BY S. B. ROW.

CLEARFIELD, PA., WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1860.

VOL. 7.-NO. 3.

legitimate means, and only for legitimate ends.

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 Phil adelphia on the 28th Aug., and ask for it a careful perusal by every voter into whose hands it may come. Mr. ADAMS is the son of JOHN QUINCY AD-AMS, and in point of literary ability ranks foremost among the "shining lights" of our "literary Mr. Adams, on being introduced, was received with prolonged cheering, after which he

I presume that I address the citizens of a place claiming to be the most conservative city in America. By the word "conservative" mean adverse to change, and most particularly unwilling to favor any movement which seems likely to unsettle the established ideas and the customary social and political relations which time has sanctioned, and habit has rendered familiar to all. "Conservative." There is much virtue in that word. Although coming from a different and a more excitable community, I think that I, too, may claim to be I, too, am very unwilling to unsettle anything that is established on good and sufficient foundations. I even desire to preserve much that in an old house, rather than to build a new respects I well know that it is vastly inferior to modern constructions, but solely because it

It I choose to put up with the inconveniences of small rooms, or narrow windows, or uneven floors, for the sake of long habit and enough that I like it and do not care to change,

But now suppose we go a step forward. Let

us assume that in course of time something attached. Supposing, in my old house, for maintain it. mind that I had better bear all this than make this change, and calling it excellent, for fear, if I complain or resist, that I may make my neighbor cross or violent, and that he may threaten to burn his house down in order that haps this might be considered the conservaconservative, I certainly cannot agree with you any more. Here I am no longer conservative. right madness. My notion would be to act at once-yes to remonstrate to resist, and if absolutely indispensable, to change altogether. The true conservative policy in such a case is not submission, but reform. Something that will restore to me the advantages of my old way of life. Something that will prevent me from suffering by a most unpleasant change.

Fellow citizens-If I now apply the same our political affairs, you will see at once where

prove that not only are there great abuses in | inite policy of reform is concerned, with such | tempting to bribe the people of the free States | of the Federal system, has been constantly 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. It will in controlling the means of executing his denot do to trust the operation to the feeble or the incompetent. There must not only be capacity in the agents, but there must also be corresponding strength in the popular confidence to sustain them. We all of us very well know that a single man, let him be ever so well fitted for the task, could of himself do nothing. He must have support and co-operaiion on the part of others. And just in the proportion that these others are strong enough and numerous enough to constitute what is by the aid of the adherents of Mr. Breckinconservative. I, too, am averse to change ;- | called popular opinion, will be the probability | ridge, who are known to be totally opposed to of establishing some system that may be useful and permanent. To expect of a small party organization, even supposing that acciis called old, merely because it is old. For dent should make it possible to try, that it that reason, when I am home I prefer to live should succeed in executing any distinctive intrigue, and to coruption even worse than policy of its own, would be unreasonable, if one. Not that I think it the best, or the hand- not positively absurd. Such a serious thing been when many of the wor by and respectasomest, or the most convenient, for in all these | as reform cannot be confined within the circle of the Executive department. The spirit that animates it must be spread

is old, and because my fathers lived there be- smong the people at large, and among their loudest to deprecate the happening of any representatives everywhere. Especially must it predominate in both branches of the Legis- citizens not to throw away their votes, which lature. We all know that everything like the cutting off of abuses must meet with dogged pleasant association of ideas, I do not know and steady opposition from those classes the why any one has a right to find fault. Even most subject to be affected by it. They will if there were no other reason whatever, it is set heaven and earth in motion to resist the movement from step to step. They will resort of Henry Clay against Mr. James K. Polk. to justify me in my choice. To this extent it to the thousand and one expedients to raise I remember that at that time I did what I could, seems to me wise and proper to be conserva. | jealousies and disseminate distrust, which are tive. Hence, if I apply this reasoning to mat- found so effectual in bringing to nought the sent that doctrine to the minds of those who ters of government, I should say that I am per. best conceived enterprises. In order to over- were leaning to the support of a third candifectly satisfied with the Union and the federal bear all this resistance, and make it of no ef- date. I remember, also, that many of them Constitution, with existing State, and city and fect, there is a necessity for a united and com-

