

The Centre



Democrat.

A Family Newspaper—Devoted to Politics, Temperance, Literature, Science, The Arts, Mechanics, Agriculture, The Markets, Education, Amusement, General Intelligence, &c.

J. S. & J. J. BRISBIN,

WE STAND UPON THE IMMUTABLE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE—NO EARTHLY POWER SHALL DRIVE US FROM OUR POSITION.

EDITORS & PROPRIETORS.

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BUSINESS CARDS.

M. WALLACE & BEAVER ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PA. Office on Allegheny Street. Feb. 10/59

E. M. BLANCHARD—ATTORNEY AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PENNA. Office formerly occupied by the Hon. James Burnside. Jan. 19, '60.—1f.

W. W. BROWN—ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PENNA. Will attend to all legal business entrusted to him, with promptness. May, '59.—1f.

JAS. H. RANKIN, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PA. Will attend promptly to all legal business entrusted to him. Office next door to the Post Office. [Sept. 20, '60, if.]

E. J. HOCKMAN, SURVEYOR AND CONVEYANCER, BELLEFONTE, PA. Will attend to and correctly execute all business entrusted to him. [June 14, '60, if.]

Geo. L. Potter, M. D. OFFICE on High Street, (old office), Bellefonte, Pa. Will attend to all professional calls as heretofore, and respectfully offers his professional services to his friends and the public. Oct. 26/59

J. H. FAIRLAMB, M. D. JAS. A. DOBBS, M. D. FAIRLAMB & DOBBS. Dr. J. H. FAIRLAMB has associated with him Dr. J. A. DOBBS, M. D., at the corner of the Diamond St. as heretofore on Bishop street, opposite the American Hotel. March 19, 57.

Dr. JAS. P. GREGG, respectfully offers his professional services to the people of Milesburg and vicinity. Residences, Daniel R. Bullen's National Hotel. Refer to Dr. J. M. McCoy, Dr. G. L. Potter, Dr. J. B. Mitchell. [Nov. 3, 1860, if.]

WM. REIBER, SURGEON AND PHYSICIAN, having permanently located offers his professional services to the citizens of Pine Grove Mills and vicinity, and respectfully solicits a liberal patronage. [Feb. 16, '60, if.]

J. J. LINGLE, Operative and Mechanic, will practice all the various branches of his profession in the most approved manner. Office and residence on Spring St. Bellefonte, Pa. [Mar. 2, '60, if.]

JAS. F. RIDDLE, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PA. Will attend to all business entrusted to him with care and promptness. Refer to Gov. Pollock, Milton, Pa. Hon. A. G. Curtis, Bellefonte, Pa. Office with John H. Stover. Jan. 5, '60.

J. R. MUFFLY, AGENT FOR THE WESTERN INSURANCE COMPANY. Persons wishing to secure themselves from losses by fire, will do well to call upon him at the store of J. R. Muffly & Co., N. E. corner of the Diamond street, three doors above Allegheny street, Bellefonte, Centre Co., Pa. Mar. 15, '60, 1f.

W. W. WHITE, Dentist, has permanently located in Boalsburg, Centre County, Pa. Office on main st., next door to the store of Johnston & Keller, where he purposes practicing his profession in the most approved manner and at moderate charges. Mar.

LEA C. MITCHELL, CYRUS T. ALEXANDER MITCHELL & ALEXANDER. ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PENNA. Having associated themselves in the practice of law, will attend promptly to all business entrusted to their care. Office in the Arcade. [Nov. 1, '60, if.]

CONVEYANCING. DEEDS, BONDS, MORTGAGES, AND ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT neatly and correctly executed. Also, attention will be given to the adjustment of Book Accounts, and the preparation of Administrators and Executors prepared for filing office next door to the Post Office. Oct. 19th, '58, WM. J. KEALSH.

JOHN H. STOVER ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, BELLEFONTE, PA. Will practice his profession in the several courts of Centre county. All business entrusted to him will be carefully attended to. Collections made and all monies promptly remitted. Office, on High st., formerly occupied by Judge Burnside, and C. C. Bond, Esq., where can be consulted both in the English and in the German language. May 6, '58—22ly.

