ERIE WEEKLY OBSERVER.

SLOAN & MOORE, PUBLISHERS. | $1 50 A YEAR, IN ADVANCE. | B. F. SLOAN, EDITOR.

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BENJ. F. SLOAN AND M. M. MOORE,

OFFICE, CORNER OF STATE AND FIFTH STS

B. F. SLOAN, Editor.

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Sixteen lines or less make a square.

One square one week	$ 75	One square 3 months	$5 00
" two "	1 00	One " 6 "	5 00
" three "	1 25	One " 9 "	6 75

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BUSINESS DIRECTORY.

CHAUNCEY HULBERT,
With HOMINES, HULBERT & CO., Great Pennsylvania Head Quarters for Dry Goods, No. 218 Market Street, Philadelphia. 38

GALBRAITH & DAVENPORT,
ATTORNEYS at Law, Office nearly opposite the new Court House, Erie, Pa.
WM. GALBRAITH. 33 A. DAVENPORT.

DRS. BEEBE & DICKINSON,
Having entered into Copartnership, would respectfully offer their professional services to the citizens of Erie and vicinity. Especial attention will be given to obstetrics.
C. BEEBE. 33 S. DICKINSON.

F. MENNIG & BROTHER,
Dealers in Provisions, Produce, Pork, Fish, Salt, Grain, Flour, Nails, Sash, Glass, Nails, Brooms, Pails, Wooden, Willow and Tissue Ware. No. 4 Terrace Cash. Prices low. No. 4 Wright's Block, State street, 4 doors above the Post Office, Erie, Pa. 33

JOSEPH HERR,
Upholsterer, on Peach, a few doors north of Buffalo street, Erie, Pa. Manufactures to order, and also keeps constantly for sale, Superior Spring Mattresses made upon a new and excellent principle, Cot Cotton Mattresses, Hair Mattresses with and without springs, &c. Prices very moderate. 33

WILLIAM THORNTON,
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE. Deeds, Agreements, Bonds and Mortgages, Leases, &c., accurately and carefully drawn. Office in Knight's Block, State street, Erie, Pa.

THOMAS MOORHEAD,
Attorney at Law, will also attend to Drawing Deeds, Mortgages, Bonds and other instruments of writing. Office in Select Council Room, Wright's Block, corner of Fifth and State street. 33

EMPIRE STORE.
WHOLESALE & RETAIL, Jobbers, and Retail Dealers in every description of Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, Carpetings, Oil Cloths, &c. No. 12 State street, corner of Fifth, Erie, Pa.
HENRY CADWELL. 38 W. & A. GRAHAM.

STARR & PAYNE,
Commission Merchants, Dealers in Coal, Fish, Salt, Flour, Water Lime and Plaster. Public Dock, east of state street, Erie, Pa.
33 JAS. G. PAYNE.

CLARK & MITCALF,
Exchange Brokers, Erie, Pa. Interest allowed on time deposits. Sterling and sight Drafts, Checks and Specie, on current rates. Land Warrants bought and sold. Collections made on all the principal points in the United States. Money received on deposit. 33

DR. J. L. STEWART,
Office Stewart & Sinclair's Drug Store, corner of State and Seventh streets. Residence, Sixth street, one door east of Cussacks street. 33

W. B. RICHMOND,
Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, No. 122 Broadway, New York.
HARTSHORN, WARNER, RICHMOND & JOHNSON. W. B. RICHMOND.

TIBBALS, HAYES & CO.,
Importers and Dealers in Fancy and Staple Dry Goods, Carpets, Oil Cloths, &c., No. 1 Brown's Block, Erie, Pa.

MAGILL & CO.,
Druggists, continue their office in Beaty's Block, north side of the Public Square, are prepared to compete with all other operators in prices, selling and buying work according to its quality and real value.

WILLIAM WILLING,
Revenue Stamp and Teacher, can be consulted at the Park Hall Water Cure, East side of the Diamond, Erie, Pa. 40

SAMUEL T. STERRETT & CO.,
Have removed their Cabinet and Chair Ware Rooms to the north side of French and Fifth street, opposite the Farmers' Hotel, Erie, Pa. Every article in the above line always on hand, together with an extensive assortment of Stoves and Tin Ware, Glass, &c. All kinds of Roofing and Spouting executed with neatness and dispatch on reasonable terms. 33

CLEMENS & CAUGHEY,
Importers and Dealers in Domestic and Imported Wines, Brandies, Gin, Sugar, Tobacco, Fruit, Fish, Oil, and Agents for the Sandusky Ale. No. 7 Bonnell Block, State street, Erie, Pa.
CLEMENS & CAUGHEY. 33 WM. M. CAUGHEY.

