

13
1856

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FILLMORE AND DONELSON
NEW JERSEY STATE CONVENTION.

SPEECHES OF HON. J. F. RANDOLPH, HON. HIRAM KETCHUM, AND COM.
R. F. STOCKTON.

THE PLATFORM ADOPTED, &c.

The State Convention of the friends of Fillmore and Donelson was held in Trenton, Thursday, Sept. 25th, and was, for numbers and character, one of the most respectable conventions ever held in the state. The train from Camden brought up a delegation of four or five hundred good and true Americans from West Jersey. They formed in procession and preceded by the American Brass Band, marched through the streets, exciting universal attention, not only for their numbers, but for their enthusiasm and fine appearance. It was universally remarked alike by friends and foes, that it was seldom that so many of the best men of their section were to be found in a political procession. The train from Belvidere also brought down a large number of the substantial yeomanry of the river counties, among whom were some of the strongest men of Hunterdon and Warren. Old Hopewell turned out in her might—a long string of sometwenty wagons and carriages, splendidly decorated with flags and streamers, conveying the Whigs and Americans of that old stronghold of conservative principles. East Jersey came forth in great strength—fourteen cars, packed with live and enthusiastic delegates, arrived from that section, besides those which came in the regular trains, and by other modes of conveyance. Delegates

from Burlington, Monmouth, and other counties were early on the ground in vast numbers, and the people continued to arrive by every train, and wagons and carriages from the surrounding country poured into the city during the morning and afternoon, until even the fiercest of the Republicans had to acknowledge that Americanism was by no means “crashed out.” The hotels of the city were literally jammed with the unexampled mass of Fillmore men that poured in from every quarter of the state. No such demonstration has been witnessed on the old battle field of the revolution during many campaigns, and the astonishment and chagrin of the opponents of the Fillmore Party knew no bounds. Without exaggeration, we can claim that the Convention has not been equalled since the glorious days of '44.

At twelve o'clock the various delegations assembled at the American Hotel and formed in procession. They took up their line of march to the hall of meeting, preceded by bands of music. Innumerable banners, gorgeously decorated, and containing mottos demonstrative of the devotion of the great American Party to the preservation of the Union, flashed in the bright sun which shone out with unclouded lustre in honor of the occasion. The

vast procession exceeded any thing of the kind ever witnessed in Trenton. Marching four and five deep, it was nearly A MILE LONG! As it filed past the office of *The State Gazette*, one continuous cheer rose up with hearty enthusiasm—banners waved—and caps were thrown up with exulting gesticulation.

The call of the convention fixed the hour of meeting for 11 o'clock, but owing to the fact that the train from the East did not arrive until after 12 o'clock, the Convention was not called to order until half past twelve. At that hour Judge William P. Robeson mounted the platform, called the Convention to order, and nominated Col. J. W. Allen, of Burlington, as chairman of the temporary organization. Col. Allen was unanimously chosen and took the chair. The temporary organization was completed by the appointment of Mr. C. W. Tolles, of Mercer, as Secretary.

Mr. F. B. Betts, of Hudson, moved that a committee of one from each county, to select permanent officers for the government of the convention, be appointed. Agreed to, and the following committee appointed:

Bergen—John Van Buskirk.
Burlington—Thomas Robb.
Cumberland—James M. Wells.
Essex—Peter S. Duryea.
Gloucester—Edmund F. Garrison.
Hudson—Edgar F. Randolph.
Hunterdon—John Runk.
Mercer—Stephen B. Smith.
Middlesex—C. D. Deshler.
Monmouth—John T. Woodhull.
Morris—J. J. Scofield.
Ocean—Edward Ivins.
Passaic—Cornelius Van Winkle.
Salem—Sinnickson Chew.
Somerset—Isaac R. Cornell.
Sussex—John R. Stewart.
Warren—Judge Wm. P. Robeson.