PAS. MACMANUS. W. P. MACMANUS J. & WM. P. MACMANUS. ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PA. Office in the rooms formerly occupied by Linn & Wilson, Allegheny street. Jas. Macmanus, Esq., as has associated with W. P. Macmanus, Esq., in the practice of law. Professional business intrusted to their care will receive prompt attention. They will attend the several Courts in the Counties of Centre, Clinton and Clearfield. June 21, '60, if.

HALE & HOY, ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, will attend promptly to all business entrusted to their care. Office in the building heretofore occupied by Hon. Jas. T. Hale. A. CARD.

MEASRS. Hale & Hoy will attend to any business during my absence in Congress, and will be assisted by me in the trial of all causes entrusted to them. J. T. Hale, Jan. 5/1860

CURTIN & BLANCHARD. ATTORNEYS-AT-LAW, BELLEFONTE, PENNA. The undersigned having associated themselves in the practice of Law, will faithfully attend to all professional business entrusted to them in Centre, Clinton and Clearfield counties. Collections placed in their hands, will receive their prompt attention. Office in Blanchard's new building on Allegheny street. Nov. 30/58

BANKING HOUSE OF WM. F. REYNOLDS & CO. BELLEFONTE, CENTRE CO., PENNA. Bills of Exchange and Notes discounted; Collections made and Funds promptly remitted. Interest paid on Special Deposits, Exchange on the Western cities constantly on hand and for sale. Deposits received. April 7/58

W. HARDING, FASHIONABLE BARBER AND HAIR DRESSER, BELLEFONTE, PA. Has opened a Barber Shop one door above the Franklin House, where he can be found at all times.—Good Razors, keen and sharp, kept constantly on hand. Hair Dressing, Shampooing, &c., attended to in the most workman-like manner. He hopes by strict attention to business to receive a liberal share of public patronage. Bellefonte, June 26, 1860.—1f.

Ayer's Cherry Pectoral.

ST. LAWRENCE HOTEL, CHESTNUT STREET PHILADELPHIA.

WM. B. CAMPBELL, Proprietor. Apr 5th '60—1f.

J. THORP FLAHERTY, Importer of Havana Segars, c. 837 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA. (Adjoining Girard House.) And Opposite Continental Hotel, Ar. 4.25-'60—1f.

BOMGARDNER HOUSE CORNER OF SIXTH AND R. R. STREETS OPPOSITE L. V. AND PENNA. R. R. DEPOTS, HARRISBURG, PA.

J. W. STONE, PROPRIETOR Mar. 15th, 1860.—1f.

CHARLES McBRIDE, HAS JUST RECEIVED A LARGE AND SPLENDID STOCK OF Dry Goods, READY-MADE CLOTHING, GROCERIES, HARDWARE, QUEENSWARE, &c. of which he is selling at very reduced prices. Goods given in Exchange for Country Produce. The public are invited to call and examine his stock before purchasing elsewhere. Bellefonte, Nov. 3, '59.—1f.

UNITED STATES' HOTEL, BY L. W. TEN BYCK OPPOSITE PENNSYLVANIA R. R. DEPOT HARRISBURG PA. B. HARTSHORN Superintendent.

HUGH B. BRISBIN, Druggist, MANUFACTURER OF EXTRA LIQUOR COLORING, N. W. Cor. Third & Poplar streets, Terms Cash. Philadelphia, Oct. 3, 1860.—1f.

BANKING HOUSE. Interest paid on Special Deposit. HUMBES, M'ALLISTER HALE & CO., BELLEFONTE, PA.

DEPOSITS received, Bills of exchange and proceeds remitted promptly. Interest paid on special deposits for Sixty days, and under six months at the rate of four per cent. per annum. For six months and upwards, at the rate of five per cent. per annum. Exchange on the East constantly on hand. January, 3rd, 1861.

Persons in want of PAINTS, OILS, VARNISHES, or anything of the kind, will do well to purchase them at the Drug Store of J. & J. HARRIS, Brockerhoff's Row, Bellefonte. Also, DRUGS, MEDICINES, POCKET KNIVES, FANCY ARTICLES, PERUMY, SUGARS, LIQUORS, and all the Patent Medicines made. Surgeon's and Physician's Instruments constantly on hand. Call and see them, nearly opposite the Court House. January, 3rd, 1861.

