

Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

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Speeches.

Speeches delivered before the Democratic State Convention.

MARCH 4th, 1856.

HON. G. B. BUCKALEW.

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention—it is scarcely a fitting thing to set cold meats before a company after a feast; but sir, this is an occasion when the feeble may stand up, and even the ill come forward. I have but little to say, and as I have been much in the habit, of recent years, of speaking to business questions and confining myself to the question, I shall do so at this time.

Mr. President, this Convention is composed of one hundred and thirty-three members. It is full. No delegate is absent from his place in this Hall. Upon the first vote for the selection of a candidate to be presented by Pennsylvania to her sister States, one hundred and twenty-eight gentlemen are placed upon the record in favor of a distinguished personage not now resident within the limits of our State, although a native of it, nor within the limits of the United States or contiguous territory, but located beyond three thousand miles of dreary water, and there discharging with distinguished ability the duties attached to the position which he holds. No intruder attaches this nomination. It has not been begotten in caucus nor in the brain of any human being who expected therefrom personal advantage or promotion. Whatever may have been said of previous conventions in this Commonwealth or elsewhere—whatever of reproach or of doubt may have heretofore attached to any transaction in which our proud and gallant party has been concerned, this transaction, this event, stands upon an elevation where reproach doth not assail it. [Great applause.]

Sir, from whence comes this nomination by the Convention here assembled? It comes from the hearts and the judgments of the people of Pennsylvania. (Cheers.) That is the quarter from whence it proceeds, and here is the proof of it. One hundred and twenty-eight votes of this body, lacking but five of the entire number, were given with promptness and alacrity for the nominees of the Convention. Four gentlemen voted under the pressure of instructions for another, but immediately afterwards, after that technical duty was discharged, they enrolled themselves along with their colleagues for the candidate nominated. One gentleman only, did not join in the nomination, but he is just as certainly committed, and just as sure eventually to be enrolled with others, as any future event can be certain. He voted for the nominee of the Cincinnati Convention. We have him there; (applause.) Mr. President, this has been the action of the Convention. Thus much has been done and well done. It has been accomplished at the right time and in the right way. It has proceeded from just and proper motives and is emphatically sanctioned by and based upon, the judgment and conviction of the people. Now, sir, what next? Another duty of this Convention will be to select gentlemen to represent our Commonwealth—our State—in the Convention at Cincinnati. They will go there charged with the message which we have prepared. And what is that message? It is to ask of the assembled Representatives of the thirty odd States of the Union, to concur with us in this work which we have begun, in all honesty and in all earnestness; with deep conviction of its justice, of its wisdom, and of the necessity which has suggested and which sanctions it. We have spoken here, and our speech has been put upon record. And there has been sent trembling along the wires, with the swiftness of lightning, to the remotest corners of the confederacy, this voice, thus uttered. What next? As a business question—for I am speaking with that idea predominant—what next is to be done? Why, sir, we are to convince our party friends in other States that we are right, and that duty and policy require them to go with us. That is the point to which our common and united efforts should now be directed. And of what can we assure them to induce them to go with us in the action proposed? Why, we can assure them with united voice and without hesitation, that the electoral vote of this State will be given to the candidate whom we have named. We can tell them with entire truth, that members of the opposite party by hundreds and thousands have been considering the nomination of Mr. Buchanan, and stand ready to endorse it. If he is nominated, they are with us. I know many such. I have heard, and others have heard, many such voices of late, of active members of what was recently the Whig party. This nomination, therefore, has strength vastly beyond the limits of our own party. It grasps and collects the suffrages of honest, independent, patriotic men, who have never before been with us.