Mr. Betts then moved that a committee of one from each Congressional District be appointed to report resolutions. Agreed to, and the following named gentlemen appointed by the chair:

1st District—Jonathan Ingham,
2d District—Dr. Charles G. McChesney,
3d District—Isaac R. Cornell,
4th District—John R. Stewart,
5th District—Wm. K. McDonald,

Dr. C. G. McChesney of Mercer moved that, after the adjournment for dinner, the delegates from the different districts meet together and agree upon candidates for district electors, and that the chairman appoint a committee of five to nominate candidates for Electors at large. Adopted.

Mr. I. R. Cornell, of Somerset, suggested that the chair suspend the appointment of the committee on Electors at large until the different districts make their reports. The President adopted the suggestion, but subsequently reconsidered his determination, and appointed the following committee.

1st District—Joseph Myers.
2nd District—Mablon Hutchinson.
3rd District—Daniel Talmadge.
4th District—Samuel Van Ness.
5th District—Elihu Day.

A gentleman at this point, called for three cheers for Fillmore and Donelson, which were given with a will, and repeated again and again, until the very walls of the building trembled. Nine cheers were then given for Dr. Newell, the candidate of the united opposition forces for Governor. These were repeated with a voice of thunder. Cheers were given for the American party of the Union, for Dr. Clawson, for the Americans of Camden, for the Americans of Newark, of Middlesex and of Jersey City, and when it seemed that any human lungs must have been exhausted, the mention of the name of Erastus Brooks, the American candidate for Governor of New York called forth enthusiastic cheers upon cheers.

After order had, with some difficulty been restored, Mr. J. M. Board, of Hudson, moved that, at the afternoon session, each county report the names of three gentlemen to act as an Executive Committee, which motion was unanimously adopted.

The Convention then, on motion of Dr. C. G. McChesney, adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock—the delegates in Temperance Hall, and the Mass Meeting at the Riding School.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The convention reassembled after a recess of over an hour, and were called to order by the temporary chairman, Col. Allen.

Hon. Wm. P. Robeson, from the committee permanent organization, reported as follows: President—Hon. Jos. F. RANDOLPH, of Mercer.

Vice Presidents.

Isaac Mayhew, Atlantic.
John J. Anderson, Bergen.
John Larzalere, Burlington.
Thomas Beasley, Cape May.
Andrew K. Hay, Camden.
Richard Carle, Cumberland.
J. G. Goble, Essex.
Joseph Franklin, Gloucester.
Peter D. Vroom, Jr., Hudson.
John E. Furman, Hunterdon.
Charles G. McChesney, Mercer.
Hon. James Bishop, Middlesex.
Thomas Baird, Monmouth.
Jas. I. Scofield, Morris.
Edward Ivins, Ocean.
D. A. Dixon, Passaic.
Wm. S. Clawson, Salem.
Simon Wykoff, Somerset.
J. R. Stewart, Sussex.
Secretary—C. W. Tolles.

Assistant Secretaries—1st District, Joshua D. Barber; 2d, L. E. Lippincott; 3d, Charles A. Skillman; 4th, Augustus W. Cutler; 5th, Robert L. Cook.

The report of the committee was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted by the con-

vention. Judge Randolph not being present, Messrs. B. F. Betts, W. P. Robeson and Gen. Sutphin were appointed to wait upon him and invite him to attend and preside over the convention.

On motion of Dr. C. G. McChesney, Col. Allen was elected as President until the arrival of the permanent President.

The committee on electors not being ready to report, the several districts were called upon and reported as follows:

1st District—Hon. Joseph Porter, of Camden.

2d District—Hon. Joseph F. Randolph, of Mercer.

3d District—Hon. Wm. P. Robeson, of Warren.

4th District—Cornelius Van Winkle, of Passaic.

5th District—Hon. Silas Condict, of Essex.

Each name as it was read was hailed with applause, and the ticket ratified by acclamation and with three cheers.

