Published by Theodore Schoch.

TERMS.—Two dollars per annum in advance—Two dellars and a quarter, half yearly—and if not paid before the end of the year, Two dollars and a half.

No papers discontinued until all arrearages are paid, except at the option of the Editor. ILFAdvertisements of one square (ten lines) or less one or three insertions, \$100. Each additional inse ton. 25 cents. Longer ones in proportion

JOB PRINTING.

PANCY PRINTING. Cards, Circulars, Bill Heads, Notes, Blank Receipts, Justices, Legal and other Blanks, Famphlets, &c., prin ted with neatness and despatch, on reasonable terms

Political Issues and Presidential Candidates.

Shall Douglas or Lincoln be Supported

SPEECH OF THE HON. JOHN HICKMAN.

Delivered in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Tuesday Evening, July 24, 1860.

Mr. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN :-The intelligent voter will so shape his action as to make it conduce to the success of a principle, rather than the elevation of a man. He will feel this to be the more incumbent upon him at such a time as the present, when the tendencies of parties are more distinctly marked than in any previous campaign. It will be my object, this evening, to endeavor to exhibit, in a distinct light, the dividing line between the political parties of the day, and to ascertain, if possible, what, in all probability, would be the effect upon the country dates for the Presidency.

If this were a strife merely between individual men, it would possess but triffing importance, and I should not trouble you with either remark or suggestion. But as I 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 questions affecting us have but recently become topics of careful consideration. Our fathers were unable to forsee. during the formation of the Constitution, the greater embarrassments to which the future of the country was to be subjected. and con-equently no provision was made against them. Subjects which distracted and divided them in their deliberations, have lost much of their former consequence, and we seem to be more anxious to ascertain what they should have said further than what they actually did say. Even the controversies in which we ourselves have been engaged within the last decade have been settled or lost sight of. and we are now about to enter in that conflict which is to define many of the most important powers of the Government and to fix the character of the dominant institutions of the country. The propriety of re-eligibility to office, the exact relations between Federal and local authority, the constitutionality of banks and internal improvements, the regulation of the currency, and the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands, are no longer agitated; 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 have become new.

the past, when Slavery was universally admitted to be a wrong in se, unwise in practice, detrimental to both individuals and communities, and against the spirit and genius of our free system. however, it is declared to be divine in its origin, the bigbest type of human civilization, and indispensible to the maintenance of a democratic republic. Former-If it was regarded as a condition to be constantly reduced, and finally to be extinguished. Now, on the contrary, the demand is urged that it shall be extend. ed and made controlling. Here I find the cause or source of the great political issue of the present. Shall Slavery become a National institution, and a governing power in the country, or shall it remain as the Constitution left it? This is not an inquiry propounded by us of the North, and a cheat. No fears ever sprung from but forced upon us by our brethren of the such parentage. Slavery does not exist South. They require an answer at our by legal enactment anywhere; it is the hands, and we cannot avoid response if child of force, and as the sentiment of the we would Silence upon our part, under world is against it, it cannot live without otherwise than as affirmative of their ded by an atmosphere of freedom, it is claims. I make the distinct avowal that necessarily unsafe; and statutory safe-Slavery seeks the acquisition of all our guards and defences become necessary. rayed against us; I do but counsel system- under the mistaken and delusive idea opposed the admission of Kansas under cure the value of slaves; and, second, to themselves, without violence, upon the direct the powers of the Federal Govern- natural man, on the contrary, the senti-

the South is constantly admitted and ac- and beyond all the counterveiling influted on by them. They are too astute as ences to which I have referred, and con-

gainst such conclusions.