threaten or to disturb the useful tenor of their fid nee in one another. They must have a Just so it may again be now, supposing any operations. This is what I call sound, conser- head to devise as well as hands to execute, friends of reform to vote for Mr. Bell or for vative, national doctrine. I suppose you to and multitudes to confirm. Without the pres- Mr. Douglas, well knowing that the election of approve of it with me, so that to this extent | ence of all these elements, no real movement | either of them by the people is utterly out of we may be said to be quite agreed. So far, under a popular form of gevernment is likely | the question, but hoping that by some sort of to terminate in good. Without harmony and union of numbers there can be no satisfying | tion can be defeated by the people, and they popular opinion. Hence the inexpediency at turns up that, if not attended to in season, all times of inaugurating any kind of novel one or the other of them will succeed there. threatens to make very serious changes for policy in a government where there is not a How is he to do it excepting through the votes the worse, in the old system to which we are large array of people prepared to accept and of the Administration States; friends of Mr.

example, I discover the dry-rot beginning in Now, let me ask of you, if you really bethe timbers, or that my foundation is starting lieve such a reform necessary at this time, a little, or perhaps my neighbor is building to where will you look for the requisite agency shut out my light, or that he is setting up a to execute it? You must find some popular business that affects the purity of the air; sup- organization or other to act with, or you will posing that he undertakes to keep thousands | do nothing at all. You have got to select | of hogs in a place so near that I have the your instruments: you have got to elevate stench in my rooms at all times of the day and | your candidates for high places in the Govern conservative here too? Must I make up my good. Who shall they be? That is the quesany noise about it? Must I insist on liking let us consider what state of things it is that we have before us.

I have already alluded to the fact that we have four distinct forms of popular organiza- correct. Of course it follows that any combition in the present canvass for the Preidency. mine may catch fire and burn down too? Per. You all know them well enough to save me cure the election of either of the candidates dom and for slavery, I shall take a citizen's good. the need of much explanation. There is the can only be made by a surrender, or at least a tive course too. But if that is what you call party supporting Mr. Breckinridge, and that compromise of the hostility which should ani- I should about any other doctrine or policy you to praise particular men, or to censure supporting Mr. Douglas. These are the frag- mate them against the commission of wrong that I hold to be mischievous or dangerous to others. I never was, in my youth, a hero ments of the former Democratic party, but by them. Need I add that an election alone I should call such a course folly, if not down- now opposing each other with more vehe- would not be enough? It would be absolutely mence than they do their old adversaries. indispensable to a person chosen to have some Then there is the party of Mr. Bell, composed, basis broad enough to rest his administration as I said before, almost exclusively of old upon. That basis must be made of those who Whigs. And lastly, there is the Republican vote for him. It will then happen that the gin by changing the spirit in which it was ad- demerits of single individuals. Yet I cannot protection and the extension of slavery-the party, which presents Mr. Abraham Lincoln. | very class of people who are now held respon-One thing is here worthy of notice-and that sible for their misdeeds must be continued in