Dr. C. G. McChesney, chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:—

WHEREAS—Americans, Whigs, and others of New Jersey, have this day in Convention assembled, upon the battle ground of the Revolution, for the purpose of presenting to their fellow citizens an Electoral ticket for President and Vice President of the United States, and to give their undivided support to such a standard bearer as can quiet the raging passions of sectional strife, and restore confidence to our distracted country—Therefore

Resolved, That we most heartily unite in the support of Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson, for President and Vice President of the United States—who know no sectional or geographical lines—no north, no south—no east, no west—but their country—their whole country, and nothing but their country.

Resolved, That we consider the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, an outrage, and flagrant wrong upon the peace and honor and happiness of our country. We believe this Administration and its supporters guilty of, and hold them responsible for it, and all the evils resulting from misrule, as well as for the fraternal blood that has been shed upon the plains of Kansas; and that we are in favor of such immediate action by Congress as will restore the question of Slavery to the position of final settlement it occupied on the retirement of Mr. Fillmore from the Presidency.

Resolved, That we are opposed to sectional parties as antagonistic to the spirit of our Constitution, the principles which underlie the confederation of the States—that they were anticipated by our forefathers, who warned us against them—that they are destructive of the comity between the States and of the fraternity of our people—that they excite feelings of fanaticism and animosity, and though the bonds of our Union may not be severed by them, all that renders that Union dear and

valuable will be destroyed. We believe that no cause now exists for a Northern anti-slavery party, for the purpose of conquering the South, as the rights of the North will be fully protected by Mr. Fillmore. We believe that the Democratic party has assumed the character of an ultra-Southern party and is engaged in a crusade against the recognised rights of the North. The American party assisted by the National Whigs, interposes itself as the only true National Union one, seeking to restore peace, perpetuate amity, and do justice to all sections—that therefore it cannot enter into any fusion with either of its opponents, or sacrifice any of the cherished objects of its noble mission.

Resolved, That we deem the Republican candidate, John C. Fremont, a young, untried and inexperienced man—who has given no evidence of possessing those peculiar and high qualifications necessary for the chief magistracy of our country, and from whom we can look for no better result than has followed the administration of Franklin Pierce, who was nominated under similar circumstances.

Resolved, That we deem the Democratic candidate, Jas. Buchanan, unsafe and sectional, having fully and unqualifiedly endorsed all the acts of President Pierce's Administration, which has brought the country into anarchy and civil war, arrayed the North against the South in bitter and hostile strife, engendered a filibustering spirit in our land, thereby degrading us in the eyes of the nations of the earth.

Resolved, That the election of our candidate for the Presidency (first in the field and well tried, faithful and true to the constitution and the Union) will restore peace and confidence to the country, such as it enjoyed when he retired from its chief magistracy. We therefore invoke the aid of all who love the institutions of our country and our glorious Union; to rally around our conservative candidate and co-operate with us in our good and righteous cause.

Resolved, That the adoption of our candidates by the National Whig Convention recently assembled at Baltimore, in connection with the heavy majorities obtained by the opposition parties in old Democratic states; the gratifying intelligence received from the South, as well as the North, give to the friends of Fillmore and Donelson the cheering prospect, that around them will rally the whole conservative element of the country, and the sincere friends of the union. We have the assurance that no vote given to them will be lost, but that they have the brightest and best prospect for success.

Resolved, That we behold in Millard Fillmore no experimental candidate; but one whose noble aim was and is to copy after the illustrious Washington; who favors the Protection of American industry; who cherishes the underlying principles of Clay and Webster; who

bears aloft the standard of our country containing the full constellation of the Union—thirty one glorious stars—and who has inscribed on it the proud motto, "Americans should rule America."

The reading of the resolutions was repeatedly interrupted by bursts of rapturous applause, and the resolution declaring against any fusion was received with three boisterous cheers. The question was taken upon the resolutions as a whole, and they were adopted with three times three.

The Committee on Electors at Large reported as follows:—

Commodore Robert F. Stockton, of Mercer.
Col. Peter I. Clark, of Hunterdon.

These nominations were ratified by the convention with nine cheers and a full grown tiger.

The committee to wait upon the President of the Convention, returned in company with Judge Randolph, who was greeted with repeated cheers.

MR. RANDOLPH'S SPEECH.

