The Potter Journal.

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Business Cards.

JOHN S. MANN,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will attend the several Courts in Potter and M'Kean Counties. All business entrusted in his care will receive prompt attention. Office corner of West and Third streets. 10:1

F. W. KNOX,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will regularly attend the Courts in Potter and the adjoining Counties. 10:1

ARTHUR G. OLMSTED,
ATTORNEY & COUNSELLOR AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will attend to all business entrusted to his care, with promptnes and fidelity. Office on Soth-west corner of Main and Fourth streets. 12:1

ISAAC BENSON,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, Coudersport, Pa., will attend to all business entrusted to him, with care and promptness. Office on Second st., near the Allegheny Bridge. 12:1

CHARLES REISSMANN,
CABINET MAKER, having erected a new and convenient Shop, on the South-east corner of Third and West streets, will be happy to receive and fill all orders in his calling. Repairing and re-fitting carefully and neatly done on short notice.
Coudersport, Nov. 8, 1859.—11-1y.

O. T. ELLISON,
PRACTICING PHYSICIAN, Coudersport, Pa., respectfully informs the citizens of the village and vicinity that he will promply respond to all calls for professional services. Office on Main st., in building formerly occupied by C. W. Ellis, Esq. 9:22

COLLINS SMITH. E. A. JONES.
SMITH & JONES,
DEALERS IN DRUGS, MEDICINES, PAINTS, Oils, Fancy Articles, Stationery, Dry Goods, Groceries, &c., Main st., Coudersport, Pa. 10:1

D. E. OLMSTED, B. S. COLWELL, A. C. TAGGART.
D. E. OLMSTED & CO.,
DEALERS IN DRY GOODS, READY-MADE Clothing, Crockery, Groceries, &c., Main st., Coudersport, Pa. 10:1

M. W. MANN,
DEALER IN BOOKS & STATIONERY, MAGAZINES and Music, N. W. corner of Main and Third sts., Coudersport, Pa. 10:1

H. J. OLMSTED. : : : : : : : : : : S. D. KELLY.
OLMSTED & KELLY,
DEALER IN STOVES, TIN & SHEET IRON WARE, Main st., nearly opposite the Court House, Coudersport, Pa. Tin and Sheet Iron Ware made to order, in good style, on short notice. 10:1

COUDERSPORT HOTEL,
D. F. GLASSMIRE, Proprietor, Corner of Main and Second Streets, Coudersport, Potter Co., Pa. 9:44

ALLEGANY HOUSE,
SAMUEL M. MILLS, Proprietor, Colesburg Potter Co., Pa., seven miles north of Coudersport, on the Wellsville Road. 9:44

LYMAN HOUSE,
C. C. LYMAN, Proprietor, Ulysses, Potter Co., Pa. This House is situated on the East corner of Main street, opposite A. Corey & Son's store, and is well adapted to meet the wants of patrons and friends. 12:11-1y.

EZRA STARKWEATHER,
BLACKSMITH, would inform his former customers and the public generally that he has reëstablished a shop in the building formerly occupied by Benj. Rennels in Coudersport, where he will be pleased to do all kinds of Blacksmithing on the most reasonable terms. Lumber, Shihgles, and all kinds of Produce taken in exchange for work. 12:34.

Z. J. THOMPSON,
CARRIAGE & WAGON MAKER and REPAIRER, Coudersport, Potter Co., Pa., takes this method of informing the public in general that he is prepared to do all work in his line with promptness, in a workman-like manner, and upon the most accommodating terms. Payment for Repairing invariably required on delivery of the work. ☞All kinds of PRODUCE taken on account of work. 1?:35.

POLITICAL.

ONE-IDEAISM EXPLAINED.

SPEECH OF

HON. WM. H. SEWARD,

DELIVERED

At Dubuque, Iowa, Sept. 21st, 1860.

From the Dubuque Daily Times.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—He who could pass down the Mississippi, as it washes the shores of Iowa, and see the accumulated products of the harvest, waiting, under all changes of the weather, for means of transport to the eastern markets, and thence for distribution to the needy in every part of the globe, and be unmoved, must be an enemy of his race. He who could enter this, the principal seaport of the State, witness the signs of activity and thrift which appear on all sides, ascend the hills which overlook the town and river, and see the rich and useful mineral everywhere and on every side extracted from the bosom of the earth, and sent abroad to perform their part in the service of mankind, must be incapable of appreciating the elements of a great and prosperous people.