the Territories of the United States has become a settled policy of the Democratie party. This reality cannot be disguised, and ought not to be denied. It is easily accounted for. Unity of interest and unity of desire will always produce a perfect concentration of strength. The fortunes of the South have become completely identified with their peculiar demestic relations. By their barmony they have been enabled to governor the Democratic party, and, thus far, to govern the country through the agency of that party. The vital force of that organization being in the South, and Slavery propagandism regarded there as a necessity, it cannot be considered strange that the influence of the party should be so directed as to of the election of the respective candi. fortify doctrines most congenial to the supposed welfare of those who direct its Legislative and Judicial proceedings should be so shaped, from year to year, as to strengthen the few at the expense of the great mass of our people. Let it no longer be regarded as a marvel or a mystery; the responsibility of it rests with those Northern men in whom we have reposed our confidence and clothed with the garment of authority. Examine the recorded votes in your National Congress, and there learn why it is that Northern capital and labor are constantly borne down by the enormous weight of Southern exaction. When your reasonable reestness and emphasis, it is because eight millions of men control eighteen millions through our representatives elected by a party pledge to interests adverse to ours. Slavery educates his statesmen in a high school under able professore. It teaches that the Northern men are cowardly. and that their ambition is linked with avarice; and unfortunately for us it has arguments to fortify its faith. In half a century it may not be credited that less than a dozen men, trained under these circumstances, so alarmed a l'ennsylvania President as to induce bim to recast a Message, violate the plighted faith upon which he was elected, disgrace his pative State, and degrade the high office to which he had then but recently been elevated. And yet not only this bas been done almost within our presence, but the representatives of free constituencies have been induced to lend their aid to force servile labor into competition with that of the white man, and a Slave State things have passed away, and all things into the sisterhood of independencies, to throw the balance of power against their There was a time not very far back in own people. Some of these are now not only respectable members of the Douglas church, but missionaries among the unbelieving and outside barbarians. I have some of them very distinctly in my recollection, and it would be quite refreshing to bear their remarks in laudation of Popular Sovereignty, such as they denied to Kansas, and in denunciation of Southern demands, to which they succumbed as reluctantly as a thrice seduced damsel to her lover. I believe it was Mirabeau who said "the presents of despotism are always dangerous;" he should have included in his remark the threat of the tyrant as well as his reward.

The allegation that Southern combinations are formed for the purpose of counteracting opposition extremists, is a sheer false pretense, resorted to as a blind the circumstances, could not be construed the sustaining hand of power. Surrounnew States, for two objects; first, to se- Vassalage and subjection never impress ment of freedom must forever disturb the "The irrepressible conflict," so fre- subjects of a despotism. The South to quently commented on and denounced by be safe, must, therefore, extend through observers and sagacious as politicians not sequently, our frontier possessions must to know there is a necessary and upend- be captured. But as the inherent weaking entagonism between Liberty and Sla- ness of the South is not equal to this task, very. If they thought differently, there craft is resorted to to supply the needed would be far more peace and harmony assistance. Upon whom can this be more between the sections. It is their full ap- advantageously brought to bear than a preciation of the struggle for the mastery President without courage, a jude without sickly. which arms them for the conflict, and in- candor, or a legislator without integrity? duces them to wrestle for the victory .-- We are sold or betrayed hourly, and if There is no more evident fact than this we had not mere forbearance than discrethat the advocates of Slavery seek its tion, we would terrify traitors. Millions extension so as to limit the influence of of acres of fertile lands, every now and the sentiment of Freedom. We hate ty- then, are filehed from our industrial class- not affect issues; as neither branch indi- nullified, that fraud and violence, concocranny, and would prevent such a consum- es, who require them for the support and cates a disposition to meet fairly and o- ted in the blue lodges of Missouri had I withhold the words in which the scath- ing nothing. They compose the party of mation. They ask that all who toil shall education of their families, to be turned penly, the great political problem of the invaded their homes and imposed a forbe held as property—be regarded, in the into barren wastes, by those who have times. In easting our votes, we should eign rule upon them for the purpose of noblest and most self-sacrificing of men, stitution without interpretation, and upon

The extension of Negro Slavery into again illustrate the fact of their truckling and progressive liberty. not much averse, as we have often pro- dential candidates respecting it.