A. G. & BROS., IMPORTERS AND DEALERS IN Foreign and Domestic Liquors. DISTILLERS OF MONONGAHELA RYE WHISKEY, Also, Rectifiers of the IRON CITY WHISKEY, And Manufacturers of the Celebrated GERMAN STOMACH BITTERS No. 25 Market Street, Nov. 15-'60.—1f. PITTSBURGH, PA.

LOUIS GERBER, IMPORTER AND MANUFACTURER OF FANCY FURS. For Ladies', Gentlemen's and Children's Wear. Full value paid for Shipping Furs. Furs taken care of during the Summer. Oct. 4, '60.—1f.

ARNOLD & WILSON WARMING & VENTILATING WAREHOUSE, No. 1010 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

SMILSON'S Patent Cone and Ventilating FURNACES, Cooking Ranges, Stoves, Balb. Boilers, ENAMELED STAIN MANTELS Common and Low Down arlor Grates, Warm Air Registers and Ventilating, &c. &c. Particular attention given to warming and Ventilating Buildings of every description. BENJ. M. FELTWELL, Sup't. Apr. 26, 1860.—1f.

HAINES & DOCK, WHOLESALE GROCERS, No. 35 North Water Street, PHILADELPHIA. GROCERIES, GROCERIES, GROCERIES, GROCERIES, GROCERIES, Merchants of Central Pennsylvania

LOOK TO YOUR INTERESTS!! If you wish to buy cheap go to Haines & Dock. They keep on hand the best articles to be had in the City, in their line of business. Call and examine their goods. Remember their Firm is at No. 35 North Water Street, PHILADELPHIA Apr. 24, '60.—1f.

LOT of Ladies Woolen Hoods just received by B. LEYDEN & CO, Bellefonte, Dec. 20, '60.

NO DEMORALIZING COMPROMISE. SPEECH OF SENATOR SIMMONS OF K. T. CONCLUDED.

I have been to these National Conventions ever since I can remember—not always as a delegate. The first one I went to Rhode Island had the honor of voting for the author of these resolutions for Vice-President of the United States; and if the rest of them had been as wise as we were, we should have power till this day, in my deliberate judgement, taking what provisionally happened; but we caught a Tartar. I have never voted for a President in my life since I was a voter, when I did not prefer a man born in a slave State to one born in a free State. I have voted for forty years or more, and I always preferred them; not because they lived there but because they appeared to have done more for their country, in my opinion, than the candidates in our end of the country.—Whenever I was in a Convention, I never voted for anybody that was not born in a Slave State; and whenever there has been anybody up for President, and there were electors running in my State for a man born in a Slave State, I voted for him without caring where he was born. I was for Mr. Clay against Mr. Adams in 1824; and if there had been any ticket run in my State I would have voted for him, although Mr. Adams was a good man and gave us one of the best Administrations I ever knew. I never had but one idol and I never mean to have another in the shape of a man. It is almost as bad as to set up cotton for King. I mean to treat this subject with all the gravity its dimensions demand. I know it is one of the most difficult questions. I have thought of it and looked into the fire more than a hundred hours since I have been here, not saying a word, to try if I could see the way out peaceably; and I am just as young as my youngest boy about it. Nobody has any experience in such questions as this, for nobody ever dreamt that mankind would ever have such folly as is now exhibited. What are they quarrelling about? Literally nothing. This Government has been in their hands, as was said by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Wade), for the last eight years. Practically the South has had this Government for sixty out of seventy-two years; and they talk about sectionalism, and some of the remedies to get rid of a sectional party, are to make a sectional Constitution, run a line through and give one half to one side, where there is one-third of the people! The Senator from Virginia (Mr. Hunter) wants a sort of double Executive—after the Siamese pattern—a first king and a second king. [Laughter.] He wants to elect them both, and let both have a veto. We have been pestered enough with vetoes since I have been here; and I would rather take the veto away from the one man than give it to two. You cannot get along with this Government, it seems useless you let the minority rule some way or other. That is the whole practical question now. The minority want to rule, and they are afraid of the people—literally so. I wish I could see a proposition that I could hear somebody who was disaffected say I would satisfy him. I have not heard one of them say so. The Senator from Texas said if he knew we would do about forty things that he knew we would not do, he would then consider. That is the nearest approach to a settlement that I have heard of. If we would stop the pulpits, burn the school-houses, suppress the newspapers, imprison the Abolitionists, and break up this Government, everything that is here now, he would think about staying in. [Laughter.] He would take into consideration; he would not pledge himself, he said, Oh, no! [Laughter.] Well, now, I like the Senator from Texas. I like him on account of his "better half". She came from Rhode Island; and he will take anything I say on her account, I know, without feeling unkind to me. Mr. President, it is great question.