WILLIAM C. WARNER,
Dealer and Broker in Exchange, No. 1 American Block. Collections promptly attended to all the United States and Canada, and proceeds promptly remitted. Bank Notes, Gold and Silver bought and sold. Interest paid on time deposits. Money remitted to Europe, Land Warrants bought, sold and located on the most reasonable terms. 33

ALLEN A. CRAIG,
Justice of the Peace, office removed to No. 1 Hughes' Block, second door, State Street, Erie, Pa. 33

E. H. ABELL,
Successor to Wilham H. Sherman,
Portrait Artist, Public Square, between the Head House and Reed's Hotel. Pictures taken in the best style of the art and warranted not to fade. 33

L. W. OLDS & CO.,
Manufacturers and Wholesale and Retail dealers in Will and Chain Pumps of superior quality, the cheapest and best now in use. Shop on Twelfth street near Peach, Erie, Pa.
☞ Aqueduct for carrying water for family, farm or mechanical purposes for sale cheap. 33

RICHARD G. HERRON,
(Successor to Burton & Herron,)
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Window Glass, Dye Stuffs, Brushes, Perfumery, Fine Soaps and Domestic Fluidings, No. 3 Reed House, Erie, Pa. 33

THOMAS M. AUSTIN,
(Late of the firm of O. Lacoss & Co.,)
Dealer in Clocks, Watches, Jewelry, Silver Spoons, Musical Instruments, Looking Glasses, Lamps and Fancy Goods, wholesale and retail. 33

ROGERS & KENNEDY,
(Successors to Cadwell and Bennett.)
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Hardware, Cutlery, Glassware and Saddlery, Nos. 11 and 12 Empire Block, corner of Fifth and State streets, Erie, Pa. 33
J. ROGERS, J. KENNEDY.

S. M. STERRETT,
Jobber and Retail Dealer in Wet and Dry Groceries, Provisions, Produce, Foreign and domestic Fruit, Wooden, Willow and Stone Ware, Flour, Fish, Salt, Glass, Nails, Powder, Shot, Rifle Lead, &c., &c. French street, opposite the Reed House, Erie, Pa. 33

LIDDELL, KEFLER, & CO.,
Manufacturers of Iron Fence, Railing Steam Boilers, Vault Doors, Iron Bedsteads, and all kinds of Machinery and Fancy Castings, made to order. 33

M. CHAPIN,
Resident Dentist—Office in the American Block, corner of State street and the Public Square, upstairs. Prices reasonable, and all work warranted. 33

WILLIAM S. LANE,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law.—Office over Jackson's Store, diagonal corner of the Public Square. 33

M. SANDFORD & CO.,
Dealers in Gold, Silver, Bank Notes, Certificates of Deposit, &c. Exchange on the principal cities constantly for sale. Office No. 1 Reed House, Public Square, Erie. 33

T. HERRON STUART,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law.—Office, Fifth street, a few doors East of French Residence, Fourth street, one door East of the old Academy Hall. 33

RUFUS REED,
Dealer in English, German and American Hardware and Cutlery, Iron, Nails, Axles, Vices, Iron and Steel, No. 3 Reed House, Erie, Pa. 33

H. JARECKI,
Manufacturer and Dealer in Segars, Tobacco, Snuff, &c., West side of State street, Erie, Pa. 33

BOOTH & STEWART,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Fancy and Staple Dry Goods and Hardware, between the Reed Houses and Brown's Hotel. 33

GEORGE H. CUTLER,
Attorney at Law, Girard, Erie, County, Pa. Collections and other business attended to with promptness and fidelity. 33

CARTER & BROTHERS,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in Drugs, Medicines, Paints, Oils, Window Glass, &c., No. 6 Reed House, Erie, Pa. 33

JOHN SWEENY,
Justice of the Peace, Office in the room formerly occupied by James Robinson, in William's Block. 33

JOHN HEARN & CO.,
Forwarding and Commission Merchants, dealers in Coal, Flour, Fish, and agent for a daily line of Upper Lake Steamers, Public Dock, Erie, Pa. 33

J. W. DOUGLASS,
Attorney at Law.—Office with Benjamin Grant, Esq., Park Row, between the Reed House and Brown's Hotel, Erie, Pa. 33

ARCUCKLE & THOMPSON,
Forwarding and Commission Merchants, and Dealers in Coal, Salt, Fish, Flour, Water Lime and Plaster. Public Dock, East Street, Erie, Pa.

GEORGE J. MORTON,
Forwarding and Commission Merchant, Public Dock, Erie, dealer in Coal, Salt, Fish, Flour and Plaster. 33

C. B. WRIGHT & CO.,
General Collectors and Dealers in Gold and Silver Coin, uncurrent Money, Land Warrants and Certificates of Deposit. Also, Drafts on the principal cities in the Union, and all parts of the Old Country for sale. Office, Williams' Block, corner of State street and Public Square. 33
C. B. WRIGHT. F. P. BAILEY, C. E. GUNNISON.