> correct interpretation of the political dis- character as a politician, I can only say on his State by the examination alluded cords of the last six years? mode of redress for existing abuses will I entertain for his Democratic competitor. on his part to take up the cause of her be denounced as sectional; to which I an. There are few, if any, living men concer- robbed and wretched people. I cannot curantur." But its liability to the charge Illinois. There are thousands, by far came over him, and for a while he seemis denied. The real sectionalism is ar- too many thousands, now sustaining him ed to glory in the name of "rebel." He atic and persistent resistance. In studies that he is directing his efforts to counter- the Lecompton Constitution with seeming of the fundamental doctrines of our com- act the plans of the Southern Democracy. seriousness, and then announced his demon charter, and in the dispensations of This is a frightful ballucination, but a termination to vote for the greater iniquier know a North, a South, an East, or a ation the humiliating fact that all that honored and heroic Harris, who now West. My complaint is that others act devotion could do has been done, by those sleeps in death, shed tears of auguish, as if they thought differently. I trust surrounding his person to distort a true and gave utterance to his despair. Over we shall always he able to command the record, and to stamp a counterfeit char- this again the vail has been carefully and exercise of such a patriotism and comity acter for him on the public mind. Viewas to forever preclude us from aggression ing him as one of the most unsafe and upon a section inferior to ours in every treacherous of leaders, you will pardon element of material strength and great- me certain statements which it now seems dastardly to press upon the weak and rectness of which, I presume, will not be greatest of all the warriors in the battle

reason for so doing is found in the opin- cardinal principles of the Nebraska-Kan- have obliterated his heroism in connec- friendly legislation? ion I entertain that these dissensions do sas act had been wantonly and wickedly tion with the cause to which he has so os. Those advocating the claims of Mr.

chaste language of an eloquent Senator, already blasted more than one-half of be accurately informed as to their effect forcing upon them institutions which they Mr. Douglas's protector, the martyr to es "mud sills." We believe that God our soil as with an avalanche of fire .- upon the policy we desire to see estab- abhorred, and invoking the interposition truth, who, in the fullness of his heart be maintained. I am not ignorant of the storehouses become but a rendezvous for fore been the understanding of the Con-

subjection to those who secretly abhor The all-sorbing question now presented their baseness and infidelity. Our earn- to the American citizen, for what will garded, but our prosperity is remorseless- watched narrowly as it has risen into imly paralyzed by our servants, without an portance from year to year, and I think audible murmur on our part; and we are I know the opinions of the several Presi-