These people who have succeeded will find a bigger sum than they ever ciphered out before. I want to see how they will cipher it out, before we move. Let those people who are afraid take care. I am not afraid. If I were, I should take care. I would do anything in reason to remove this dissatisfaction. I feel mournful when I think of it.—But I want somebody that is troubled, and wants it relieved, to suggest how we can relieve it. Kentucky is as loyal a State as ever was in the Union. They want something, I know. The people have been aroused by this election, as is natural. All Presidential elections excite a great deal of feeling; and for that reason it is the worst time in the world to try to amend the Constitution. They have talked it so long that they begin to believe it themselves, that the Republican party means to endanger their institutions. I said here four years ago, when I first took my seat under a new name—I used to come under another name—I was about the same man I was before—and I said that if I found myself with a party that undertook to disturb the institutions of the South, I would quit that party immediately. So I will. I have been in it now for four years, and I have yet to see or hear the first man among our party who proposes any such thing. I have no such party attachment as would keep me in a party that I thought met to break the Constitution. As to the President elect, he is from Kentucky. All his social ties are in Kentucky. As has

been well remarked by a Senator, he has not only said what he would do, he has also said what he would not do; and I do not believe there can be two interferences about that. Some candidates only say what they will do; but Mr. Lincoln has not left you to infer what he will not do. That is the man we have elected; and you can find in his record that he will not disturb Slavery anywhere. He is against any such thing; and if he were not, he has family connections, social ties, and kindred, that would prevent him. These are higher guarantees than parchment. I would rather have the fervent, effectual prayer of a righteous man for this Union, than all you can write on parchment to save it. I thought when I got up that I would keep my voice from rising, because, when men's voices rise, sometimes their feelings get the better of them. I thought I would talk as if I was talking to my brothers, making no arguments for suggestions. No man felt more deeply impressed with the beautiful effort of the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward) than I did. It came from the right quarter to give peace. But the very next speech that was made after it was the bitterest I have heard in the Senate. That was the response. I say this with the utmost kindness to my friend from Missouri (Mr. Polk), who made that speech. It was very bitter. The effort of the Senator from New York did not seem to have appeased him at all. I think the Senator from New York went a great way. Why, Mr. President, it is something for a party in the majority to agree to conciliate in the present aspect of this country. I will do anything that can do that will not demoralize the Government. I am afraid of that—absolutely afraid of it. I am afraid to do anything that will bring reproach upon the Government. I love the Senator from New York said, that to threats he would offer conciliation. That I would do. He said that to exactions he would grant concessions. That I am not quite certain that I would do. He said that to hostile array he would give the right hand of brotherhood. That is good. I have faith that the millennium will come; but I do not think it is here now. That would be good doctrine then. No, Sir, the millennium has not come. I know the reading; but I suppose it was wrongly rendered. I could hardly ever interpret the Scripture there where it said that generation should see it; but I suppose the translators rendered it wrongly; they did not quite understand the original tongue. But, Sir, the millennium did not come while Judas Iscariot lived, nor will it come while others like him fester and pester the society in which they live, shame their country, and dishonor their race. It will not come while such men are here. They will be disposed of before that time comes. The Senator from Kentucky believes with me in that respect. I shall not utter a sentiment that he will not agree with. If I do, I will take it back immediately. He and I have lived too long together for me to say anything disrespectful to him. I never had any unbusiness in reference to him but about one thing, and that was about my children. I was not afraid that they would love him any better than I did; but I was afraid that they would love him better than they did me, [Laughter.] and that is the case with all Rhode Island. There is no Prince of Wales or his mother, or any other crowned head of Europe that Rhode Islanders would travel so far to see as the Senator from Kentucky. It is so now, and has been so for the last quarter of a century.