T. M. BLAKE,
Wholesale and Retail Dealer in Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods, Artificial Flowers, Ribbons, Silks, Laces, and Fashionable Millinery, No. 6, Reed's Block, State street, Erie, Pa. Particular attention paid to Orders.

G. W. DECAMP,
Office over J. S. Gunnison's Bookstore, Park Row, Erie, Pa. 34

E. R. MCCREADY,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law. Office corner of State and Fourth streets, over Stewart & Sinclair's Drug Store.

JAMES C. MARSHALL,
Attorney at Law.—Office up-stairs in Sampsons' Row, East side of State street. 33 Erie, Pa.

TAYLOR & KING,
BANKERS AND EXCHANGE BROKERS,
☞ Refer to T. P. James & Co., New York. Whallon, Pa.
A. P. KING. Erie. C. A. TAYLOR.

W. C. SEARLE,
Veterinary Surgeon and Farrier, Livery Dealer, Trainer and Stableman, offers his services to the public. He will be found at the Sth street Depot Landing, where he can be found to show the best Blood Horses in the west.
Erie, March 29, 1856. W. C. SEARLE, 40

T. W. MOORE,
Dealer in Groceries, Provisions, Produce, Pork, Fish, Salt, Grain, Flour, Fruits, Nuts, Pails, Wooden, Willow and Stone Ware, for Terms Cash. No. 7, State street, opposite Brown's Hotel, Erie.

J. C. SOHN PFOHL,
Photographic Artist and dealer in Daguerreotypes, Ambrotypes and Photographic Materials of every description. State Street, opposite Brown's Hotel, Erie, Pa.

J. B. GUN MUSON,
Dealer in Books, Stationery, Monthly Magazines, Cheap Publications, Sheet Music, Newspapers, Gold Pens, Pocket Cutlery, &c. First door west of the Reed House, Erie. 33

I. W. HIBBARD & CO.,
WHOLESALE MANUFACTURERS OF
Pierce's Super'r Percussion Matches,
NO. 271 WOODBRIDGE STREET,
I. W. HIBBARD, M. MCFARLANDSON, S. DODGE, C. HAWKS. DETROIT, MICH. April 12, 1856.

100 PIANO FORTES,
TEN OF WHICH ARE THIS DAY RECEIVED!
☞ Ten more Weeks, and 80 to go.
Mann's Piano Forte Agency and Depot, sign of THE BIG FIDDLE.
A MONG which are BOARDMAN, GRAY & Co's celebrated CAMPAN PIANOS, with the new PATENT CORDUGATED SOUNDING BOARD, which took the FIRST PREMIUM when Philadelphia Pianos only received the THIRD premium.
☞ The great and increasing demand for these instruments render it almost impossible for the manufacturers to fill their orders, notwithstanding the immense quantities they furnish, while all feel compelled to realize their prices from 10 to 50 per cent. in effect of late.
☞ Buyers show which way the wind blows. At Mann's Warerooms may be found a LARGE STOCK OF VARIOUS MAKES, (not on consignment of time) and selected by the best judges in the city.
☞ Having just completed a contract for 100 PIANO FORTES at extraordinary rates, I am prepared to furnish them on terms not surpassed in any city. Call and see. March 29.

PARKER, GRAY & DAVIS,
REAL ESTATE BROKERS; LAND, INSURANCE AND GENERAL AGENTS,
Council Bluffs and Sioux City, Iowa.
PARKER & DOYLE, Bankers, Dealers in Exchange, AND LAND AGENTS, Clinton, ... Iowa.
PARKER & GRAY, Land Agents, and Real Estate BROKERS, Lyons, ... Iowa.
Select and enter Vacant Lands in Western and North Western Iowa, Secure Claims, and Pre-emptions in Nebraska Ter'y for residents and non-residents. Pay Taxes, &c.
S. T. DAVIS, Attorney at Law and Notary Public, Sioux City.

REFER TO Hon. John Calhoun, and H. D. Lowry, Esq. Erie; D. Dunlekson and H. L. Richmond, Esq's, Meadville; Hon. M. C. Trout, Sharon, and Samuel Brotherhead, Waterford, Pa.; Dr. S. C. Plummer and Pumbing and Connolly, Rock Island, Ill. 1y6

MERCHANTS' INSURANCE COMPANY.
No. 12, Merchants' Exchange, Philadelphia.
Authorized Capital, $400,000. Amount Securely Invested, $200,000.
Incorporated in 1835, by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, under a perpetual Charter.
Fire, Marine, and Inland Transportation Risks taken at current rates.
TRUSTEES
William V. Pettit, John Campbell, Jr., Benj. L. Woolston, John A. Montgomery, E. F. Witmer, John A. Marshall, John. M. Pumroy, John W. Rede, Geo. W. Webster, D. J. McCaig, Hiram Miller, Chas. B. Wright, John J. Patterson, Wm. H. Allen, Aaron E. Day.
E. F. WITMER, Vice President. WM. V. PETTIT, President.
DANIEL S. PINE, Secretary.
April 19, 1856.—1y-48. O. A. BENNETT, Agent, Erie, Pa.