ven, to conferring new leases of office up- I am not aware that the supporters of on such as deceive us, to afford them fur. Mr. Breckinridge attempt any concealther opportunities for mischief. Does ment as to his designs in case of his sucthis seem unaccountable ! I suggest no, cess. If they should desire to resort to in view of the truth I have but just stated prevarieation, they have placed it entirethat the party selecting them has its ly without their power by the frankness heart and brain in the South, and its o- and boldness, and, I had almost said, the beying members, merely, in the North .- recklessness of their declarations. He The remedy for this shameless evil is as has been put forth prominently, alike in easy as it is simple. We need but imi- speech and platform, as the Achilles of tate the example set us by those who have the armies of the South, and as the decaused this condition of things. Concord termined foe of free soil, free speech, and and inflexibility of purpose will accom- free men. He stands upon no single machinery. To many it has seemed un. plish all we ask. Nothing else ever can democratic sentiment, unless, indeed, accountable that Executive action and or ever will. We might as well expect what were regarded by all statesmen adivided and discordant army, marshaled in the last fifteen years as the pretentious under opposing generals, to capture the heresies of John C. Calhoun can be so powerful and thoroughly disciplined and regarded. He so reads the teachings of guarded city, as for Northern rights and the sages of the past, and their primary Northern honor to be sustained by men law, as to make it fruitless to attempt an in the pay and keeping of those who would exclusion of his peculiar and favorite inweaken and reduce us. In the ordinary stitution from the organized Territories, business of life we never trust the faith- and so as to make it indispensable that less and dishonest; I can imagine no rea- Congress, Courts, and Presidents, should son for engaging such as sentinels over exercise all their ingenuity and all their our entire fortunes. Just so long as our powers to fortify and sustain it there .eustom houses, post offices, navy yards Legislative action is to be invoked, judiand mints shall be stocked with thous cial decrees had, executive fiats pronounands, selected virtually by those who are ced, navies equipped, and armies marquests are denied, I tell you with earn. in banded opposition to us, and whose shaled, to exclude forever every settler principal business, we are instructed to therefrom who will not bow down before believe, is compounding policies with per- the black god of his idolatrous worship. fidy, it will be impossible to render our I appeal to you, freemen, to know whethcondition better than it is. These leper- er this is the Demoracy of Jefferson, Madyards must be cleansed. Their occupants ison, Monroe, and Jackson. I appeal to load the air with a contagious corruption. you, freemen, to know whether you Throughout their bodies and their souls, have ever found anything in the they bear the marks of the distemper annals of parties so insulting to the unwith which the aristocratic polutionists has derstanding, until within the lifetime of touched them. I risk but little in say- the youth who has not yet reached his ing, that at this very hour, this mighty majority. I appeal to you to know phalanx, scattered throughout the eigh- whether the honesty, intelligence, and teen Northern States, having a common unmixed blood of the offspring of Northand powerful bond of union, are devising ern mothers can ever accept an excuse for measures to despoil our industrial classes, those who would endeavor to fasten such by confining them in densely crowded a ruler upon uz. But we may congratufields of labor, or forcing them to enter late ourselves that even official zeal can into competition and companionship with perceive no chance for Mr. Breckinridge's ignorant and brutalized bondmen. They election. If there had ever been any, the all, yes all, have been brought to believe recent stump speech of Mr. Buchanan that the doctrines of the Declaration of would have effectually disposed of it .-Independence are but steoreotyped lies; No amount of popularity would be able that the founders of the nation had but a to stand against the encomiums of such sorry conception of inalienable rights; an advocate. His midnight appeal can that the Constitution which they framed only be accounted for by supposing the was intended as an instrument of ornelty "old public functionary" was unable to and crime, and that the fairest feature of obliterate his animosities toward "the free republican association is a Union of young gentleman of Kentucky," and that States peopled with the lowest grade of his well-known craft suggested a speech slaves. Am I right? What is the trou- as the readiest and least offensive means ble against which we have to contend ?- of destruction. Such suggestion are the Is it not the steady influence of what may more reasonable as it is not to be imagwith propriety be called political conspi- ined that the gyved tenant of the White racies to mislead the public mind and House should for a moment believe, after taint the public heart? Is it not an Ad- the investigations which have been had, be allowed to stand in the way of Slavery ministration blackened with treachery, and the exposures which have been made, extension; and we are almost driven to and erooked and tottering under the such testimony as he volunteered could weight of depravity, using all the patron- be otherwise than ruinous to any course. age of office, and all the facinations of po- The daring evinced by him on the occasition, to utterly destroy us, by making sion was only equalled by his lack of selfthe Territories of the country but garri- respect, and his utter disregard of the cirsons for the enemies of Freedom, and the cumstances by which he was surrounded, labor of white men degrading and fruit- and which should have restrained him.

less, beyond the limits of the present Whatever conclusions may be drawn States? If I am in error, what is the as to my estimate of Mr. Breekinridge's a knowledge of the conviction forced up-I anticipate fully that my suggested brought into comparison with that which eyes upon Kansas, and create an anxiety impugned. I have not yet forgotten when, for the right, David C. Broderick, is Mr. It will be noticed that I have spoken in the winter of 1855-6, during the first Douglas indebted for his rescue from a

but he clearly discerned that the Territo triumph of a down-trodden humanity. rial Legislature was a legally elected These references have been made for a body, with perfect authority to enact the single purpose-to satisfy, if doubts exa blank in his life.

Congress, carried resolutions of investigasent a Select Committee to the Territory. The consequence was such an exposure as satisfied the country not only of the truth of everything charged, but of existing conspiracies beyond anything that had been imagined. The published eviof the South, and made a deep impression upon the North. It was then established charity be extended to me - cannot help that neither law nor proprieties were to 1t. the conclusion that the repeal of the Missouri Restriction was but a part of a general and well-matured plan of operations, at the head of which stood the self-crowned chief of popular Territorial Government. Mr. Douglas's term of office was now approaching its close. It is not unlikely that a desire for a reelection, and closely drawn by the guardians of Mr. Douglas's fame. His admirers have acted wisely, as it has prevented, doubtless, many unpleasant surmises and sugges-