is, that it is universally acknowledged to be office to contend with a Republican opposition true, that but one of these four parties stands | not disposed to qualify, or compromise or tolthe smallest chance of success in electing its erate the wrong doers. In other words, there sort of reasoning to the present condition of candidate by the popular vote. The very best would be no change, no reform at all, and the | the Federal authority to the maintenance and | I profess. With Mr. Lincoln I have never country on the abolition of the slave trade. I am coming out. The time has arrived for | lectoral votes enough to defeat any choice at | ture election. us to look carefully into the condition of our all. By this means, as you all know, the elecfederal government. If we have reason to tion of a President would be transferred by the as to infect the air we breathe, then the ques- | must be shut out. The Constitution confines tion arises whether it be conservative to let it the selection between those three having the go on without any hindrance or attempt at highest number of votes; and at the proper prevention; or whether it be not the really | time the House must proceed to elect one ou | form. We must be up and abate the nuisance. is ready to predict with confidence. The pretion, whatever else we differ about, all, at least | stand. He is supported by all the office-hold- | into opposition. in the free States, and very many in the slave ers under whom the abuses complained of have States, agree on this point. Dissatisfaction been tolerated. He is the candidate of Mr. with the existing administration of the Gen- Buchanan, who has not deemed it unbecoming movement of reform whatever, there is anotheral Government is general, it not universal. the dignity of his office to come forward and Look for a moment at the various political or- advocate the election of his successor. Of braham Lincoln as the agent is absolutely an ganizations that have sprung up in this canvass | course, if you vote for Mr. Breckinridge you | imperative duty. A reform, to be in any way for the Presidency. All but one of the four, vote in effect to approve the policy of the very and that one apparently composed of office- Administration which it is so universally deem- It must go down to the very root of the mat-At least two-thirds of what was lately the if you are honestly a reformer, Mr. Breckin- be sounded abroad from the other parties, there Democratic party in the free States are as ridge cannot be your choice. Very certainly are reasons connected with the nature of their other direction will be in a great measure wasloudmouthed about this as any one. They de- you would not select Mr. Bell. For though position and alliance which render it hardly clare their want of confidence in Mr. Buchan- his will might be good enough to execute a re- reasonable to anticipate from them any very an and his adherents, and their conviction of form, it is very plain that the basis of his pop- energetic effort to probe the abuses of the presnecessity for reform-that is, a thorough ular support would not be in any way commen- ent government to the core. It is the Repubchange of men and measures. The friends of surate with its successful execution. We all lican party alone which declares its wish to ex-Mr. Bell-in other words, the remains of the know the precise extent of the co-operating pose the influence which the advocates of sla-

suppose Mr. Bell to be the candidate, shut it the solemn truth, and the history of the Lebit. In the Senate of the United States he that in this city there are a great many people has but a single friend, and he is certain to lose him next year; whilst in the House the ly believe that if all of us would only consent number of his friends can scarcely be said to to stop talking about it, and to shut our eyes far as effective assistance in the great work is perfectly happy. To all such persons I have concerned, there is little to choose between only to say this in answer: There are some these two. Each of them is equally powerless signs. Then, again, you should call to mind the circumstances under which the election of either of these candidates would be made. He must be chosen by the House of Representatives. That is to say, you will, with your eyes and pains. They may as well give it up first open, put either Mr. Bell or Mr. Douglas into as last. For anybody to insist that an evil that body, to take his chances against Mr. Lincoln. In other words, you will set one candidate for reform against another, with no expectation of electing your friend, excepting reform. I shall not now enlarge upon the dangers to which the country will be exposed by the process of an election in the House, nor upon the opening it would make to all sorts of any we are trying to break up. The time has ble citizens who seem now to look with complacency upon the possibility of squeezing

Mr. Bell into such a scene, were among the

such contingency, and to exhort their fellow

could elect a good candidate, in the wild expectation of helping the cause of some third person who could not be chosen. I remember that was the talk in 1844, when we were many of us engaged in the advocacy within the range of my feeble powers, to prepersevered in their policy; and that through swing, under the pretence that it is the safest power and perverted your principles for the other municipal organizations, and do not, therefore, want to make a change. Nay, I would go further, and say, that I do not care would go further, and say, that I do not care acting together for the securing of common that election, and its effect upon the subse-strength in the Federal Government, when we to be wholly unjustifiable? Do you entertain discord among a batch of competing candiquent policy of the country, we all know. legerdemain, by hook or by crook, if the eleccan go into the House of Representatives, Breckinridge? Surely the Republicans will not abandon their strong ground. It would be | full and satisfactory investigation of its politi- | as downright, independent honesty, without unreasonable to expect so large a party to move a foot from the position they occupy as the true friends of reform. To trade or to barter or to higgle for votes at the expense of their principles, would at once shatter the confidence in their honesty, which is their only solid basis of support. But if there can be little hope night. What am I to do then? Must I be ment, before you can begin to hope to do any in that quarter, then these reformers must go my mind this is, or ought to be always known the party of reform. The honest men of Ato their opponents, to those who uphold the tion. In order to arrive at some conclusion, present administration, to those who have been giving contenance to, if they have not themselves been actively engaged in, the very abuses which it is the object of all honest men to ever the institution of slavery appears to me the honor of the country may yet be redeemnation made with these persons that will se-