J. J. LINTS, INSURANCE AGENT.
REPRESENTING the following reliable Companies, viz:
ÆTNA FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY, Of Hartford, Conn. Capital $300,000
COMMONWEALTH FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE CO., Harrisburg, Penna. Capital $300,000.
PENNSYLVANIA FIRE AND MARINE INSURANCE CO., Pittsburg, Pa. Capital $300,000.
ÆTNA LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, Hartford, Conn. Capital $150,000
Rates in each as low as security to the Insured will permit. Office in Post Office Building
Erie, April 14, 1856 49

T. R. BLAKE,
WHOLESALE & RETAIL MILLINER,
NO. 6 REED'S BLOCK, STATE STREET, ERIE, PA.
Is with the largest and best stock of Millinery goods that he has ever brought to this city, consisting in part as follows:
BONNETS.
Florence, French, Swiss, English, Coburg, Neapolitan, Chip, Lace, and American Straw.
CHILDRENS' HATS AND JOCKETS.
French, Pedal, Rutland, Lace, Pearl, and Fancy Bloomers—new shapes.
A few French Pattern Bonnets
just as they were imported.
Silk, Lace, Crape, Blond, Tissue and Lawn Bonnets in great variety.
Bridal Wreaths, Flowers, Silks, Laces, Crapes, Ladies' Dress Caps, Matelasse Head Dresses, Blonds, Laces, Embroideries, Edgings, Street Gloves, Ruches, Maline Braids, Fancy Silks, Satins, Velvets, Flos, and many other kinds of goods, too numerous to mention.
TO BE SOLD WHOLESALE OR RETAIL FOR CASH ONLY.
Having been thirty-one days in the eastern cities, and at the largest manufactories, receiving the first selections of their goods, and having secured the services of some of the best Boston milliners, I flatter myself that
Every effort made to please my numerous Patrons
will be crowned with the utmost success.
The proprietor, thankful for past favors, hopes that with the many great facilities he has and by strict attention to business, to merit a continued share of patronage.
T. R. BLAKE, Proprietor.
Milliners from all quarters will be supplied with every kind of Millinery Goods, Patterns, and Pattern Hats, at wholesale prices.
The Bleaching and Pressing department will be under the superintendence of Mr. Albert A. Blake, from one of the best manufacturing houses in Massachusetts. His work needs but a trial to insure public patronage.
Prices of Bleaching and Pressing.....8 Shillings.
A liberal discount to Milliners.
T. R. B., Proprietor,
Erie, March 29, 1856. No. 6 Reed's Block, State street.

Erie & Meadville
EXPRESS & TRANSPORTATION CO.
(Under the management of the Plank Road Co.)
Daily Lines from Erie to M'Kean, Edinboro, Kleckersville, Saegertown & Meadville.
CONNECTING at Erie with the American Eastern, Western and Southern Express, will attend to the collection of Drafts, notes and accounts. Each Wagon has a Safe and is accompanied by a Messenger.
O. D. SPAFFORD, Supt.
M. D. LELAND, Agt., Erie, A. M. DUNHAM, Meadville.
Erie, January, 24, 1856. 37

SOUTHERN LINE OF STAGES.
For Albion, Conneautville, West Greenville, Sharon and New Castle.
A DAILY Line of splendid four-horse Coaches has been put on from Girard to the above and intermediate places. Passengers will find this the most direct route for most of the towns in Crawford, Mercer, Butler and Lawrence counties. Stages will leave Wright's Hotel in Girard daily, excepting Sundays, at 11 P. M., on arrival of the Express Trains from the east. Fare to New Castle only $2·50, to West Greenville $3.
N. B.—Passengers must be sure to inquire at Girard Depot for Coaches to Wright's Hotel.
WRIGHT, BAFFLER & MANN, Proprietors Girard Stage Co.
6m6

WILLIAMS AND GUION'S
OLD BLACK STAR
LINE OF PACKETS.
PASSAGE from any part of Great Britain and Ireland secured at the lowest possible rates by old established Line, sailing from Liverpool for New York every five days, comprising the following fine packet ships:

Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.
Australia,	1050	North America,	1050
Arabia,	1050	Canada,	1150
Canonicus,	1050	Ohio,	1050
Dawn Clinton,	1050	Robert Kelle,	1050
Sacsorrion,	1050	Saratoga,	1050
Guy Mannering,	1050	Scandinavian,	1050
George Washington,	1050	Thunderbolt,	1050
Jacob A. Westervelt,	1750	Valparaiso,	1750
Isaac,	1050	Washington,	1400
John Bright,	1300	William A Harbeck,	1300
Louisiana,	1400	Charleston,	1300
Marmion,	1050	New Ship,	1050

The ships of this Line are the largest and finest in the trade. Their accommodation for passengers are unequaled, and the frequency and punctuality of their departures offer advantages to the emigrant not to be had by any other Line of Packets. Such emigrants as decline coming out, the money paid for them will be promptly refunded without discount.
No certificate of passage will be issued for children under 12 years of age unless accompanied by an adult who must be paid for on the same certificate.
Persons desirous of having their friends brought out from Great Britain and Ireland, by the Black Star Line of Packets, can purchase tickets at my Office (agent) and thus assure to them that despatch and good treatment for which the above ships are noted.
Drafts of £1 and upwards, on Great Britain, Ireland and Germany may be procured at this office the payment of which is guaranteed without discount in the usual manner at the parties in either to the above named countries.
RICHARD WILLIAMS, Agent.
Corner of French and Sixth Streets.
Erie, Sept. 22, 1855. 1y39

Eureka! What have you Found!
THE most splendid and superb assortment of Goods ever brought to this city, at
Archer, Gleitsmann's, No. 3, Reed's Block,
In the store lately occupied by J. W. Foster, embracing CLOTHS, CASSIMERES, VESTINGS, &c., of the most fashionable Styles and Patterns, and embracing Ready Made of every description for wear, the cloth of the most fashionable and the prices of the most economical, if you doubt it, call, see and be convinced at the richness of the Goods, and Low Prices. The Public will always find him ready and willing to accommodate every one by showing his stock in all changes time will permit. Northeast Corner of State Street.
☞ Custom Work cut and made in the workmanlike manner and approved styles. Let an early call prove satisfactory to all parties. Remember the place, Reed's Block, State street.
Erie, May 10, 1856. ARCHER, GLEITSMANN & JOHN GOLLDER.

LINSEED Oil and Spirits Turpentine, by the barrel or in quantities to suit purchasers, by
JAMES S. SEO.
June 7, 1856.

Mrs. A. M. Wolcott's
Millinery Rooms
IN the American Block, Gunnison or State street, Sampsons' Row, Erie, Pa., are now receiving the latest Fashions for Millinery Goods, which she will sell at the lowest prices.
Erie, July 5, 1856.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN L. DAWSON

At the Great Democratic Mass Meeting in Greene County, August 21, 1856.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Never on any occasion have I risen before an assembly of my fellow-countrymen so impressed with the importance of the contest which draws us together. The crisis so long portended by the progress of events has at length actually arrived. The continued expression of unfriendly sentiments, and the continued repetition of unfriendly acts, by one section of our common country in relation to the institutions of another, has at length brought about that unhappy condition in our domestic relations which our true statesmen have long predicted, and which the patriot has always feared. In inquiring by what causes and agencies this condition of affairs has been produced, it is not my purpose to condemn indiscriminately the motives of any class or political division of my fellow citizens. I am willing to allow much for honesty of intention, where I must at the same time condemn the wisdom of the conduct; and while I have censure, broad and summary, for those who have been the guilty leaders to deplorable results, I admit that the inquiry of transcendant importance is how we may escape from those results—and how retrieve that former position of glorious security and fraternal harmony, in which we were wont to feel a common pride and a common felicity?

To the sober reason of reflecting men there is indeed nothing more amazing and confounding than that unaccountable madness which for a time seems to run through a whole community—by which the general mind is lifted from its poise, and made to see things through a distorted medium. It is not without much artifice and persevering labor on the part of those who have assumed the offices of popular leaders, that they have thus been gradually able to warp the public mind from its propriety, and to infuse into it that subtle poison which is now displaying itself in efforts of irregular and convulsive excitement, and a singular forgetfulness of paramount obligations.

Could the causes of the internal distraction which at this time afflicts these States, be communicated for the first time to one unaffected by any prejudice of feeling or judgment in regard to them, I apprehend that in view of such an one there could be no instance more flagrant of national folly. Could we evoke from the glorious slumber in which they repose, the spirits of the great men who presided at the origin of the government—could we call up Hancock and Warren—and Lee and Rutledge—and Henry and Washington—what would be their feelings and opinions in view of a contest waged upon such principles as this? Would they not blush and hide their noble heads for shame for the degeneracy of their descendants, which could peril on a question like that of negro slavery the existence of a State which is the proudest boast of all time.