What more need we urge upon the Democratic party of other States and those representing them? Why, sir, we can point them to the fact, that at this moment, from the Atlantic coast westward, through all the Cen-

tral States, where the battle of the Constitution is to be fought out, there is no man who can be named as the peer and equal, on grounds of fitness, of the candidate whom we have named. The distinguished citizen of Michigan, long and favorably known to our people, is not before the country in connection with this subject. Excepting one or two of all the great men who commenced public life thirty or forty years ago—of all that band of worthies that have distinguished the history of our own State, or of the general government, from these Middle States, and especially from Pennsylvania, there is but one proud, bold head yet above the waves. [Applause.] Some of them have been struck down by the hand of death—some have fallen away from us in the pressure of hot contests, and from apostates at first, have become open and eventually insignificant enemies. [Applause.] And some have been found otherwise unfit for, or unworthy of the continued confidence and respect of the people. But, sir, through all the vicissitudes, when our glance has gone abroad in search of the faithful and the great, one figure has fixed attention and commanded respect. There has been with him a steady virtue and a mental power, that have confounded his enemies and fixed him firmly in the affections of the people.

When we have looked, of recent years, for one who stood up like a whole man in former times, and yet stands up; who has travelled through the storm and the tempest with unimpaired power and popularity, but one man meets the expectant gaze, and that man is James Buchanan. [Applause.] Sir, our people have been thinking of this thing for some years. They have thought upon it earnestly, they have turned it over in their minds as they pursued their avocations in their respective neighborhoods, and they have expressed here to-day through their delegates, the conclusions to which they have come. May we not trust that this voice, thus intelligent and thus decided will be respected by our sister States when they assemble in council in June next. Yes, sir, there is no other candidate in the central portion of the Union who can be presented as the fair and equal competitor of the choice of this Convention, no other man about whose name such recollections, such evidences of fidelity and ability are gathered, as his who is now proposed as our standard bearer in the coming campaign, and who will secure to us, if nominated, a signal triumph.

But what more? When I read, either backwards or forwards the history of our Commonwealth, I perceive, and afterwards recollect, one important and striking fact; and it is this: that while the little coast bound State of Massachusetts and the State of Virginia, inferior to our own in many respects, have often furnished incumbents for the Presidential chair, our own State has been entirely overlooked, if not forgotten. We have occasionally reminded our brethren of the other States of some moderate and modest pretensions which we hold to on this subject, but for one reason or another they have never yet received their attention, and they have not acceded to our wishes.

Sir, the time has come when this favor ought no longer to be refused to this noble State of ours. [Applause.] The time has come when a fair claim of right arises on our behalf, and when it is our duty, founded upon self-respect, to urge it with zeal and a determination that it shall be acknowledged.—There are reasons why Pennsylvania should be listened to by the other States. In the most critical moment of every political engagement, of every political contest, since the foundation of our general government, to what point of the Union has the anxious, strained gaze of the Democratic party been turned? Whither? Why, sir, in a letter of Mr. Jefferson's—written in the dark and stormy days when he lifted up that flag which those who came after him have held up since—he wrote:—“Let but Virginia maintain her position and Pennsylvania stand firm upon her basis, and our Union will be perpetual and our prosperity boundless.” [Great applause.] Yes, sir, there was then an anxious, patriotic eye turned from the heights of Monticello towards Pennsylvania, in hope, for the rescue of principle from the contests of faction. Away back, half a century ago, the sagacity of Mr. Jefferson discovered in this State the foundation upon which Republicanism could safely rest; he pronounced his judgment that so long as she stood with Virginia upon solid principles everything was well, and the prosperity of the country secure and certain. It has been so since. In every party emergency, when the cause of the Republic or Democratic party looked dim and doubtful, when faint hearts failed, when the treacherous fell from us, and the feeble halted in their course, Pennsylvania was looked to as the point from which redemption must come. Sir, we have ordinarily been faithful to those expectations. Time after time, when the battle was doubtful, and threatened to go against our party, Pennsylvania came forward and grasped victory from the jaws of despair. We have also in other respects performed our duty to our Sister States and to the Union. No State stood forward more promptly to form the Constitution and Government of the United States; to establish solid benevolent and patriotic principles at the base of the structure which has become the admiration of the world. We have, sir, assisted our sister States when their interests were involved or their rights in jeopardy. To protect the Virginia frontier and Kentucky settlements against the treacherous savage, our soldiers rushed into the wilderness under “Mad Anthony Wayne.” In the war of 1812, in the western wilderness, along the Northern Lakes and upon the Atlantic seaboard, Pennsylvanians were found laboring and suffering to uphold the common interests of the States and maintain the honor of the national flag. Sir, there are many here to whom I may appeal as witnesses, that in the more recent struggle in which our nation was involved, on a distant soil, under a