While these proceedings were progress-

ing in the Senate, the other branch of

ereated all men free, and imposed labor Factories and workshops are tottering in lished. We should not be made instru- of Congress in their behalf, the prided and on the dying couch, exclaimed, upon them for their advantage. Which ruins, and families and neighborhoods ments in the hands of any ambitious man, father of "untrammeled popular sover- "They have killed me, they have murderhypothesis shall be proved true? We left starving and in rags, because fostered or in the hands of any combination of eighty" turned his back upon his violated ed me, because I was opposed to the exwill see hereafter? But knowing that industry is not required in that region, reckless and unscrupulous men; to force child, and closed his care, as in death, to tension of Slavery and a corrupt Adminthe principles of justice are uniform and where the laboring man has no rights an unnatural growth of Slavery in the complaints of outrage almost without a istration," upon his return home, and in eternal, I presume to believe that those which the owner of men is bound to res- country, and to blast the hopes of our parallel in the civilization of the century. the hour of his sternest trial, when fightprinciples will prevail and human rights pect. And ships rot at our wharves, and own people, contrary to what has hereto- These despoiled pioneers, who had taken ing, like Spartacus, upon his bended up their abode in the Territory under the knees, against the pensioned hordes of fact that those who suppose they may idlers and vagrants, for the reason that stitution of the United States, and in pal- most solemn guaranties of self-govern- the present dynasty, and at a time when rightfully make merchandise of mothers uncompensated chattel sinews yield fruits pable violation of what has been regard- ment, only asked to prove their accusa- be had a right to expect all possible aid and their children seem to think they can more chesply than compensated skill, and ed a settled national policy. It should be tion, and to be relieved from oppression. from the man whose interest he had made shape the designs of Providence, and re- require no shield against the pauper pro- a matter of stinging regret to us, if from In other words they declared that they his own, found all the sympathies of Mr. write the history of humanity, reversing ducts of Europe. If a change of tariff our bearing in the present contest we had never been able to enjoy self-govern. Douglas extended to his opponents, and every thing our fathers thought, and for laws were required by the South instead could be fairly charged hereafter with a ment, that they were ruled by invaders, himself treated as an enemy and an offthe maintenance of which they perilled of the North, they could not fail of its ac- violation of the principles we have long and demanded the severeignty conferred cast. If we would respect the memory life and honor. I must be pardoned for complishment. In that case, the Presi- professed to cherish, or with having im- by law upon them. Mr. Douglas should of Broderick, we can never support Dougdisagreeing with them, and protesting a- dent would advocate it with ardor, if not posed any, the slightest impediment in have been the first man to fly to their re- las; it would be a mark of baseness and with sincerity, and our Senators would the pathway of a rational, well-grounded, lief; and if he had been as completely ded-servility. If ever there was a true son icated to the principles of his bill as some of the North, inhumanly broken in spirit, would make us believe, he would have ur- and who had reason to exclaim, "Save ged investigation and carried it. So far me from my friends," that man was Doest wishes are not only constantly disre- prove to be his ultimate decision, I have from having done so, he put himself in vid C. Broderick. Had Stephen A. Dougthe lead of those Senators most hostile to las but discharged the duty he sacredly an exposition, and became the mere mouth owed him, he would have gained a viotopiece, advocate, and apologist of those ry for Freedom in California, and would engaged in the work of forcing Slavery to-day, in my opinion, be living in the upon an unwilling people. He enjoyed land, and acknowledged as one of the foreat that time the full confidence of the most men in the Republic. He laid down South, and his democracy was orthodox, his life to attest his sincerity. many who because he was loyal to his task-masters, professed to love him will, in wild revel willing to do battle for their most extrav- and reckless exultation, utter the name agant demands. He was then Chairman of him who could not find time or opporof the Committee on Territories, and I tunity to speak a word in enlogy over the call attention to his report as such, made grave of the departed votory. Inscribe March 12, 1856, as conclusive upon the the name of Broderick in fiery characters point I have stated. In that paper he upon your banners-he was your chamcould find nothing to say against foreign pion-and you at least can afford to do conspiracy to invade the soil of Kansas him justice. He rests in peace on the and control elections, but he had much to hights of the proud city of the Pacific, offer in condemnation of eastern associa- where no gratitude can longer wound tions to encourage removal thither. He him, relieved from the warfare between could discover no irregularities in the re. heartless factions, and where his ashes turn of Mr. Whitefield, the Pro-Slavery will remain an eternal memento of his Delegate to the House of Representatives, faith and his confidence in the ultimate

