creed on this supject I understand to be this: that we must main tain a tariff which will raise revenue enough to defray the expenditures of the Government. economically administered, and in that manner we must furnish all the protection to American industry that a revenue tariff will afford. (Loud and long-continued applause.) Now, we do not raise revenue enough to pay our expenses and keep down the public debt We must stop the increase of that debt, we must pay the interest on it, we must extinguish the principle, and we must keep the expenses of the Government within our revenue. (Cries of "That's right!" and applause.) But we will never have an opportunity to do this as long as this slavery question occupies the whole time of Congress .-You may take another question for the purpose of illustration. There is the Pacific Railroad measure. Ever since we acquired California the whole people of America have had their eyes turned to the constuction of a Pacific railroad. Nearly every Legislature in the Union has instructed in favor of the measure, and whenever Congress assembles. four-fifths of the members declare themselves in favor of the road. At the last Presidential election, we had three candidates in the field, each pledged to the Pacific Railroad. not only by their individual pledges, but by the resolutions and platforms of their parties. You remember Mr. Buchanan's letter to Californiain behalf of it. You remember Mr. Fremont's letter in its favor, and also that of Mr. Fillmore, advocating the same measure. It was then supposed that, no matter who might be elected President, the Pacific Railroad would certainly be built. Many an iron man took it for granted, in Pennsylvania, that in carrying on his business he might calculate on that great work, and many a farmer in the Northwest made his arrangements in reference to it. Four years have elapsed, and domestic concerns of the people of the Terriless than twothings of a fun. Convention.

tories. I renew the question: What excuse Hence I was nominated precisely as General against regular nominations every time or introduced into Congress each session, but where is your Pacific Railroad? It has been the moment it came up some man made a speech in favor of protecting slavery in the Territories, (laughter,) and another man got up and made a speech in favor of protecting slavery in the Territories; and thus, between the Northern Abolitionists and the Southern Secessionists, the whole session of Congress was exhausted, and the railroad was lost for want of time. (Laughter and applause.) When your Representative returns home, and you ask him why the Pacific Railroad bill was not passed, he will tell you, "I was for it, and the majority of my party was for it.-It was only lost for want of time, and we will surely pass it next session." The next session the same thing occurs again, and so it goes on year after year, the negro occupying the whole attention of Congress and the white man having no show whatever. I think it is time that we should banish the negro from the halls of Congress, refer the slavery question to the people, to decide as they please, and then give our attention to the material interests of the white man, for which this Government was made. I hold this Government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men, to be administered by white men forever; and wherever we have the misfortune to have negroes among us, each State and each Territory must provide for its own negroes. The people of other States have consciences as well as you in Pennsylvania and we in Illinois. Let them provide for their negroes according to their own consciences and be responsible to God and posterity. You manage your own affairs to suit yourselves, take care of your own negroes, mind your own business, and let your neighbers alone. (Applause.) If every State and every Territory will act on that principle there will be peace and harmony between the North and the South, the East and the West, and every portion of this Confederacy. There are principles, in my opinion, to which the Democratic party is pledged.

I have no hope of maintaining the the peace of this country except by a firm adherence to these great Democratic principles .-How, then, shall we maintain those principles? Only by adhering firmly to regular nominations, and putting down all seceders and bolters. (Great enthusiasm.) Whenever you make terms and compromises with bolters, you hold out a bounty for every faith-

(Concluded on fourth page.)