tropical sun, from the shores of the Gulf far away into the interior of Mexico, the Pennsylvania volunteers plodded their weary way fighting when required, suffering where suffering was to be endured, and zealously assisting to uphold the American character for fortitude and prowess before the civilized world. Why, sir, upon an appeal from Simon Snyder, the Democratic Governor of this State, at a time when Massachusetts refused her jails to the public virtues that elevate a State and make her admired and respected among the nations.

Have you not heard it said just before an important national election, that “as Pennsylvania goes so goes the Union,” as goes Pennsylvania so is the result; and the hearts of our brethren in other States have been made to dance with joy when Pennsylvania has gone as they desired her to go. Yes, sir, they have rejoiced exceedingly, and been deeply grateful for our efforts, devotion and zeal. I speak in all kindness, with a proper appreciation of these compliments which have been showered upon us.—We have been assigned a very important position in what is designated as the “federal arch” (an expression which I confess I have never exactly comprehended.) This State has been called the Keystone of that arch; which holds it in place, and without which it would crumble into ruins; without which everything would go to destruction connected with it. We have been told that upon this State has rested the Republican system of Government; that it has constituted the base of it, and that our steady and solid population are to be relied upon under all circumstances. All this is well enough, and agreeable enough, but we can afford to dispense with further compliments, and therefore, what we now ask of our sister States of the Union, is this; that waiving all pleasant words, the coinage of kindness, politeness, or gratitude, they give us the request that we are about to make of them. [Loud and long continued applause.] We ask them to do this as no special or self favor to Pennsylvania, but as a thing in itself honest, honorable, and without reproach, and above all, as one in which their welfare and our own are jointly and mutually interested.

Mr. President, they will do it. Sir, the Convention that is to meet in June next, will do it. I venture to pronounce this upon evidence that appears conclusive to my own mind. I venture to pronounce it upon information received from other quarters of the Union. I venture to pronounce it, because it is so reasonable and just a thing, that I believe the Democratic party will not miss doing it. I believe it will be done because it is seen, and can be seen, by all intelligent members of our party in all parts of the Union, that the nomination of Mr. Buchanan gives us a political position so broad and strong, that all political power of the combined political opposition in the country cannot prevail against us. Be it understood, then, in the first place, that Pennsylvania, in this nomination, is in earnest; in the next, that in her judgment, it would be unwise, and possibly disastrous for other States to refuse a concurrence in her action.

I have spoken suddenly and impromptu, and have addressed myself simply to the duties of the occasion imposed on members of this Convention and those chosen by them to represent the popular will. I say to all, there is a public national duty upon us to unite in securing the nomination of Mr. Buchanan at Cincinnati. The reasons for it are many and weighty; but I have only glanced at some of those most prominent and obvious. Suffice it to say, our hearts and judgments sanction this whole movement. Together, heart and soul, without opposition, without divisions, eye, sir, without a protest, we go into this thing, and we ask that the other States, for their own interest and honor, as well as ours, and for the success of our party, may join with us, and permit the people of Pennsylvania to show what kind of a majority they can give for a Pennsylvania Candidate for President of the United States. (Great cheering.)

SAMUEL W. BLACK.