Mr. R. on taking the chair, returned his thanks to the Convention for the honor conferred in selecting him as the presiding officer of this very large and respectable meeting, which he thought gave pretty good evidence that Millard Fillmore had a party and friends in New Jersey and that there were plenty more of the same sort where these came from. He said that—

We are assembled to select an electoral ticket for the support of Fillmore and Donelson at the next Presidential election. You know the candidates and their merits. Mr. Fillmore has been before you as a tried statesman for twenty years. You have seen him in various important positions—as a member of Congress and its various Committees, as Vice President and as President of this great Republic; during a time of extreme anxiety and peril. In whatever station he has been placed he has received from all sections and parties the plaudit of "well done, good and faithful servant;" and from his political adversaries the high encomium of his administration being more Washington-like than any other since that of the father of his country. But four years ago when he left the executive chair, the whole country was filled with his fame. The angry contention respecting slavery and the Mexican territory had been hushed in repose, foreign governments respected and honored our nation and its representatives; fillibusters had been crushed out. The country was in a high state of prosperity, and peace reigned throughout our borders and we were in peace with all the world. President Pierce was elected by an unexampled majority, yet in less than four years the whole country is in a state of confusion and wild excitement; from the miserable policy pursued by his administration, bickerings and misunderstandings with foreign nations, discord and disaster at home,

section arrayed against section, the slavery question which had been put at rest (as supposed) by the compromise measures of 1850, re-opened by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the flames of civil war kindled in our western border. In the midst of this excitement the then only organized party opposed to the administration met at Philadelphia on the 22d of February 1856, and nominated Mr. Fillmore for President—not by a southern vote but by the unanimous vote of a large Convention, more than two thirds of which were from the north.

He was at the time abroad, where the office sought him, not he the office. He had no cause or desire to seek the office, he had already filled the measure of his country's glory. His ambition had been gratified to the highest extent. But he was drawn from retirement, like Cincinnatus of old, as the man for the times, to govern and give peace once more to the jarring elements of his country, and preserve the union of the States. Mr. Fillmore has ever been a Whig, contending for Whig principles in all our great political contests, whilst both of his competitors are democrats, the one from the South with an extreme Northern platform; the other from the North with a Southern platform. He learned his principles and his Statesmanship with Clay and Webster and the fathers of the Constitution. But it has been said that the great question of the day is the question of slavery and that his principles are not sound on that subject. We are all opposed to slavery, and would desire it to be blotted out of our country and the world, but we have the evils amongst us and we can only do the best that circumstances permit. So thought our fathers, when they passed the first compromise in 1787, giving all territory north of Ohio to freedom and leaving that South to the supporters of slavery—so thought the framers of the Constitution, when they added by northern votes, three fifths of the slaves to the southern ratio of representation, and gave to the South their right to claim their fugitives from labor—so thought the Congress of 1820, when they created out of the new French territory, Missouri a Slave state, and enacted that all of that territory north of 36° 30, north latitude should be consecrated to freedom, and so too thought the Congress of 1850, when by a new and final compromise, in consideration of extinguishing the slave trade in the district of Columbia, and of the admission of California as a free State, they re-enacted the fugitive slave law of President Washington and declared that the Mexican territories, when they applied to become states, might choose as any other state might, to become free or slave states.

Had these Compromises remained unchanged it is presumed that no man at this day, who is not an avowed abolitionist, would pretend that there was any question relating to slavery that