that the three others can hope for is to gain e- | work would yet remain to be done at some fu-If I have made myself understood, then I think you will see that the only way by which we suspect that a sort of dry rot is creeping into | Constitution to the House of Representatives. | can hope to gain a real good in the election is | attempts to force a slaveholding Government | speeches, and by inquiry from persons who | friends or be can do nothing. He must be the the timbers, and a moral stench is spreading so | Here it is well known that one out of the four | by effecting a choice by the popular vote, in the first instance. And this can only be done by uniting heartily in the support of Abraham Lincoln. We all know that this canvass dif- know how assiduously the present Administra- to advantage as a better logician and a sound- as the present one has done. In the mean fers in its nature from any preceding one for wise course to set about a plan of prevention, of three. Of these three, nobody doubts that twenty five years past. We all know that if the abuse of its influence over members of perior in one great province of political duty the agitation which has so long disturbed it. have done. In other words, our duty is now reform. We must be up and abate the nuisance. Is ready to predict with confidence. The prewill be. It is for us to determine whether he bill, as well as by its indefatigable exertions gations of public life. From the character of nized as the rule of action in the general gov-We must look sharply into the causes that vailing opinion now is, that it would be Messrs. shall be President by our votes, or whether make the trouble, and, if possible, put an end | Breckinridge and Bell, and that Mr. Douglas | somebody else whom we may not desire shall to them before matters grow any worse. Not | would be shut out. Let us, for the sake of ar- have a chance to wriggle through the House | Court in the Dred Scott case upon the country | of integrity. Whatever else there may be in a moment is to be lost. If we act at all we gument, suppose that this is so, and that the of Representatives. This is the true quesmust act now, right off, without an instant's | candidates are Messrs. Lincoln, Breckinridge | tion: and if you are really the friends of redelay. Is there anybody here that denies the and Bell. Which of these would you select form which you profess to be, the only way ofact that some action is indispensable? I with any hope of executing your project of ne- pen to your success is through the elevation know of nobody, unless it be the office-holders, cessary reform? Very certainly it would not of Abraham Lincoln and of his friends, who, and to extend the influence of slavery. Now and their friends all over the country, who be Mr. Breckinridge, for he is the only one of consider themselves personally benefited by all the candidates who is wholly against reconsider themselves personally benefited by all the candidates who is wholly against re- termined enough to carry their point, in the keeping things as they are. With this excep- form. He thinks things well enough as they face of all the resistance that can be combined

But, independently of all considerations connected with the practicability of executing any er and potent reason why the selection of Abeneficial, must be searching and thorough. ed indispensable to condemn. Of course, then, | ter. | Now, however much the professions may

a basis of popular confidence as is shown here? with their own money in order to maintain it-But let us change the programme again, and self in the control of the government. That