I have read over their resolutions, and I have said all that I intend to say about making the proposed amendment perpetual. I hope the Senator from Kentucky will run out in his own mind the idea that I gave him about that, and will feel just as I do in regard to it. The series of resolutions introduced by Edmund Randolph into the Convention, declared that there ought to be in either House of Congress if they attempted it. It would not be as large as the Tyler party, and that consisted of but five. I made some memoranda when Senators were speaking, for I thought I would answer some of their arguments in detail; but I never did write a sheet of paper over with notes but it bothered me, for I never can read them. I am sorry it has got to be the fashion to take them at all except by the reporters. Now, I want the Senator from Kentucky to turn his mind and his energies to some method of composing these difficulties that shall not destroy the Government. I am willing to say that any interference with Slavery in the States by the General Government is not among the powers granted to Congress, and ought not to be granted or exercised for all time. I do not believe the General Government has any such power now. I never did believe it; and if you want to make it

any clearer I would put that in. The powers of Government are as distinct and as independent if there were no States. The powers delegated to the National Government are to be exercised as if there were no States. On the other hand, the powers that are retained by the States, and the people of the States, are as independent of those as if there were no National Government. That is my doctrine. I am a State-Rights man as well as a National man; and the powers are clearly defined—defined in the book and defined by the practical experience of seventy years. I should like to see a man bold enough to say that, under the authority of the Constitution, the General Government it created could interfere with Slavery in the States in any way, directly or indirectly. I believe in no such doctrine, and I do not believe there is anybody who holds it; at least I have never seen him, nor do I believe there is a public man in the United States big enough to obtain a vote for President that would ever think of it, of whatever party he might be. We have nothing to do with protecting it or disturbing it in the States; but in regard to the Territories, I do not agree with the new-fashioned notion. I believe we have a right to do either in the Territories. We have a right to govern the Territories as we please. I do not agree in the notion that this Government is a trustee of the States for the Territories. I never heard of such a doctrine until lately. The Senator from Oregon (Mr. Lane) says he is for having the equal rights of all the States in this league. Why, Sir, they had an alliance in Europe in 1815—I think it was the treaty of Vienna—where the five great powers agreed together to take care of the rest of the world, and formed what was called "The Holy Alliance"; and I believe it is in being yet, and that there was a talk of calling them together to take care of Italy. That alliance consisted of England, France, Prussia, and Austria. If either of those powers, during the last forty-five years, had discovered a new country, do you suppose it would give up its own title to it, and say it held it for the alliance? If a treaty of alliance for boundaries and the balance of power in Europe had defined stipulated powers, anything they did they would do in common as we do; but there is any power here to discover territory? That is not one of the express powers granted in the Constitution, and on the theory of all these sectionalists, when a ship of John Jacob Astor's discovered the mouth of the Columbia River, and took possession of it, that territory would belong to the State of New York. The Constitution gives this Government no power to acquire territory. Why is not that territory New York's? The power that discovers a country by taking possession of the mouth of the river, takes all the slopes that run into it. That is the doctrine. If you got into a mudhole anywhere you must take all the country you can see. Upon this idea, it would belong to New York, manifestly; but it is a power incident to the national sovereignty; and so the sailor understood it, and he hoisted the stars and stripes there in that territory by virtue of our being trustees for the States? It is moonshine, utter moonshine. The territory belongs to the Government of the United States as an incident of its sovereignty, and every sailor that could hand-reef or steer would know what flag to put up on a discovered country without consulting any constitutional lawyers.—It would be the national flag. My friend from Kentucky knows that. He believes it. We acquire territory in consequence of our national sovereignty. There is no express power in the Constitution for it. It is an incident to sovereignty, an incident to the war and treaty making powers. We own the territory. The States have no more to do with it than the Emperor of France—not a bit more; and this Government has nothing to do with their local affairs, except to protect them. That we are bound to do. We have given them guaranties to take care of them, to save them from themselves, if they have disturbances among themselves, and call upon us; and we ought to do it. I am ready to do it if there is any disturbance. There is no man here but is willing to prevent any invasion of any State for the purposes of injury and annoyance, and to punish those engaged in it. This was brought up against the Republican party. Everything that has been done for the last twenty years is charged to the Republican party, which in my State did not exist until four years ago last May. That was the first meeting they held there under their organization—the first time they ever got together. When were the Personal Liberty bills, which are said to be an infraction of this treaty, passed? Massachusetts is arraigned here every other day for having passed Personal Liberty bills infracting the Constitution. Why, Sir, if they are unconstitutional, they are utterly void.—Everybody knows that. But who passed them? The first Personal Liberty bill that has been bandied about here all over the Senate was passed when both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature were Democratic, with a Democratic Governor approving of it; and the Negro Equality law passed the same month. This Negro Equality bill came from the fact that Massachusetts that year repealed the law which forbade the intermarriage of different races. That was done by the Democrats, and the next year the Democrat-