should now divide the country. But the present administration in its madness and folly, repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820, and of course threw the country into fearful excitement and agitation. Its author, as President Bates lately remarked, having like the old fox, been caught in his own trap and lost his tail, persuaded his fellow democrats to cut off their tails too, by adopting his iniquitous act as a part of their platform, and thus pledging the succeeding administration to the measure—and this is the cause why the democracy is scourged with righteous retribution, and why the fountains of the great deep of their political power are being broken up. If then, the evil complained of arises only from this miserable repeal, the remedy is simply the restoration of the compromise or some equivalent thereto; and not to proclaim war against all compromises, or organize a new party to run a crusade, beyond the constitution and the compromises, against slavery in the abstract and the whole section of country that has the misfortune to be cursed with the evil. The Convention which nominated Mr. Fillmore took the true distinction in their platform, when they proclaimed their opposition "to the present administration in the general management of our national affairs—as shown in re-opening sectional agitation, by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—and in its course on Kansas and Nebraska." And Mr. Fillmore's opposition to the repeal was also well known. With these lights before them, if the object was merely to redress the wrong, there was neither necessity nor propriety in originating a new opposition party, and thereby endangering the perpetuation of the evil by dividing the opposition. Had they rallied around Mr. Fillmore as a great national party, his election by the people would have been beyond a question and the evil complained of speedily redressed, and this is all that large masses of Republicans desire or expect. But the men who originated the party looked far beyond that; in their platform they do not even complain of the repeal of the compromise, because they go beyond all compromises, and are willing that one should stand repealed by their adversaries that they may have a pretext for repealing or violating all others. They battle not for compromises but against slavery in the abstract and for the "liberty of all men," reckless of constitutions, and compacts and unions. What more have the rankest abolitionists ever demanded?

The compact has been violated, the rights of Kansas outraged by the most disgraceful laws, the measures of the administration have been the weakest and most wicked that ever disgraced a free country, until civil war is now raging, and brother is butchering brother in the madness of the hour; and this is the time when these patriots seek to originate a new party upon abstract principles of human liberty or slavery. Instead of rallying with the conservative men of every section, to put down

this weak and wicked administration, and terminate the strife, they raise new issues or rather revive old ones, originate a sectional party, and with exciting appeals to the passions and prejudices, endeavor to array the sixteen free States against the fifteen slave States, and thus put in jeopardy our glorious union—not by secession, as the shallow-minded seem to suppose—but by preparing each section for the maddening strife, and by actual concussion and deadly conflict. No! If this Union is dissolved, it will not be done peaceably, or with a fixed determination, but section will be arrayed against section, each goaded on to desperation and to deadly combat—when the stars that now light us to glory will be quenched in blood, and the striped memorial of the "old thirteen" be the winding sheet of the Union:—And why is all this? Not because such a course was at all necessary—not because it is the only, or the proper mode of redressing the wrong; but because a certain set of men determine to rule or ruin the country. Upon such men would their inexperienced nominees be compelled to fall back for counsel and support in case of his election—the same who for the last twenty years have been endeavoring to reign and triumph with an abolition party—the same who in 1844, by their division, prevented the election of Henry Clay—when—

"The eagle towering in his pride of place,
Was, by these mousing owls, hawked at and killed."

And these men have the assurance to charge us with efforts to elect Buchanan!!

The new organization was, in a great measure, effected by a subsidizing of the press, and with this, with the outrages committed or permitted by the administration in Kansas, with the folly and madness of Southern bravos, and a constant effort to take advantage of the honest sympathies of the people, and mislead them from the true issue before the country, they have raised a political party of great extent, embracing much of worth and talent, and honest patriotism. There is also another class of time-servers, who have watched the political barometer, until from time to time some new outrage, or local election, or prospect of personal aggrandizement have induced them to drop into the Republican ranks.

Some like the Parthian, sending back as they fled their poisoned arrows whilst many others have honestly and conscientiously swelled their ranks.—I believe in politics as in morals that "An honest man is the noblest work of God"—and with such their "sober second thoughts," will bring them into the ranks of Fillmore and Donelson, whilst thousands of others will regret their premature committal against them. The incessant efforts of our adversaries are worthy of a nobler cause. Sometimes they attempt to operate on the nerves or the faith of our friends—at others on their credulity. Every town and street and cross-road, has its advocate or orator, who make up in pertinacity