who dislike to meddle with it, and who honestthings which men can do, and it is right and proper in all such cases for them to try. Success will, perhaps, compensate for the exertion. But whenever they undertake to control a power that is entirely beyond their reach, then they are wasting both their time their red glare into my windows, of what use is it to me to shut my eyes and say there is no fire? Will that save my house? If a heavy flood is covering the roofs of the smaller tenements around mine, and is rapidly rising to my third story, how will it benefit me to keep my eyes fixed straight up in the sky, and say that there is no rain? Will such a course stay the water? For my part, I consider it proof of great feebleness of character to insist upon ignoring the pressure of an evil, because it is unpleasant to be forced to think of a remedy; to suffer it to grow without molestation, be cause any attempt to check it may be attended with difficulty. It has been very clear to my eyes for many years, that this subject of slavery in America has got to be met by the people of the United States sooner or later-that there is no way to escape its baneful influence, and that the only thing left for us is to take right hold of it, examine it calmly, quietly, in a statesmanlike manner, to fix its relations to the government of the country at the minimum rate of its disturbing force, and there to keep it for the future forever. I do not believe in the wisdom of the policy that has been adopted along back, which is, to let it have its full that it has squandered your money, abused your see with our eyes how completely the Senate, the President and the Supreme Court are controlled by it. I do not believe in the proprie- | discredited in the eyes of the world by the ty of holding still about the attempt to saddle upon us a wicked policy, because if we do not, Do you really believe in the truth of the dec- If I did, I should be insulting your understandwe may run the risk of driving the slavehold-ing States to desperate and suicidal extremes. such a thing as human liberty, too sacred to My notion may be wrong, but I hold it from | be touched by any tyrannical hand; that there ter is in no respect different from that which | protect human rights and not destroy them ; commou sense teaches us to deal with every | that there is such a thing as love, the exponent other critical question in life-that is, to ex- of benevolence in construing the privileges of amine it patiently, firmly, boldly, and, after a mankind; that, in fine, there is such a thing cal bearings, and of the bad effects it may pro- which no forms of authority can be snything duce to us, as a nation, to adopt and to exe- but a mockery? I say, fellow citizens, do you cute a plan of counteraction, in no bad spirit, | believe in all these things? Then the hour but purely to save the whole country from be- | for you to be up and doing is now. The way ing nanecessarily and injuriously affected by a | is open. Unite with the only association of thing which ought to be strictly confined with- | men who have it in their power, and who likein the limits in which it actually exists. In wise desire to effect your object. Declare for as a Government favorable to human freedom; | merica constitute an immense majority of the and so far as any influence or any exertion that population. The only thing needed at this I may be able to use is concerned, however time is that they should unite to dictate a polfeeble that is, it will remain such. And when- icy, and to name the men to execute it, and to be endeavoring to undermine the policy of ed. We may again be what we once were, the Government, so as to turn it against free- proud of the work of our hands, because it is liberty to speak out about it, just the same as

first touched this matter of slavery. I was ence is rather to analyze the principles that saying that no reform could be at all thorough | move the action of great political combinamimistered, in connection with this particular | forget the importance of selecting suitable interest. Nobody who is not willing to blind agents to carry out even the best purposes. I going on during the last eight years can fail | reasons for my confidence in the candidates I We all know well enough how the last Adminupon the free Territory of Kansas. These tion continued and enlarged that policy by er statesman, whilst he is incomparably suto palm off the extra-judicial opinions of a his argument I should infer that he was a man slaveholding bench of Judges of the Supreme of ability-and still more, that he was a man as being established and recognised by law. We all remember this. We all feel the use that has and that is, an honest man, an incorruptible been made of the Executive authority in these | man, an independent man. Such a man the cases, to discourage the doctrines of liberty It is all wrong from the beginning and ought the person for whom we vote be what they to be made right. But nobody will be likely really to make it right, unless it be Abraham Lincoln and his friends in the Republican party. Mr. Bell certainly will not, and Mr. Douglas, if we are to judge by the submission to take any slaveholding decree that the same judges | all probability, to serious trials of his firmness may hereafter make, and an ultra slaveholding candidate for Vice President on his back in advance, will not be likely to get very far. There is, then, no other choice for the true believers in reform. All efforts made in any ted. If you honestly mean to restore freedom as the rule of action for a government | for his support mainly in the free States of the professing to be founded on the principles of Union. the Declaration of Indepedence, Lincoln is