I have seen, as have my fellow travellers, this exhibition; and it may not be unpleasing to you to know—the result of the observations we have made. It is that, although this town and State were stimulated to a high degree of activity, and to a very rapid process of development by the great tide of capital and emigration from the east, which was arrested in the revulsion of 1857, yet the basis of the prosperity of this city and State is sure and steadfast; the blood, after such increased activity in searching the distant parts of our great system, must needs return to the heart again in the East from which it flowed. But as long as a great nation like this remains at peace, the blood is not long in filling up again the storehouse of the heart. Within a year or two or three, the prosperity of Dubuque and of Iowa will be renewed.

Fellow-citizens, we were tempted by the committee who accompanied us to the hights which overlook the city, and who took us for politicians of a different class—we were tempted with the display before us. Here, they said at your feet, lie three States, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Illinois, enough, they thought, to tempt ambitious politicians as they supposed us to be. I answered that the States which were desired by Northern politicians during my connection with public service, had been no such States as these which produced wheat and corn and lead; but they were States which lay further down the valley of the Mississippi; the nearer the Gulf of Mexico the better. And my respected friend from Massachusetts remarked that they din'nt seem to know what constitutes a State in the esteem of a northern politician; it is negroes that constitute the States. Politicians want slaves, and you have none to offer.

Fellow-citizens, we in the East are interested in your success, in your prosperty, in your aggrandizement, for we in the East are but the consumers and the manufacturers and the sellers of what you create. We should soon languish and die if production were to cease in the valley of the Mississippi. Nor, perhaps, is it unnecessary to add, are you independent of us, for you are charged with the responsibility of supplying the materials of men and women, and of men for the defence of the liberties of this nation and its welfare. And if we of the East are feeble and imbecile, you in the West will languish and come down to the same common ruin with ourselves. It is therefore that we propose to speak to you on this occasion of what concerns us all; a great political question, which is to be the subject of decision by the American people in the coming canvass.

We who have come here from the East say that the national policy for the last forty years on the subject has been erroneous, false, and tends to ruin, and that it must be reversed. That policy simply, tersely stated is this: *The policy of the Federal government has been to extend and fortify African slave labor in the United States.*

Now let there be no cavil on this point, for many who have maintained the the administration and the party who have carried out this policy, have been unconscious, doubtless, of the nature of the policy they maintained. But it is not a subject of dispute or cavil that has been the policy of the government of the country for forty years. I will give but one illustration. No man in the nation would have objected or could have objected to the admission of Texas into the Federal Union provided it had been a free State. No man who objected could have objected but for the reason that she was not a slave State. When the question of annexing Texas tried all the existing parties, and puzzled, bewildered and confounded the statesmen of the country, the question was finall decided in a short and simple way, by the declaration of the administration of John Tyler, made by Mr. Calhoun, his Secretary of State, that Texas must be annexed because it was a slaveholding country—it must be annexed with the condition of subdividing it into four slave States. Texas must be annexed for the purpose of fortifying and defending the institution of slavery in the United States. This one single fact upon which the parties joined issue, is conclusive. I will not go further in showing that that has been the policy of the country for forty years.

Now I have said that it is our proposition to reverse this policy. Our policy stated as simply as I have stated that of our adversaries, is, *to circumscribe slavery, and to fortify until extend free labor or freedom.* Many preliminary objections are raised by those among you and us, who are not prepared to go with us to the acceptance of this issue. They say that they are tired of a hobby and of men of one idea; that the country is too great a country, and has too many interests, to be occupied with one idea alone; besides that it is repulsive, offensive; it is disgusting to have "this eternal negro question" forever forced upon their consideration when they desire to think of white men and other things. It is well perhaps to remove these preliminary objections before we go into an argument.

Now, granting for a moment that there is wisdom in the objection to entertain this eternal negro question, pray, let us ask, who raised, who has kept up, this eternal negro question?

The negro question was put at rest in 1787 by the fathers of the Republic, and it slept leaving only for moralists and humanitarians the question of emancipation a question within the States and by no means a federal question. Who lifted it up from the States into the area of federal politics? Who, but the slaveholders in 1820? They demanded that not only Missouri should be admitted as a Slave State, located within the Louisana purchas; but that slavery should be declared forever and was forever without declaration of law, established and should prevail until the end of time, in Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska and in every foot of the then newly acquired domain of the United States? It was the slaveholding power who raised the negro question, and it was the Democratic party which made an alliance with that power, and which, in the North and in Congress, raised this very offensive question, this so very offensive legislation about negroes instead of legislation about white men.