and bold assertion what they lack in wisdom or discretion—"Fillmore" say they, has not the ghost of a chance—don't throw away your vote—you only defeat Fremont, to elect Buchanan—the western and Maine elections demonstrate that Fillmore will not receive a Northern vote or Buchanan a Southern one." Well it is very kind in them thus to enlighten us poor deluded friends of Fillmore, and certainly very disinterested! If they really believe what they say, why take so much pains to proclaim it? Is there any friend of Fillmore who can for a moment listen to such nonsense or hesitate? We all know him to be the best man for the crisis and the safest for the country. I am contented to do what I believe right and for the best and leave consequences and results to an overruling Providence. I do not believe in doing wrong in order that good may grow out of it. I had rather be right than successful—but in this instance we will be right and successful too. Mr. Buchanan cannot be elected without the whole South, and Mr. Fremont cannot be without the whole North except twenty-seven votes. Hence so long as Fillmore is in the field their interest and their efforts are to induce his friends to forsake him—that they may make good their calculation. But they are mistaken. Mr. Fillmore was the first nominated and will be the last forsaken. If the Republicans are resolved to stick to their one idea and their inexperienced candidate and divide the opposition and thus elect Buchanan, the sin be upon their own heads not ours. Every friend of Fillmore and the Union is ready to exclaim with the poet's hero—

"This rock shall fly
From its firm base as soon as I."

But our cause is bright and every day the prospect of Fillmore's election is increasing. The old whigs since the defeat of 1852 have been disbanded and taken little part in political affairs—they have preserved a masterly inactivity, until they saw the strife of sectional parties, likely to endanger the union, when at a simple call they assembled in hundreds and thousands recently at Baltimore. Like the old guard watching the last conflict of Napoleon, at the very moment when their action would be decisive they rushed to the contest, and Waterloo was won; so come forth at this crisis the old Whigs, and rally with Fillmore and the Union, for the sake of the Union, and their timely action will be as decisive as that of the old guard at Waterloo. It would have done your hearts good, to have seen that noble and spirited convention of the men who nominated Clay and Frelinghuysen. Tippecanoe and Tyler too, Taylor and Fillmore and Scott and Graham—all coming forth from their distant homes, and seconding the nomination of Fillmore and Donelson; and when the North and the South, the East and the West thus assembled and conferred together, the pertinacious fictions of our adversaries were soon dissipated. Nearly every state was repre-

mented by some of her most intelligent citizens. New York was there with two or three delegates from each district in the State, and after full conference, they all united in the utmost assurance, that the Empire state would cast her vote for Fillmore and Donelson by a decided majority. This puts an end to all the Republican hopes, but of course they will never give up their claim on New York till the ballot box is closed—the game of brag goes to that point and no further. As to the South, Kentucky, notwithstanding her recent election for Judges in which nine out of thirteen districts had no opposition candidates, and Tennessee, which voted in favor of Clay against Polk, Taylor against Cass, and Scott against Pierce, will now go for Fillmore and Donelson as her best men say beyond all question, and so too Delaware and Maryland, Florida and Louisiana, are all certain states for Fillmore; and he has, as their own men assure us, more than an even chance to carry Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, and Missouri which recently elected a Fillmore Lieut. Governor—and there is little probability that Fremont will carry either Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey or Pennsylvania.

Indeed, the extreme excitement in the east and the immense Republican majority in the old democratic state of Maine, has so alarmed the southern, as well as the northern democrats, and the conservative men of all parties, that they are, especially at the south, daily flocking to the standard of Fillmore, as the only safety and security of the Union.—One of the South Carolina Senators having spent the summer at the north recently, on his way home, remarked, that he was fearful of the impending danger and satisfied that Mr. Buchanan would not be elected by the people.—He had resolved to make the effort to give Mr. Fillmore the vote of South Carolina. Every election that will take place before the 4th of November, we have the best reason to believe will benefit the prospects of Fillmore.