Col. SAMUEL W. BLACK was greeted with loud and long continued applause. He said: MR. PRESIDENT—I trust that when it comes to the performance of a duty to the Democratic party and to our country, I shall always be ready and obedient to the call of those who have a right to command, and whom it is always my pleasure to obey. I thought, sir, yesterday, when the members of this Convention were gathered together for the first time within this Hall, that there was an auspicious omen because there was an auspicious contradiction of a fact believed by almost every one present. I happened to notice it because, perhaps, my education has been different from that of others, & perhaps in the one great question which now stirs, and has stirred the heart of the country, I have been more deeply enlisted than other gentlemen here present.

The gentleman who has just taken his seat, and whom I have the honor to call my friend, touched on the question of Know-Nothingism. He touched it lightly, because time does not allow a weighty or a tedious discussion; but, sir, when the question is touched at all, every true Democrat, and every man who truly loves his country, feels himself painfully and pleasantly affected at the same time—painfully affected, as the body being pricked with a pin at the extremity of the finger, writhes through every string that upholds the heart; [applause] and pleasantly

assured that cannot and will not deceive us, that its days are numbered, and that to dust and ashes, the place of its birth, it shall speedily return, trampled upon by the heels of men, women and children, who care for the common inheritance of freemen which we have derived from our fathers. [Applause.] In what, sir, does it consist? Because I start out without a theme, and I take up this, the most natural one that lies before me—in what does it consist? In proscription of men because of their birth place, and intolerant proscription of them because of the manner in which they see fit humbly to kneel down and ask the Almighty to forgive their numberless transgressions. [Great applause.] Now, sir, for the incident of which I have spoken, a contradiction to all that they say in regard to this persecuted and abused people. We were standing in an indiscriminate mass yesterday morning, just such a one as you see here, when the Speaker of this House took his seat, and his gavel announced that members were to prepare for business; the crowd at first, pell mell, rushed towards the door, but in the next instant the Minister of the Almighty raised his hand and voice in prayer, and instantly, Protestant and Catholic, paused, and putting his hand upon his heart, prayed, in common with him, for the perpetuity of our country, and the advance of those free institutions enjoyed under our Constitution and our flag. [Applause.] The scene was dramatic, but, sir, it was to the life, and if any man's attention had been called to it, he must have been less than human if his heart had not filled with warm emotions, and a tear of true sympathy had not stood in his eye, powerless to move because his whole nature was fixed by the grave and glorious, yet simple spectacle. [Cheers.]

Now, sir, in regard to this question of Know-Nothingism—if I do not run into a tedious speech instead of making a few desultory remarks—(cries of no, no)—I beg leave, since I have made this my starting point, to call the attention of gentlemen to a few facts from the record which can neither dissemble nor lie. I heard a respectable gentleman in this Hall, within the last three or four weeks, when I happened to be in Harrisburg, make an earnest and anxious and sometimes a very eloquent appeal on behalf of the Bible. He belonged to that peculiar Native American party which, whether dark or shining, whether open or shut, I neither know nor care, but I can tell them, whatever it may be, they will find before the year is ended that it is a dead open and shut. [Applause and laughter.] This party claims to be directed and governed by the Bible. Why, sir, I happened to find a Bible under one of the members' desks, not under that of the gentleman to whom I have alluded, however, and I looked at that very part which the Jews recognized as a Law to them—a system commonly known as the Mosaic economy—and in that you will find more than six or seven times within a few different books, a command laid down to the children of Israel, in regard to the kind treatment of the stranger. And what was the character of the strangers, so far as that character had any relation to the people, who were to receive them? Why, they were all alien enemies; they constituted the nations that surrounded the favored people, and yet here is the command given over and over again, that “the stranger that is within thy gates thou shalt not vex him, or oppress him,” and the reason given is, “for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt, thus saith the Lord, thy God.” [Great applause.] Again, “love ye, therefore, the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt.” Let us apply these commands to ourselves. Our fathers came to this country, pilgrims for the sake of personal freedom, for the sake of political freedom, for the sake of religious freedom, for the sake of the poor right of a poor sinner to seek his own way to Heaven; they were of their own consent banished to a wilderness; they were strangers in a strange land, and yet these “Children of the Star Spangled Banner” who will let no orders live under its light, these “children” undertake to say, and that in the hardest, cruellest and most proscriptive manner, that the Bible authorities say commands them to vex and oppress the stranger who comes here to seek a home with the very same object as that our fathers had in view, and upon the very same shore of the same unchanging sea. [Applause.]