Even in the secondary light of money trans-

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. Nay, even more than this. Your money and my money has been used without scruple to sow the seeds of exceed twenty. It would seem then that, so so as not to see it, then the country would be division and discord among ourselves to such a degree, that even though a large majority may desire to effect some useful and permanent reform, we shall be sure to fail in doing anything at all, because we do not agree in our choice of the agents through whom to execute it. This was the policy of 1853, when the friends of Mr. Fillmore, in their innocent simplicity, were led directly into the Democratic trap, baited with the principles of Native Americanism. The division then fostered in does not exist, when everybody knows that it this very city and county of Philadelphia was does, is pure folly. If my neighbor's house is the real cause of the failure at that election of burning, and the flames are already throwing | the movement for reform, and of the corrupt practices which have been since exposed. But, although the evidence of this truth is sufficiently displayed, the same agencies are once more at work, in hope of once more effecting the same object. In the free States at least the name of Mr. Bell is held forth solely for the purpose of division and the continuation of the corrupting slaveholding supremacy in the general government. And hostile as the same authority has shown itself to the success of Mr. Douglas, it is not averse to the use of such power as he may acquire in the free States, by catching votes under a separate organization for a delusive doctrine, to the end of dividing and weakening and destroying the movement for reform. Divide et impera was a maxim of ambitious leaders thousands of years ago. Divide and rule by dividing your opponents is the instinctive

lesson of a great political association now. Fellow citizens :- I address you in the words of sad and serious soberness, without exaggeration, and without an attempt to appeal to your passions. Are you seriously and truly discontented with the course of the present a hope that something may be done to rescue the reputation of the country now notoriously conviction, that the way to deal with this mat- is such a thing as government intended to

Fellow citizens :- I come not here before ance. I cannot, therefore, speak of him from a party of reform, one thing we must have, testimony of all my witnesses unites in representing him to be. That is the man for the notions, I must be permitted to say that I remay, it should be recollected that his ability to execute them must, after all, depend upon the degree in which he is supported by the to animate the free States. The proof of this popular view. I do not conceal from myself is found in the way that it has been tolerated that, if elected, Mr. Lincoln is destined, in as well as of his energies. Whatever these fatuity of the idea of restoring a defunct parmay be, his best action will gain prodigiously ty. As well might you undertake to push in force from the knowledge that he enters up- back the current of the Mississippi? As well in force from the knowledge that he enters upon his duties as the representative of an overwhelming mass of public sentiment. Especially is this essential, because from the necessity of the case he must, at first at least, look

We all know that there exists in the slaveholding States a species of despotism which tions that really agitate the nation, and which renders even the expression of an opinion ad- is based upon principles that not a handful of old Whig party—say just the same; and the Republicans are more emphatic than either on that point. There has not been so much unanimity of sentiment on any one subject in politics for thirty years given the time of the condary light of money transpose the introducing and perpetuating actions, let us now see the connection which the secondary light of money transpose the introducing and perpetuating set us now see the connection which the secondary light of money transpose the introducing and perpetuating set us now see the connection which the secondary light of money transpose the introducing and perpetuating set us now see the connection which the secondary light of money transpose the introducing and perpetuating set us now see the connection which the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. And this despotism under the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. It is based upon principles to despot and the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. It is based upon principles to despot and the secondary light of money transpose to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. It is based upon principles to its supremacy somewhat dangerous to its supremacy somewhat dangerous. It is based upon principles to its supremacy somewhat dangerous thics for thirty years, since the time of the one of these he is certain to lose next year; at the evidence in the Covode investigation, ware of the fact, which appears tolerably well time for the development of his policy. Rest- the two, and the only two parties really based second election of James Monroe. It stands and in the House he might get as many as article Lecompton. Then he will see what established by the testimony given before the ing upon the broad basis of the confidence of upon existing conflicts of opinion. Without to reason, then, that there must be very strong grounds for such a singular result.

This universal conviction among persons not in agreement about anything else, goes to