And now, what say you as to New Jersey? The day for union has passed—our adversaries have thrown down the gage and we have but one course, to select a ticket with seven good names on, all of whom are for Fillmore and Donelson—and then to go to work to elect it. Without doubt we have a larger vote than the Republicans in the state, and in a majority of the counties. Let them be organized. Every man can do something—the accession of half a dozen votes in each neighborhood will give us the election—the conservatives will come to our aid. Let no man be seduced from his propriety by the delusion that he will lose his vote who votes for Fillmore. Every vote given in this state for Fremont will be thrown away.—He can neither get the vote of New Jersey nor be elected. If every man in New Jersey who believes Fillmore the best and safest man, will give him his vote and influence, he will, beyond all doubt, receive the electoral vote of the

state. Come, then, come to the rally. Let there be a

A union of hearts, a union of hands,
A union of states none can sever;
A union of lakes, a union of lands,
Fillmore and the Union forever.

Judge R. was frequently interrupted by applause and sat down amidst enthusiastic cheers.

Col. J. W. Allen moved that the President be authorized to appoint a State Central Committee, and to announce the same through the newspapers of the state. This was adopted and the county delegations requested to hand to the President lists of their County Executive Committees.

State Executive Committee.

The following named gentlemen were appointed, in pursuance of a resolution of the convention, by Judge J. F. Randolph, the President, as the State Executive Committee of the American party:—Dr. Charles G. McChesney, Charles P. Smith, Dr. Reynell Coates, A. S. Livingston, Jos. W. Allen, C. D. Deshler, A. W. Cutler, Dr. S. L. Condict, Robert F. Stockton, Jr.

The Convention then adjourned with cheers for Fillmore and Donelson, and for the ticket just nominated.

The immense crowd, after the adjournment of the convention, formed in procession, and marched to the Riding School which was, in a few minutes, densely crowded by an intelligent and enthusiastic audience of true hearted Americans.

The Mass Meeting

Was organized by the appointment of Hon. J. F. Randolph as Chairman.

The first speaker introduced was Mr. Alexander, of Maryland, who was received with unbounded applause. He spoke briefly on the prospects of the American cause, congratulating the meeting on the increased probability of success in the approaching election.

MR. KETCHUM'S SPEECH.

He was followed by Hon. Hiram Ketchum of New York, who discussed at length the questions now before the people for their decision at the ballot-box. He said that less than four years ago Millard Fillmore left the Presidential Chair, and left the country at peace, not only with foreign nations, but at peace at home—north and south, east and west—all united in the bonds of fraternal union. But now we see states alienated and citizens of different sections embittered against each other; and still worse, American blood had been shed by American hands in civil strife. The country is endangered, and wise and good men all over, tremble at the impending crisis—and what has caused this disastrous change? He would defy any intelligent man to contradict him, when he said that the cause of all this evil was the repeal of that measure of peace and security—the Missouri Compromise, and this repeal was

effected by the present administration and its supporters. Mr. Ketchum then gave a brief history of the origin and repeal of the compact of 1820. Its passage excited at the time hot indignation all over the north, and northern representatives who voted for it were universally repudiated. Even Henry Clay was rendered unpopular at the north—but time healed the rupture, and the country found peace and security under it. In time other agitating questions arose and were settled under Mr. Fillmore's administration, and when Mr. Pierce took his seat, all was peace. But Atehison and Douglass conceived the plan of repealing the Missouri Compromise in order to break down the rising American party, and advance their own personal interests. This repeal was not the act of the south, but of the Democratic party, and they, and they alone were responsible for it. He was here to-day to defend the south from the charge of violating the compact of 1820, and to place it where it belongs—on the representatives of the Democratic party from the northern states. And this party, all though it has repudiated the traitors, hugs the treason to its breast, and although the people of the whole Union have denounced the mischievous act; the Democratic party adheres to it still, and the speaker said as his solemn conviction that James Buchanan will not receive an electoral vote from a single free state.

Mr. K. said that he had a few words to say to the friends of Col. Fremont, but before doing so, he must say something to his friends—to the men who were for Millard Fillmore, [Loud cheering] and he had words of hope for them. In New York the Fillmore party was more thoroughly organized than ever had been any party in the United States. Besides this, they had more voters than either of the other parties, and it was certain that New York would cast her vote for her son, Millard Fillmore. In Baltimore he had satisfied himself that the states of Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, and Florida would vote for him; he had satisfied himself of this, but that New York would vote for Mr. Fillmore was a fact of which he spoke with confidence.