I will not stop, however, to argue this, nor will I run through the New Testament; for there is neither time, nor is this the occasion to undertake it; but if you will look at all the doctrines taught by the New Testament, you will find them the same. Our Saviour winds them up in his last words to his Disciples, when he bids them go into lands where he himself had never been. “Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature.” He himself repudiating the Know-Nothingism that would have kept them with their glad tidings at home, and repudiating Know-Nothingism even in the lands to which they were sent. [Applause.] Now, I myself, feel a little on this subject, for a reason. I am the son of an Irishman. [Applause.] I heard a very respected friend of mine, who happened to be born surrounded by the billows, on the Green Isle—I heard him say that an Irishman's son was not half as good as an Irishman, because he was second-hand. [Laughter and applause.]—Well, sir, I will admit, that perhaps the son is not as good as the father on that account, but we must endeavor to be as good as we can. I put this plain, practical argument in a plain way to the sons of foreigners, whether they are the sons of Irishmen, of Frenchmen, or of Germans, I care not whose they are, or from what country their ancestors may have come; I put this question in a plain and simple way to them—how much better do you think you are than your fathers? [Applause.] Why, if I, at home in Allegheny county, were to pretend that I was or ever hoped to be half as good a man as my father, the

people would rise up and drive me from amongst them. And yet if I am a Know-Nothing I must go and say, nay, go and swear, that I am fit to be a citizen—I am fit to hold office, but that that beloved and respected old gentleman, my father, was not I ask every son of a foreigner who enters into a Know-Nothing lodge if, as he passes not over the threshold of the door, he does not, on taking that step, trample on the grave of his father, and tread in dishonor upon the name of him from whom he derived his existence. [Cheers.] Let us apply to this act some more Scripture—for I confess that, poorly as I follow it, I do like to get into a talk about it. Let us see what it promises to those who dishonor their father. In the 5th commandment is laid down, in the most solemn language that inspiration could draw it, the command contained in the decalogue, renewed and repeated in the New Testament—“Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God hath given thee”—the first commandment that contains a promise, and the only one. [Applause.] Now, sir, what is converse and the opposite of this? It is “Dishonor thy father and thy mother, ye sons of the ‘Star Spangled Banner,’ that your days may be short in the land which the Lord your God hath given you”—[great laughter and applause]—and I am glad that their days are short—[laughter and applause]—and they themselves should, with a double gratitude, thank Providence that their days are short, through our means, and that they have fallen into our hands and not into the hands of the Almighty. [Renewed laughter and applause.]

I will now pass to another instrument which I like to dwell upon, and that is this, (pointing to a book which he held in his hand,) the Constitution of the United States. Why, sir, when I wanted to find this book, I had only to look under the desk where I found the Bible, and it was there too. How they always go together! Wherever you see a member of the Assembly or Congress who has the Bible under his desk, you may always take it for granted as a certainty, that along side of that Bible you will find the Constitution. [Applause.] For no man who violates the one can keep the other; and no man who keeps the one will violate the other. [Applause.]