Having no right to complain, the resistance of the violent men in the slaveholding States will lose its popular force; and the threats of secession and disunion will do injury only to those who make them. This process of men-ace has been carried on so incessantly for years back, to deter us from doing our plain duty to the country and ourselves, that I, for one, am thoroughly tired of it. I do not believe it will be sustained by the sober and sound sense of the quiet citizens of the South. We have humored and indulged it so long, and given way so constantly to the sacrifice of our own convictions of right, without producing the smallest effect in putting a stop to it, that it seems to me expedient now to try the other way for once. Let us do right. Let us insist upon reform in the policy of the general government exclusively within the sphere in which we have the most uoquestionable privilege to exercise the authority vested in a constitutional majority of the people, and then let us see who will be so unreasonable as to call our action into question by a resort to suicidal measures. It is said to be a custom with the Japanese that when a man imagines himself to have been affronted by another, he does not call that other to account, but straightway proceeds to rip up his own bowels, and thus put an end to himself. So it may be, indeed, with the good people of the slave States. They may choose to kill themselves purely to spite us. But I do not believe it; I have too good an opinion of their common sense. They are impulsive, it is true, but they are by no means idiots. They have demagogues who go about talking nonsense, merely to excite men's passions, as well as we. But the great body of the citizens I believe to be perfectly sound; and if convinced that the majority seek only to reinstate in the government the very same principles upon which it was originally started, under the direction of George Washington, they will disavow all treasonable counsels, and consent to share in the blessings which, under our happy system, all parts of this magnificent country equally enjoy. It remains, then, to be seen, whether the honest and independent voters of the United States are so far convinced of the responsibility pressing upon them at this crisis as to unite together to reform the Government, and to give stability to a liberal Administration. The question is between order and any large portion of the people. Choose ye, then, under which banner you will enlist. Can I permit myself to doubt which it will be? ing, not less than denying your patriotism. Let us suppose for a moment that Mr. Breck-

in ridge could be elected. How are you going

to gain by that ? Mr. Breckinridge is the can

didate of the ex treme wing of the slavehol-

ding, secession disunion people in the Southern States: the same men, who threatened last winter that they would prevent a Speaker from being elected by a plurality, even though they knew that success in such a plan might bring on a dissolution of the government; the same men who talked the rankest treasonable talk all the season about what they would do if the people of these States should elect certain persons to the Presidency whom they did not like. I am very well aware of the fact that Mr. Breckinridge himself has disavowed all sympathy with such doctrines by the earnestness with which he has reiterated his devotion to the Union. But it is always well in similar cases to extend our view a little beyond the mere incident of the election. We are bound to bear in mind when we vote for a candidate, the precise position in which he may be placed after he is chosen-who are his friends and advisers, and what his policy will be. Obviously Mr. Breckinridge can find these only in the quarter where he will have been sustained worshipper, neither do I feel disposed to be. before he is chosen. We have then a right to Now let me go back a moment to where I come so at my present time of life. My pres- presume that his administration will be simply an aggravated form of the present one. We have then a right to presume that the cardinal in the General Government which did not be- tions of men, than to dwel! upon the merits or principle of it will be the perpetuation, the fortification of the political doctrines proclaimed in the Supreme Court by the decision on his eyes and to close his ears to what has been acknowledge the necessity of explaining the Dred Scott; and I do not hesitate to declare it, as my own opinion, that an early measure to understand the use that has been made of support, as well for my faith in the principles will be the retraction of the policy of the extension of the slave power in that time. had the opportunity of a personal acquaint. All this I say is unavoidable, whatever may be the personal feelings of Breckinridge if he istration acted after the repeal of the Missouri | knowledge. But I have taken some pains to | succeeds as the candidate of the extreme par-Compromise in favoring the various desperate inform myself, by reading his published ty of the slaveholders. He must go with his upon the free Territory of Kansas. These know him familiarly. And the result exponent of the extreme opinions, or he will facts have gone into history, and are beyond of my reflections is this. I think that his disthe possibility of contradiction. So we all cussion in 1858, with Mr. Douglas, shows him ministration will come to an end as lamentable time the country will gain no respite from ernment, just so long will there be an Opposition that will leave nothing undone within its legitimate sphere to affect a peaceful and permanent establishment of its policy. With this power victory is only a question of time. As to the scheme of presenting Mr. Bell, with the idea of reinstating the old Whig

gard it as almost exclusively designed in the free States, to maintain and uphold the existlng authority in the Federal government. It is aimed as a blow at the Republican movement, by dividing the sentiment which ought by the friends of the other candidates opposed to Mr. Lincoln. They all understand the might you pretend that you would place a statue on the eternally frozen apex of Chimborazo! No man, with the smallest conception of what belongs to the character of a statesman, will presume to affirm that can have been a nomination made in good faith. which is made without any regard to the ques-