> most cruel and arbitrary slave codes, and ist, that in the great struggle between the that the complaints of fraud & force were South and the North, to secure the long gotten up merely to stimulate and excite lost equality of the latter, Mr. Douglas is Northern emigration. At the time of which against us. Should more recent eviden-I speak, there was no one in Congress or ces be demanded, then let an examinaout of Congress, in office, or out of office, tion be made of The Congressional Globe who exerted bimself more untiringly to containing the ballots for Speaker and perpetuate that reign of terror inaugura- Clerk during the last session of the House ted to insure the admission of Kansas in- of Representatives. Ascertain what to the Union as a Slave State. I fear the action of the Illinois, Western, and there are many now bearing up the ban. North-Western Democracy was during ner inscribed with the name of this Sen- the protracted contest for an organization . ator, who never have fully understood, or Every vote that Mr. Douglas could influwho have forgotten, this tarnished page ence was invariably cast for such candiin his history. If there has ever been dates as the South presented, including a more determined foe to the growth those of the most extreme and revoluof freedom in Kansas, or to the prin- tionary character. He could afford no ciples of the Nebraska-Kansas bill, assistance to any one not recognized by than Stephen A. Douglas, he has been a- the propgandists as orthodox upon all ble to keep himself very much under questions which concerned them. And I cover. It is gratifying, however, to make very well remember when the name of a single remark in his favor; it is this, Col. Forney was mentioned in connection that he seems as willing as the most ar- with the office he now occupies, and his dent of his friends to divert attention fate was to be decided, how diligently from this period in his eareer. I am not "the great advocate of Popular Soveraware that, in either essay or address, he eignty" labored for his defeat; every dehas ventured to recur to it; but on the votce of Mr. Douglas voting against him contrary he seems disposed to treat it as with one exception. Mr. Morris of Illinois, in whom I have very great confidence, declined to vote at all. Col. Forney, who never beistated to advance the fortunes of Mr. Douglas, when he could tion under a close division of parties, and properly do so, was elected in spite of Mr. Douglas. Col. Forney I presume was not indorsed by the Democracy who swear by the peculiar institution. Others may choose to forget all this, and I will not criminate them for doing so, but I promise never to forget it. I am for dence effectually revealed the intentions my friends, and against those who oppose my friends. If I am wrong in this let

I have said all I desire to say of the representatives of the two Democracies. There is a preference between them .-The one is outspoken and evident; the other is concealed and tricky. Of the two I much prefer Mr. Breekinridge, and yet I cannot imagine the circumstances under which I could be induced to support him. He asserts the Supreme Court has decided that Slavery is an existing constitutional institution in all our Territories, and that it is the duty of the Govthat my esteem for him is profound when to, induced him to look with different ernment to sustain it where it thus legally exists. Mr. Douglas contends that Courts have not yet so decided but if they shall do so, it will then become the duty swer, if it be so, the antidote to.a bane ning whom more has been said, and less certainly say how this may have been; I of all good citizens to respect the decision, may be a bane itself, "similia similibus really known, than Stephen A. Douglas of only state a sudden and miraculous change and of every branch of the Federal Government to enforce it with promptness and fidelity. This is his platform. If our Federal Court has not already given a decision in accordance with the notions of M. Breckinridge, no one doubts it will do so as soon as the question shall be the favors of Government, we should nev- natural one, when we take into consider- ty, the "English bill." It was then the brought distinctly before it. So at best the only point of disagreement between these rival candidates is that of time only. If in the language of the resolution adopted by the Convention placing Mr. Douglas in nomination, and just partly quoted, it becomes the duty of all good citizens to respect, and of every branch of the Federal Government to enforce, a ness. It can never be otherwise than necessary should be made, and the cor- tions. To that boldest, and truest, and judicial decision determining the constiritorise, what becomes of that other theory of Mr. Douglas, that no matter what the of the Democratic party without ref- session of the Thirty-fourth Congress, the whirlpool which would certainly have enerence to its present distractions. My residents of Kansas, asseverating that the gulfed him-from a stain which would be excluded from a Territory by un-

tentatiously professed to devote himself. Bell would please everybody by promis-