Now, sir, I undertake to say—but perhaps I trespass? [Cries of “oh, no,” and “go on.”] I undertake to say, that in this instrument, in the farewell address of Washington, and in the Declaration of Independence which preceded this government, there is not one word that encourages that idea called the American idea, but each and all of them are in contradiction and rebuke of it. If you begin with the Declaration of Independence, (I will not stop to refer to it, for you are all familiar with it,) in that Declaration, dated the 4th day of July, 1776, there is nothing but one spirit of universal brotherhood, one spirit of universal manhood, one spirit of universal and unstrained patriotism for a new born and common country. But in the Constitution, from the first article to the last, there is no word that encourages Know-Nothingism or proscription of a man because of his birth or religion, but the very reverse, and there is that which meets and repels any such idea. Now it is sometimes very important, in ascertaining what is meant by an instrument, to look at the heading with which it commences, to the declaration of purpose contained at the beginning; and let me call your attention to this one. “We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution.” As large, as wide, as comprehensive in its terms and language as it is possible to make it. It does not say the citizen—it does not say the “Natives”—it does not say the men who have resided here twenty-one years—it does not say that a man must be dug up out of the soil like a mud turtle. [Applause.] For I heard a man good-naturedly call the Know-Nothing party the mud turtle party. “We the people.” Who comprise the people?—Why men born here and every day coming here from distant shores, the German, Frenchman and Englishman, who fees from the oppression under which he suffers in his own country to find a home in ours, and the Irishman who will hunt everywhere for freedom until he finds it. [Applause.] All of these were included in the one common name of equality. “We the people.” They made the Constitution. I now ask your attention to two sections, and two alone, and before doing so, I beg leave to say that at the adoption of the Constitution, all other things being equal, he having remained in the country, General Lafayette was as eligible to the Presidency of the United States as George Washington. That is, that the first President of the United States might have been born in any foreign country you please, and if other things were equal, he was eligible to that high and honorable office; and so in regard to the office of Senator.

There is not one word said in regard to them beyond this: “that no person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he was chosen.” Now, what does this mean? Why it means that if a man was born abroad, and was twenty-one years of age, and had been nine years a resident, that he could be a Senator of the United States; for at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, no naturalization law had been passed. But it is sufficient for my purpose to say that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution no naturalization law had been passed, and that the word “citizen” meant persons in common,

whether born here or abroad. Then, what was necessary to make a man eligible to be a Senator of the United States? Why, that he should be thirty years of age, and should be nine years a resident of the State for which he should be chosen after he had attained the age of twenty-one years. No more was required under the Constitution of 1789. But further and far more important is the section in regard to the President of the United States, which reads, that “no person, except a native-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President,—neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident of the United States.” Now, mark all these restrictions. “No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution” Any man who was a citizen at the time of the adoption of the Constitution could be President of the United States; but there is a further condition required, and that is this; that he shall have been for fourteen years a resident of the United States, whether he was a native or natural born citizen, or whether he was an adopted citizen. Why, this, sir? For a very good reason. The first blood in the cause of our country was shed in 1775. Gen. Washington took command of the American army at Boston, on the first of June, 1775, and at that time a great many natives and a great many foreigners had adopted the side of the United States, and at that time a great many, whether natives or foreigners, instead of adopting the side of struggling weakness, shamefully fled their country, and lived around the Court at London, like flies around a putrid carcass, and there remained until after peace was declared, or at all events, until after peace and independence were within the grasp of the country. You will see that from 1775 to 1789 is just fourteen years, the time required that a man shall be a resident of the country, and a man having left home because of the thick clouds that gathered in dire and dreadful darkness over the heads of the patriotic, was to be precluded because of his cowardice and want of love for his country, from coming in and enjoying the benefits and rights conferred upon other citizens when the Constitution was adopted. So that you see that whilst the Constitution makes no distinction between men, whether born here or abroad, yet it does make this distinction, that those men who run away from the dangers that threatened our institutions, forfeited the most glorious and richest part of its inheritance. [Applause.]