The question was put at rest by the Compromise of 1820, when, God be praised! Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska were saved for freedom, and only Arkansas and Missouri, out of the Louisana purchase, surrendered to slavery; and it slept again for fifteen or twenty years, and then the negro question was again introduced into the councils of the federal government,—and by whom? By the slave power, when it said that "since you have taken Iowa, Kansas and Nebraska, and left us only Missouri, Arkansas and Florida, out of our newly acquired possessions, you must now go on and annex Texas, so that we shall have a balance and counterpoise in this government." Then the Democratic party again were seized with a sudden desire to extend the area of slavery along the Gulf of Mexico; and by way of balancing the triumph of liberty so as to put manacles and chains on the claws of the conquering eagle of the country!

Who, then, is responsible for the eternal negro question? Still such was the forbearance, the patience, the hope without reason and without justice, of the friends of freedom throughout the United States, that the eternal negro question would have been at rest then, if it had not again been brought forward into the federal councils in the years 1848 and 1850, when the slave power forced us into a war with Mexico by which we acquired Upper California and New Mexico and for no other purpose but that, notwithstanding all the advantages which slavery had gained, since the Atlantic States were free, now, as a balance, slavery must have the Pacific coast, and so keep up the equilibrium (according to the notions of Mr. Calhoun) between free labor and slave labor or between freedom and slavery in the United States.

Thus, on these three different occasions, when the public mind was at rest on the subject of the negro, the slave power forced it upon public consideration and demanded aggressive action. When they had at last secured the consent of the people of the free States to a compromise in 1850, by which it was agreed that California alone might be free, and that New Mexico should be remanded back into a territorial condition because she had not established slavery—then there was but one man in the United States Senate that would vote to accept New Mexico as a Free State when she came with her constitution in her hand; and that man the humble individual who stands before you. [Cheers] Aye, you applaud me for it now; but where were your votes in 1850? Ah well; it is all past.

When they had agreed on a compromise, and had driven out of the federal councils every man but myself and some half dozen other representatives who had opposed the aggressions of slavery, were they content to let the negro question rest? No, but in 1854 the Democracy raised the negro question to force it finally and forever throughout the whole Republic, by abrogating the Missouri Compromise. They abandoned the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska to slave labor, and actually assisted and encouraged the armies sent there by the slave-holders, to take forcible possession of territory which, until then, had been free.

O! what pleasure shall I have, in telling the people of Kansas, three days hence, how that, when all others were faithless and false and timid, they renewed this battle, this standard of freedom, and expelled the intruding slaveholder, and established forever amongst themselves the freedom of labor and the freedom of men on the plains of Kansas.

Were the Democracy then content? Not at all; but they determined, in 1858, to raise the negro question once more and to admit Kansas into the Union, if she would have come in as a Slave State, and to keep her out indefinitely if she should elect freedom.

And only one year later, when they found that Kansas was slippling from their clutches, who then raised once more the eternal negro question? The slave power and the Administration took it up by demanding the annexation of Cuba, a slaveholding island of Spain, to be acquired at a cost of $150,000,000, peaceably, if it could be obtained for that sum, and forcibly if it should not be surrendered, for the purpose of adding two Slave States, well manned and well appointed, to balance the votes of Kansas and Minnesota, then expected to come into the Union as Free States.

Who has brought this issue and entered it on the record of Kansas? The slaveholding party—the Democratic party. They held their Convention first in this campaign at Charleston. They presented again the everlasting negro question, nothing more, nothing less. They differed about the form, but they gave us, nevertheless, the everlasting negro question in two different parts, giving us our choice to take one or the other, as they gave the people of Kansas the choice, whether they would take Slavery pure and simple, or take it anyhow and get rid of it afterwards if they could.

Of one part, Mr. Breckinridge is the representative. It is presented plain and distinct; it is that slaves are merchandize and property in the Territories under the Constitution of the United States, and that the National Legislatures and the Courts must protect it in the Territories, and no power on earth can discharge them of the responsibility. Of the other, Mr. Douglas is the Representative, and the form in which it is presented by those who support him is, What is the best way *not* to keep slavery out of the Territories?