The nature of the present contest is indeed unparalled. No precedent is found in all our past political history for any tactics which shall be applicable now. Ever heretofore, we have all aimed, by whatever different systems of policy, and struggled, as brethern and without sectional distinctions, for the greatness and prosperity of a common country with which we have felt our own and the happiness of its people bound up. Efforts made by a few discontented and reckless politicians in different parts of the country to rear a sectional banner, were always met by the indignant contempt of an insulted community. Ever heretofore, if the question was whether the financial affairs of the nation should be managed through a National Bank, or an Independent Treasury, whether the currency of the country were better constituted of paper or the precious metals; whether revenue should be raised by the imposition of duties upon imports or by direct taxes; whether the protection of domestic manufactures, and the prosecution of internal improvements fall within the legitimate powers of the General Government, or whether these should more wisely be left to the inventive genius, and enterprising spirit of the people, and the resources of the separate States;—upon whichever of these issues the politics of the country were made for the time to hinge, the strife was still for the welfare, the prosperity and happiness of the whole country. No mischievous and insidious distinctions of North and South—no recognition of a line of policy for one section which was not adapted to another, is to be found in any of these issues; and no public man who represented any considerable portion of the public sentiment, dared, either in the Capital or before the people, coolly to discuss the value of the Union, or give utterance to a single expression in its disparagement.

But alas the change! Is then the race of patriots and of sages passed away? Has there been any change in the relations of the various parts of the confederacy, which releases, in any degree, the present generation from its obligations for the preservation of the Union? Has there been any charge to authorize any abatement of those sentiments of veneration for the Union and its founders, which we cherished with our earliest teachings? Is the Union really less valuable now than it has been at any time heretofore? Can the two great sections of which it is composed in fact subsist without it, and is it better to have separate nationalities? Can two great republics flourish in immediate contiguity upon the American Continent, and are we indeed reconciled to the hazardous experiment? The men of '76 flattered themselves they were accomplishing a work which should insure to the benefit of their descendants for a time to which they were unwilling to admit a limit, not even that of the popular governments of Greece and Rome. They hoped rather that the admirable system which they left for their successors should endure for all time. They were men whom the world have agreed to praise for their unparalleled wisdom and disinterested patriotism. But alas for our independence if its noblest fruit, the Federal Constitution, is to be openly violated and trampled in the dust! Has it then come to this? Have the glories of the American Union culminated so soon? Have those illustrious lights indeed grown dim and feeble in the overpowering radiance of more recent luminaries?—Have we at length the miserable satisfaction of knowing that our patriot fathers were mistaken? Have we discovered that their wisdom was but folly—that the Constitution is a failure—that it is the legal sanction of injustice—and that there is a law above its letter and spirit, which authorizes us to regard its written injunctions and inhibitions, as no more than the counsels of well meaning dupes? And if we are sure of all this, are we also sure that we shall be able to control that fiery and capricious spirit of Revolution whose incipient and reckless steps we discern in these sectional movements? How far do we propose to go?—Where shall we stop?—and can we stop there? Will the changes stop with the disruption of the Union into two republics; or will it fall into other hands than those of political schemers, who started it for the accomplishment of a selfish and temporary purpose—into those of military chiefs, who will avail themselves of the opportunity to perpetuate their power, and that the Republic be frittered down into miserable and petty despotism?

These are truly momentous issues which you are called upon to decide in this contest. The restoration of the Missouri Compromise, which is now the rallying cry, is a mere sound. Did the parties who demand it agitate any the less while it existed, and would they agitate the less were it restored to morrow? In 1848, after the acquisition of California and our Mexican territories, it was proposed in Congress, for the sake of peace and quiet, to extend the line of 36 deg. 30 m. to the Pacific Ocean, but as the mention of which the howl of the Giddings and the Hales went forth from the Capitol in tones so terrible as to make the night hideous."

With the principles upon which that agitation proceeds, who of us can, upon deliberate conviction, entertain any sympathy? What is its aim, if any definite aim it has? If any such it can have, it is neither more nor less than the emancipation of the entire black race, and its exaltation to an equality with the whites in all social and political rights and privileges. Is there anything in such a scheme of policy worthy the name of statesmanship? And are the distinctions impressed by the hands of the Creator himself so easily wiped away? The idea of amalgamation is indeed too absurd and repulsive to be dwelt upon. That four millions of a colored population can be in any way incorporated with and insensibly lost in the white race, is inconsistent with those prejudices implanted by nature for wise purposes, and could it be accomplished, would end in the permanent deterioration of the white race. We are bound, therefore, upon every principle of common reason, to suppose that such cannot be the object of this agitation. In what other way do they propose to benefit that race.—We have never yet heard of any project on the part of these especial friends of the black man, for his restoration to Africa. On the contrary, they have done all in their power, by paralyzing, in a very great degree, the beneficient plans of colonization—to discourage the idea of such a restoration.