Now, Mr. President, I will not stop to discuss this matter further, but pass on to another question of some interest, not omitting to say, however, before I bid the subject farewell, that I do hope that if there is within the sound of my voice a single Know-Nothing son of a foreign born father, be that father living or dead, he will for the sake of his father's good name and his own self respect turn from his present path of shame. We open the books for the campaign of '56. The day dawns, the shadows flee away; let all that will, come in, and although we will not make them Presidents, we will let the worst of them occupy a place on this platform, the platform of our general rights, and join with us to promote the honor and interests of the country. This one question is deeply involved in the campaign of 1856. I have touched it, not elaborated it; and I will not weary you by elaborating it; but bear this in mind, that this question is an important one for this campaign, and one that we will have to meet. These men who belong to the so-called American party, whether it is the dark or light party; I do not care which—bless me, how would these glorious jets of light (pointing to the chandeliers that resemble the stars of heaven, look in the cellar of a Know-Nothing Lodge! [applause])—have arrayed themselves in opposition to us, and will have to be met. They have nominated Mr. Fillmore. He is called an open and shut candidate, a candidate of the Northern American party, and it is very clear that before long the Northern or Black Republican portion of the party will have a separate candidate, and that other organizations of the isms of the day will be attempted. Fusions, and unions even, may be tried and most “fantastic tricks” to gather the elements of mischief, discord and divisions into a solid mass, to be arrayed against us. But divided or united, we are prepared to meet them, and under the lead of the candidate named this day, to achieve a great and enduring victory.

Well, then, we go into the campaign with a full heart and high hope. And why, sir? because the principles that we hold near and dear, and which have been so long highly cherished, are all at stake; and because we believe that in the struggle we shall advance the interests of the entire country from one extremity to the other. We go into it for our own sakes and the sakes of those who are to come after us. We go into it for the sake of the Constitution, for the sake of the flag of our country—all, all of these are involved in the one great struggle that the Democracy will have to make against a common enemy. Why do we conceive it possible that the opposition may unite? For this reason, they have no bond of union but one; and what is that bond of union? Is it love for each other? No; it is a common hatred to the Democratic party. [Great applause.] And while every other sentiment in the heart may die, I say to you, sir, that hatred never dies. That evil, sir, which has existed from the fall to the present day in the human heart, the passion of hate, has had no death and never found a grave. Sometimes it sleeps, but you may rest assured that it dies never. Why do I say that we go into it with high hopes? Why, because at last the hopes of Pennsylvania are almost realized. [Applause.] At last we begin to feel and see that the central State of the Union has not been ostracized by the other States that surround her in a bright and glorious constellation. We begin to feel that

whether born here or abroad. Then, what was necessary to make a man eligible to be a Senator of the United States? Why, that he should be thirty years of age, and should be nine years a resident of the State for which he should be chosen after he had attained the age of twenty-one years. No more was required under the Constitution of 1789. But further and far more important is the section in regard to the President of the United States, which reads, that “no person, except a native-born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President,—neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident of the United States.” Now, mark all these restrictions. “No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution” Any man who was a citizen at the time of the adoption of the Constitution could be President of the United States; but there is a further condition required, and that is this; that he shall have been for fourteen years a resident of the United States, whether he was a native or natural born citizen, or whether he was an adopted citizen. Why, this, sir? For a very good reason. The first blood in the cause of our country was shed in 1775. Gen. Washington took command of the American army at Boston, on the first of June, 1775, and at that time a great many natives and a great many foreigners had adopted the side of the United States, and at that time a great many, whether natives or foreigners, instead of adopting the side of struggling weakness, shamefully fled their country, and lived around the Court at London, like flies around a putrid carcass, and there remained until after peace was declared, or at all events, until after peace and independence were within the grasp of the country. You will see that from 1775 to 1789 is just fourteen years, the time required that a man shall be a resident of the country, and a man having left home because of the thick clouds that gathered in dire and dreadful darkness over the heads of the patriotic, was to be precluded because of his cowardice and want of love for his country, from coming in and enjoying the benefits and rights conferred upon other citizens when the Constitution was adopted. So that you see that whilst the Constitution makes no distinction between men, whether born here or abroad, yet it does make this distinction, that those men who run away from the dangers that threatened our institutions, forfeited the most glorious and richest part of its inheritance. [Applause.]

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