



BY S. B. ROW.

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POLITICAL ISSUES OF THE DAY.

ADDRESS OF HON. CHAS. FRANCIS ADAMS, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

We publish in full the speech of Hon. Chas. Francis Adams, delivered before an immense meeting of the friends of Freedom and Protection at Philadelphia on the 28th Aug., and ask for it a careful perusal by every voter into whose hands it may come.

I presume that I address the citizens of a place claiming to be the most conservative in America. By the word "conservative" I mean adverse to change, and most particularly unwilling to favor any movement which seems likely to unsettle the established ideas...

I choose to put up with the inconveniences of small rooms, or narrow windows, or uneven floors, for the sake of long habit and pleasant association of ideas. I do not know why any one has a right to find fault.

But now suppose we go a step forward. Let us assume that in course of time something turns up that, if not attended to in season, threatens to make very serious changes for the worse, in the old system to which we are attached.

Supposing, in my old house, for example, I should see the dry rot beginning in the timbers, or that my foundation is sinking a little, or perhaps my neighbor is building to shut out my light, or that he is setting up a business that affects the purity of the air...

I have already alluded to the fact that we have four distinct forms of popular organization in the present canvass for the Presidency. You all know them well enough to save me the need of much explanation.

At least two-thirds of what was lately the Democratic party in the free States are as loudmouthed about this as any one. They declare their want of confidence in Mr. Buchanan and his adherents, and their conviction of necessity for reform—that is, a thorough change of men and measures.

prove that not only are there great abuses in the Government, but that there is an absolute necessity for immediate measures of correction. This, then, is not a time for folding our hands, or standing aside, and calling it conservatism. No. In this case true conservatism is change. It is reform. It is the restoration of the old, by cutting out without hesitation the material that is rotten or diseased, and putting in its place what is sound and new.

Having settled this among ourselves, having agreed that our present duty is reform, the next subject to consider is the best and most practicable way to get at it. And here it is necessary to remind you that no reform can be really effective which is not carried into execution by vigorous and capable hands.

The spirit that animates it must be spread among the people at large, and among their representatives everywhere. Especially must it predominate in both branches of the Legislature. We all know that everything like the cutting out of abuses must meet with dogged and steady opposition from those classes the most subject to be affected by it.

Men must be combined into a political party, acting together for the securing of common objects. They must understand, and have confidence in one another. They must have a head to devise as well as hands to execute, and an audacity to confirm. Without the presence of all these elements, no real movement under a popular form of government is likely to terminate in good.

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One thing is here worthy of notice—and that is, that it is universally acknowledged to be true, that but one of these four parties stands in the smallest chance of success in electing its candidate by the popular vote.

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initiate policy of reform is concerned, with such a basis of popular confidence as is shown here; but let us change the program again, and suppose Mr. Bell to be the candidate, but not of the House by the Constitution, and Mr. Douglas to come in in his place as one of the three highest candidates.

And here I must stop to say a few words about this matter of slavery. I know very well that in this city there are a great many people who dislike to meddle with it, and who honestly believe that if all of us would only consent to stop talking about it, and to shut our eyes so as not to see it, then the country would be perfectly happy.

Now, let me ask you, if you really believe such a reform necessary at this time, where will you look for the requisite agency to execute it? You must find some popular organization or other to act with, or you will do nothing at all.

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tempting to bribe the people of the free States with their own money in order to maintain it in the control of the government. That it is the stern truth, and the history of the Leocompton struggle proves it beyond contradiction.

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of the Federal system, has been constantly and perseveringly directed into particular channels called contracts, by means of which such great profits have been given to particular persons, as to enable them to devote large sums to the object of sustaining presses, and securing the election to Congress of representatives in the free States who will justify and defend any and everything which the slaveholding party may require.

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legitimate means, and only for legitimate ends. Having no right to complain, the resistance of the violent men in the slaveholding States will be its popular force; and the threats of secession and dissolution will do injury only to those who make them.

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