I doubt very much whether slaveholders have so great a repugnance to the negro and to the eternal negro question as they affect. On the other hand, being accustomed to set in the Federal councils, with grave and reverend Senators, and to mingle with representatives of the people from slaveholding States, I find a great difference between myself and them on the subject. God knows, I never would consent to be the unbidden, the unchosen Representative of bondmen! They must be freemen that I represent; every man of them must be a whole man. But my respected friends who represent the Slave States are willing, and do most cheerfully, most gladly consent to represent three-fifths of all the negro slaves. They take a slave at three-fifths of a man, and they represent the three-fifths; I doubt not they would be very glad if he could be created into five-fifths

Well, I think the Democratic party has not so much repugnance to negroes and the negro question, because they consent to take offices of President, Vice President, Secretaries of State, Ministers to Bogota, and to all other parts of the world, Consulships, and post offices, that are derived indirectly by adding another link to the chain of States in which negroes count, each one, three-fifths. No, no; slaveholders and the Democratic party would be very glad to take votes from negroes, free or slave, by the head, full count, if negroes and slaves would only vote for Slavery; and it is only because they have a sagacious insight into human nature, which teaches them that negroes and slaves would vote for liberty, that makes the negro question so repulsive to them.

But, fellow citizens, is this one idea, the eternal negro question, objectionable merely on account of the negro? I think not: I think it far otherwise; for, after all, you see that the negro has the least of everybody else in the world, to do with it. The negro is no party to it; he is only an incident; he is the subject of disputes, but not one of the litigants. He has just as much to do with it as a horse or a watch in a justice's court, when two neighbors are litigating about its ownership. The horse question or watch question is excellent business for the justice, and lawyers to make fees, and for the neighbors generally to get fun out of; and my friend General Nye was never so happy in his life as when attending suits before justices of the peace, settling this eternal horse question and watch question. [Laughter.]

The controversy is not with the negro at all, but with two classes of white men, one who has a monopoly of negroes, and the other who has no negroes. One is an aristocratic class, that wants to extend itself over the new Territories and so retain the power it already exercises; and the other is yourselves my good friends, men who have no negroes and want have any, and who mean that the aristocratic system shall not be extended. There is no negro question about it at all. It is an eternal question between classes—between the few privileged and the many unprivileged—the eternal question between aristocracy and democracy.

A sorrowful world this will be when that question shall be put to rest; or when it is the rest that it shall have, shall be the same it has always had for six thousand years; the riding of the privileged over the necks of the unprivileged, booted and spurred. And the nation that is willing to establish such an aristocracy, and is shamed out of the defense of its own rights, deserves no better fate than that which befals the timid, the cowardly and the unworthy.

It is to-day in the United States the same question that is filling Hungary, and is lifting the throne of a Cæsar of Austria from its pedestrals; the same which has expelled the tyrant of Naples from the beautiful Sicily and has driven him from his palace at Naples to seek shelter in his fortress at Gaeta. It is not only an eternal question, but it is a universal question. Every man from a foreign land will find here in a America, in another form, the *irrepressible conflict* [Applause] which crushed him out, an exile from his native land.

Again, fellow citizens, I am not quite convinced that it is sound philosophy in anything, at least in politics, to banish the principle of giving paramount importance at any one time to one idea. If a man wishes to secure a good crop of wheat to pay off the debt he owes upon his land, he is seized with one idea in the spring; he plows, plants and sows; he gathers and reaps, with a single leading idea of getting forty bushels to the acre, if he can. If a merchant wishes to be successful, he surrenders himself to the one idea of buying as cheap, and selling as dear as he honestly can. I would not give much for a lawyer who is put in charge of my case, that would suffer himself, when before the jury, to be distracted with a great many pleasing ideas. I want one devoted to my cause. In the church we have a great many clergymen who have a horror of this one idea and the negro question, but I think it was St. Peter who had it made known to him in a vision on the housetop, that he must not have scattered ideas; but there was to be one idea only, that is of being satisfied with everything else provided he could only win souls to his Master. And Paul was very much after this spirit; he said he would be all things to all men, provided he could save some souls.