But it will be pretended that this agitation does not proceed upon the idea of a superior regard for the black race, but rather upon that of preserving or securing our unoccupied territory from the institutions of slavery. This, which is no doubt the view of the greater part of the supporters of anti-slavery, or opponents of Democratic measures, brings us to that system of legislation, which is but recent, and which is admitted to be identified with the policy which we uphold. The defence of the Kansas Nebraska bill is to be found in its entire accordance with the theory of a Democratic republic. We maintain that the idea that the interests of slavery gain anything by such an arrangement is a mere illusion. It overlooks entirely the great determining elements in all such cases of the adaptation of soil, climate, and other favorable circumstances of condition, as well as the relative productiveness of free and slave labor. These conditions constitute a law of nature, imposed with far more rigor and certainty than any geographical line or Missouri restriction.

The principle of the Nebraska Kansas bill, which is the recognition of the right of the people to form their own government according to the will of the majority, is a principle which lies at the basis of all our institutions. It is the same which built us up from feeble colonies into wealthy and important provinces, and which occasioned our resistance to British tyranny, and led to the establishment of American Nationality. By virtue of that principle it is that the States of the Union and the confederacy everywhere exhibit laws framed upon principles of equality and justice, and administered by tribunals of character. The efforts of the nation have produced such fruits in agriculture, manufactures and commerce; that the works of American invention are sought for their admitted superiority by the most enlightened nations of Europe; that we have an empire stretching across a continent, from the great Atlantic, where the light of the morning sun is first seen, to the broad waters of the Pacific, where his setting rays disappear upon its bosom. All these, and more than I have space to enumerate are the wonderful results of the principle of popular sovereignty as displayed in our government and institutions, and whose successful working cannot be denied without the assertion that the experiment of a Republic is a failure.

Prior to the passage of the Missouri Compromise in 1820 the representation of the North and South in Congress was nearly poised, and the history of the events of the day shows conclusively, that the contest which resulted in the passage of that act, was one for power, political power, entirely regardless of the interest or welfare of the slave. It was the effort to obtain the political direction of the country and the control of its legislation—to shape its policy in the building up of sectional interests by the adoption of measures protective of manufactures, internal improvements, and commerce and navigation, and by the appropriation of the resources of the national treasury—which led to the fierceness of that struggle, and seduced Congress into an overstretch of its powers in order to quiet the tremendous excitement. The question having been put to rest for the time by the acquiescence of the nation in that adjustment, the slave did not as yet in his domestic relations attract any special regard from the North and the efforts of the Southern philanthropists for the amelioration of his condition were ardently continued up to as late as 1832, when the "frenzies of the abolition aggression arrested and defeated their progress.

In the third of a century which has elapsed since the law of 1820, State after State north of the line of slavery has been added to the confederacy, each contributing to swell the influence of the free States, and in the aggregate to establish largely their numerical superiority in the popular branch of the national Legislature. The question of political power has thus been fully settled, but the agitement which was begun for extensive political objects has since passed into fanaticism and those who were abolitionists from overwrought benevolence have become the prey of demagogues who continue the agitation for their individual benefit in the attainment of power and place—to the prejudice of the country, and the sacrifice of its peace and the stability of its institutions. The progress of time showed in the continuance of the abolition excitement the total inefficiency of the Act of 1820, and its unconstitutionality having been almost universally conceded, Congress possessed the clear right which it exercised, in the passage of the Bill for the organization of the Territories of Nebraska and Kansas, to repeal the same and vindicate the Constitution by the restoration of the true doctrine and thus to remove the question from their deliberations. We insist therefore that the wild excitement which has run through the country upon this subject is a delusion. It has no genuine basis. It cannot be secure. It has been raised and is supported by such leaders as Sumner, Giddings and others, by whom it is used only as a specious decoy, to elevate, or continue in power, its unscrupulous authors.

Besides the Anti-Slavery, Free Soil and Republican parties, and the Fusion or Black Republican, made up of the two latter, another division of politicians antagonistic to the principles of the Democratic party, is that of the Know Nothings. Their two most important principles are those of hostility to Foreigners, and to all who profess the catholic religion. But whence has risen this idea of a crusade against the civil and religious rights of so large and respectable a portion of our fellow citizens, for it is in vain that we shall scrutinize the writings of the fathers of the confederacy for any sentiment so utterly abhorrent to these principles, which breathe in the Declaration of Independence, and live through every line of the Constitution.