ic Governor, who approved those acts, beat "Honest John Davis." I went there and made speeches to elect John Davis, but he was beaten. Our candidate was not elected by the people, nor was the other man in 1842, but he was elected by the Legislature, and next year he beat us one vote. The third year we had a national fight, and we beat them in Massachusetts; but we were beaten ourselves in the country in 1844; and that same Governor who signed this Personal Liberty bill and the Negro Equality bill, was sent into the Senate for the best office in New England, nominated by Mr. Polk, and every Democratic Senator voted for him, knowing that that was the fact, if they knew anything about it; but I do not know whether they knew it or not. If they did, they would not care a fig about it, if he was on their side, but they would say, "This man probably had to get it by promising the Abolitionists to do something if he got their votes;" and that is the way he did get in. Their idea is, "it will do very well if our folks do it; only let it work for the benefit of the Democratic party, and you may pass Personal Liberty bills or Negro Equality bills to your heart's content." But now they get up here and lay these bills to the Republican party, when the first Republican Governor elected in Massachusetts brought to the notice of the Legislature the very provisions in that bill which were wrong, and that Legislature altered them, although they had been on the statute-book twelve years with all sorts of Governors, and nobody ever thought of them. And yet these are the grave charges thrown up here against the Republican party, and made the occasion for breaking up this Government—such kind of things as these.

I do not care what kind of laws they pass in Georgia or South Carolina affecting us; only I do not like to see those laws impairing our sailors because they are poor fellows. South Carolina made a law of that kind; but when she wanted to get trade with England, she repealed it in reference to foreign countries, but kept it on in reference to her own brothers. That is the way they treat us; but we are not going to fight about it, or quarrel over it. Our law in Rhode Island was passed six or eight years before there ever was a Republican party there; and there were more than six times as many Whigs who voted against it as there were Democrats. Two of the leading Whig members made speeches against it; but they were beaten. Afterward, one of those men who opposed it came to be Chief Justice of our State. He was on the Committee to revise the statutes—to make a code—and he pard that thing all down, and got it so that it was offensive; and I said that, if it were not for making a noise, he would strike it out altogether. They pared it down, and when all the virus was out, it was voted for unanimously by a Republican Legislature, after every part of it that even savored of unconstitutionality was taken out. We do not want any unconstitutional laws in Rhode Island, nor do they in Massachusetts. I know they have been pretty high-strung in Massachusetts ever since I knew them. I never did like them any too much. They banished our ancestors, hung the Quakers, and killed folks for being witches. [Laughter.] I do not believe in that doctrine; but still, Massachusetts is a pretty considerable State.—She was thought so in the time of the Revolution; and I made up my mind, on account of what she did then, never to harbor any hard feeling toward her for what she had done before, although she had done a good many bad things. I do not mean to have any hard feelings toward any State, or the people of any State, but I cannot go quite as far as the Senator from New York; for I think the millennium has not come, though I have full faith that it will come. I do not know of any man in the country who could say as much as he did with such propriety. It is something like a pendulum—the further it swings one way, of its own momentum, it will swing just so much further the other way. I keep pretty nearly right up and down, as well as I can. I do not want to be so straight that I must lean over, although I am bent a little by age; and therefore I do not mean to go very far from my moorings. I have always held to these opinions, and do not mean to change them if I can help it. There may be circumstances which will oblige me to do so. But I regretted, more than anything else in this debate, to see a disposition to heap everything upon this Republican party, as if they made this fuss. The Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas), says, "I told you so three or four years ago." I do not deny he did.—There is a great deal of logic in facts; and we have been "told so" until we have carried pretty nearly all the Free States. A great deal of it came from its being told that we meant to ruin the country. I have said for the last three years to my friends of the South, that I have met at the Springs, that I believe they had got to this pass, that nothing would convince them that we were not a pack of pickpockets and thieves, but for us to get power, and then their stump-orators would cease to be liars; because we should show them we had no intention of hurting them, and nothing else would hurt but our acts. I consider it Presidential that we have got power so that these distinguished men, before we all die out—old fogies as they call us—may see that this Government can be administered by a Republican Presi-