There was in the Revolution one man seized with a terrible fanaticism, propelled by one idea. He scattered terror all through this continent; and when he passed from Boston to the first Congress in Philadelphia, deputations from New York and Philadelphia went out to meet this man of one idea, and that of national independence. And still John Adams proved, after all, to be a public benefactor. There was, during the Revolution, another man of one idea that appeared to burn in him so ardently that he was regarded as the most dangerous man on the continent; and a triple reward was offered for his head. He actually went so far as to take all the men of one idea in the country, and suffer himself to take command of them. That man was George Washington. His idea was justice, political justice. There was another monomaniac of the same kind down in Virginia; he, at the close of the Revolution, had one idea, an eternal idea, and it even included negroes; and that was the idea of equality. It was Thomas Jefferson. Now, though the State which reared him might be glad if it could erase from his monument at Monticello its sublime inscription, yet the world can never lose that proud and beautiful epitaph, written by himself: "Here lies Thomas Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence."

About the year 1805 or '6, the French Secretary for Foreign Affairs gave a dinner to the American representative at Court, and to American citizens resident there, and there was a large and various party. When the wine flowed freely, and the conversation ought to have been general, there was one young man who was possessed with one idea, and he could not rest, but kept continually putting this idea before the minister and the rest of the guests, saying, "If you only make up for me a purse, or show me a bank that will lend me five thousand dollars, I will put a boat on the Hudson river which will make the passage from New York to Albany at four miles an hour, without being driven by oars or sails." He was an offensive monomaniac, that Robert Fulton. But still had it not been for his one idea, Iowa would have slept the last sixty years, and down to the twentieth century, and not one human being before me or within the boundaries of this State would have resided here. What I understand by one idea is this: It simply means that a man, or a people, or a State, is in earnest. They get an idea which they think is useful, and they are in earnest. God save us when we are to abandon confidence in earnest men and take to following trivial men of light minds, confused and scattered ideas, and weak purposes.

Fellow-citizens, there is no such thing as government carried out without the intervention, the rising, the exaltation of one idea, and without the activity, guidance and influence of earnest men. You may be listless, indifferent, indolent, each one of you; do you therefore get other people to go to sleep? No. You go to sleep, and you will find somebody that has got one idea that you don't like, who will be wide awake. They want to be wide awake on the negro question as long as it pays, and it pays just as long as you will be content to follow their guidance and take several ideas.

Fellow-citizens, industry is the result of one idea. I have never heard of idle ones in the beaver's camp, but I do know there are drones in the beehive. Nevertheless, the beavers' camp and the beehive all give evidence of the denomination of one idea. The Almighty Power himself could never have made the world, and never govern it, if he had not bent the force and application of the one idea to make it perfect. And when at 7 o'clock in the morning three months ago, with the almanac in my hand, I stood with my smoked glass between me and the sun to see whether the almanac-maker was correct or whether nature vascillated between one idea and another, I was astonished to see that, at the very second indicated by the astronomer, the shadow of the moon entered the disk of the sun.—There was one idea only in the mind of the Omnipotent Creator that, six thousand, or ten thousand, or twenty thousand, or hundreds of thousands of years ago, set that sun, that moon, and this earth in their places, and subjected them to laws which brought that shadow exactly at this point at that instant of time. Earth is serious; heaven is serious; earth is earnest; heaven is earnest. There is no place for men of scattered and confused ideas in the earth below, or in the heavens above, whatever there may be in the places under the earth.

Every one idea has its negative. It has its destinies, its purpose, and it has its negative. So it is with the idea of slavery; it means nothing less, nothing more, nothing different from the extension of commerce or trading in slaves; and in our national system it means the extension of commerce in slaves into regions where that commerce has no right to exist. The negative of that is our right which we are endeavoring to inculcate in your minds, opposition to trading in slaves within those portions of the Territory where slaves are not lawfully a subject of merchandise.

At the time of the compromise of 1820 the Democratic Party saw, for they are wise men, and their opponents, Rufus King, John W. Taylor and others in Congress, saw, that there was an irrepressible conflict between the two ideas of slavery and freedom, or rather between the two sides of one idea. The alternative offered to the Democracy and to all the people of the United States, was a plain one;—the slave holders are strong, are united; there are many slave States and they are agreed in their policy; there are as many Free States, but they are divided in opinion. Lend your support to the Slave States and you shall have the power, patronage, honors and glory of administering the government of the United States. Some asked, for how long? Wise men cast the horoscope and said forty: just about that time an infant State shall grow up north of Missouri within the Louisiana purchase, and another shall grow up in Kansas. These forty years the great men I have named seemed few and feeble in numbers; still we would rather have quiet consciences during all the time and postpone honors and rewards for forty years, rather than to take the side of slavery; and the Democratic Party reasoning otherwise, said, "Give us the offices and power now; we will hold it the forty years and more if we can."

They say that the "old one" is inexo-