A movement somewhat similar was indeed once attempted soon after the Government went into operation. The celebrated alien act was passed in 1798, in the first year of the administration of John Adams; and though this measure was adopted when the public mind was justly in a high state of Excitement against France, for many injuries and indignities, yet this was not sufficient to reconcile the people to the palpable injustice of legislation, which created an oppressive distinction against foreigners. The result was, the unequivocal condemnation of that policy in the signal overthrow of the Federal administration, and the elevation to the vacant dignities, of the Republican party under Mr. Jefferson.

In view of the great services rendered by foreigners in our revolutionary struggle, the ingratitude of any measure which should contemplate a selfish exclusiveness, was indignantly rejected by the honest patriotism of our ancestors. No odious discrimination against their adopted brethren could be tolerated. In their view, our liberties and institutions were not of that feeble character that they needed the defence of laws designed to bring into odium any portion of their fellow-citizens, to whatever land, unblessed by the light of freedom, they might owe the accident of their birth. The ratio of the foreign to the native population could not have been less than now; nor could any imagined dangers from such a source have been less. Notwithstanding this, our fathers deemed the principles of freedom as guaranteed by the inimitable features of our Republican system, of that degree of excellence, that any slight misapprehension of their nature by those not previously accustomed to their enjoyment, would speedily work its own cure.—Liberty and equality, under the due regulation of law, with the avenues of social and political position alike open to all, they well knew to be elevating and ennobling principles, as they deemed that the natural impulse which prompts every man to study the welfare of his posterity, would form a safeguard of inestimable value, and one which might be safely trusted, to preserve the political rectitude of the adopted citizen. So our fathers thought, and the result has proved the wisdom of their conclusions.

Another element in the composition of this Know-Nothing party, is that which discriminates against a portion of our fellow citizens on account of their religious tenets. It boldly proclaims to the world, and challenges a contest upon that issue, that Roman catholics are unfit for official position, and are disqualified by their principles from participating in the government of the country. It is pretended that by their principles secretly entertained though publicly they are permitted to disavow them, they acknowledge a superior allegiance to the Roman see. While we have seen no evidence of this and while by the purest and best men of that denomination, such pretensions on behalf of the papal power are entirely disavowed, the characters of the most distinguished coadjutors in the work of our Revolution is an abundant guaranty of their falsity. Is it for a moment to be credited that the mind of a Baltimore, of a Carrol of Carrollton, or a Lafayette, could ever have admitted claims so destructive of national independence. But grant that Roman catholics may be prejudiced against Protestant institutions,—that they may sympathize with every thing catholic in the old country. Grant that their reverence for papal authority tends to a willing obedience to its injunctions, however unfavorable to Republican institutions and government, yet what is their proportion to the mass of their fellow citizens? In 1850 the whole Roman catholic population in the U. S was only 1,900,000, one half of whom it may reasonably be supposed, are of native origin, born and reared under the influence of freedom, which having thus imbibed the taste will remain with them forever. That is a baptism to which there can be no infidelity. They may recognize their religious duties as Roman catholics, but they will never accord to the Pope any other than a spiritual authority, and that too in matters within his spiritual province. They will allow him, perhaps, the last decision of a question respecting the immaculate conception; but in a question of governmental forms and institutions, they will assert a right to their own opinions and choice. But allowing a blind and superstitious reverence for the Holy Father may incline his followers to accept in all things, even his wishes as laws and that these may be sometimes, unfriendly to the interests of freedom, yet what let me ask, will Roman catholics ever be able to accomplish, with the Argus eyes of more than twenty five millions of jealous Protestants upon them.

During our colonial existence religious persecution was not unknown among us. Peopled by refugees from persecution in the old world, it is not strange that its fall spirit should follow them to this; and thus in the infancy of our settlements there was little charity of feeling between the Plymouth adventurers or with the Quakers of Philadelphia and the settlers of St. Mary's and Jamestown; or between the Hugenots of Carolina, and the Catholics of Florida and Louisiana.—But the difficult circumstances of the settlers demanding all their energies for the success of their enterprises—constantly menaced by hostile savages—soon diverted the minds of the colonists from the persecution of their fellows. The perception of a common danger and a common interest soon displaced the unnatural irritation, and feelings of mutual respect and attachment gradually succeeded. Thus at the date of the union the fires of religious fanaticism may be said to have died out in the colonies, and the happy period of universal toleration seemed at length to have arrived. But why this retrograde movement again conducted by the agency of secret orders? Do we so soon tire of the kindly offices of fraternal regard; and are we at length driven to discard the hope of human perfectability, and to settle in the conviction of the sensual philosopher, who declared that "the natural state of mankind is a state of war?"

Is danger still apprehended from the increase of Catholic influence? Look at Rome herself, in age and decrepitude