dent to the benefit of all his fellow-citizens, in harmony and peace. Now, I make what are called stump speeches in my State and others, but never make a speech that I would not utter in the presence of every candidate before the people; never. I was told that up in Harrisburg, by a former distinguished Senator from Virginia, Watkins Leigh. He said we must make stump speeches; and as we did not know he told us how. He said that we must not say anything on the stump that we would not say before a Court of Justice under oath as to the truth. That was his rule, and I have observed that rule ever since. I said on the stump that I knew all of the candidates before the country; and I believed they were all eminently able to administer the Government. I would not say it now, because I have seen some things which make it a little doubtful. I think some of them are getting to be sectional. But I said it then, and I believed it; and I would not be a great way off now if I were to say it. I think they have got excited, and are a little disposed to give up the doctrine that we would maintain. If they think they were wrong, I commend them for giving them up.

I do not think there is a doctrine in our platform that is subject to criticism; not one.—Now, why should we give it up? It says that we mean to protect the States in their rights, and especially the right to regulate their own institutions in their own way. We polled nearly two million votes, and these voters stand pledged to that doctrine. The Senator from Illinois received twelve or thirteen hundred thousand. Certainly they stand pledged to it, and against this doctrine of interfering for the purpose of protecting slave property in the Territories. There are three millions three hundred thousand voters opposed to any such interference. They are all against it. I consider Mr. Bell's vote just as much on the Republican side as Mr. Lincoln's. I count anybody who voted against the other candidate. I wanted our voters, where they could help Bell, to vote for him. That was my feeling. I think him an honorable, high minded and good man—and so do I think of the other candidate; but I do not care to see the other side, 300,009 in this country upon the secession doctrine. Out of 4,600,000 votes, he could not have got 300,000 in the country upon this secession platform, in my deliberate judgment. He did not get more than one-sixth of the votes as it was. All the rest of the candidates were diametrically opposed to his doctrine. Those 600,000 new comers here demand that all the others shall throw up their platform and break the Constitution, in order to appease them. That is just the doctrine as I see it. That is the logic of these facts, and I cannot get anything else out of them. I want to know, if I am not a man put his name on the call of the Free Nays in favor of it, assuring the dissipated people of this country that they are safe in their rights; that we mean to protect them in their rights; that we mean to do everything that brothers ought to do to brothers. I will vote for such a declaration. I will do anything that I can to appease these feelings that so agitate the country, and even agree to alter the Constitution to do it, if you do not put so many things in it. But I would not undertake to read those resolutions through and find out exactly their positions in a fortnight. I want to think of a thing as much as I can after I have read it, to see how it is coming out, before I am willing to speak on it. The time has been when I could get up here at will and speak better, without knowing much about the subject; give free vent to my feelings, and go it at large. But I am old enough to know it is the easiest thing in the world to be mistaken in feeling; rather look it over awhile. I hope I have some reputation for speaking nearly what I think after I do look it over; and I do not want to lose it.

I have been told that there were propositions here that would satisfy some of the old thirteen States. I can not help having a little more regard for them. I do not want Georgia to leave us. I do not want South Carolina to leave us. As to one or two of the "thoughtless" States; but they took the notion that he did. I wish I could talk to them about going out of this Union; I would beg of them, plead with them, and implore them not to go. I would assure them that they should always have a comfortable berth in this country; better than they get out of Georgia. I have strong personal reasons for loving that State, because I have lived in it; and I have never lived in any State in which I was not well treated; Rhode Island has great public reasons for loving Georgia. The soil of Georgia holds the ashes of one of the noblest of our revolutionary worthies—a man who was second only to him who was peerless among men. We want to place it in his native land, by his kindred. Let not that dust go out of the Union. We want to bring it to Rhode Island; and when the last morning of the world shall see the sun rising on the re-animating dust, let him rise with the same flag waving over him that was borne by those grateful, mournful, and gallant Georgians when they laid him to rest. It was then, is now, and I trust ever shall be the flag of the Union. [Applause in the galleries.]