Mr. Ketchum then proceeded to pay his respects to the Fremont men. The Americans agreed with the Republicans that all the troubles under which the country now suffers were attributable to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise—but they did not agree with them in attributing that repeal to the South—for it was the work of the Democratic party. The assault upon Mr. Sumner, he said, had aided the Republican party more than all the troubles in Kansas, and on this he would say a few words, and in doing so he must first see who were the actors in this scene. Mr. Sumner was a member of the Abolition party which sought a dissolution of the Union unless the constitution was administered according to their own views. Mr. Brooks is a member of the secession party of South Carolina, which

has for years been plotting a dissolution of the Union of the States. There are the actors, and what is the history of the case? Mr. Sumner, in a speech cogitated, learned and conned by rote, attacked South Carolina—her history and her fame, and although it may have been parliamentary, he would say it was an abuse of parliamentary privilege. Let it be understood, however, that no speech from Mr. Sumner could justify a personal assault. We must make allowance for human passion, and if the attack had been made without premeditation, while smarting under a sense of wrong, some excuse might have been allowed. But Mr. Brooks committed the assault in the capital of the nation—after days of preparation—it was done coolly, deliberately, in the Senate chamber of the nation, and it was not too much to say that the man who would commit such an act, in such a place is capable of profaning the altar of his God.

This is the history of this event which has caused so great excitement, and which has so aided the Republicans—and how does this Republican party propose to avenge this outrage, to prevent the extension of slavery, and to preserve order in the Senate? Why by electing John C. Fremont. Now who is this John C. Fremont? A man educated at the South, in South Carolina, the head quarters of secessionism and pro-slavery. And is it not probable that he would there imbibe opinions favorable to slavery? (Yes! Yes! from all parts of the room.)

The speaker then reviewed the character and career of Col. Fremont—denying that he was the author of the provision of the constitution of California prohibiting slavery in that State—on the contrary his proposition was to leave the question to the people, and this was voted down. During the brief term of service of Fremont in Senate, he was always found voting with the extreme South on the question of slavery. This was undeniable, and if any one would contradict it, he would pledge himself to substantiate its truth. And would the freemen of the North be willing to entrust the great question of human freedom with such a man? (Loud cries of no! no!) No, I should hope not. At the indignation meeting in New York, held to denounce the outrage on Mr. Sumner, Col. Fremont was invited to attend and did not go, giving no other reason than that he was otherwise engaged (Laughter). And he had never, by a single act, given any security that he could be trusted on this great question.

Mr. K. said that he had shown that Democrats need not vote for Buchanan and that Republicans need not vote for Fremont, and now he would say a word for Fillmore (Loud cheers.) The speaker then proceeded to review the public acts of Mr. Fillmore, showing that he had always been the true friend of Freedom, of the constitution and the Union, and that in his hands *Liberty and Union* would be protected

and strengthened. He quoted the testimony of John Quincy Adams, (whom every Republican would admit as good authority) designating Mr. Fillmore as a man than whom a more faithful public servant could not be found. The speaker asked, had Col. Fremont any such testimony?

Mr. K. read an extract from a letter of Mr. Fillmore, repudiating the doctrine of squatter sovereignty and he maintaining that the people and the territories are subject to the control of the Congress, representing the whole nation. This Mr. K. contended was the correct doctrine. He alluded to California with her "vigilance committee," and said that she should not have been admitted into the Union until she had shown herself capable of self-government, without resorting to such things as "vigilance committees."

COM. STOCKTON'S SPEECH.

Commodore Stockton was then introduced and received with immense applause. He spoke as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE AMERICAN PARTY:—I congratulate you that the clouds which have so long lowered on our front are breaking away, and that bright day is visible. Confident in the intelligence of the people, and relying upon the justice of your cause, you have not been allured into alliances which would have brought suspicion on your sincerity, and implied doubts of your strength. (Applause.) The American party in New Jersey, aided by their natural allies, the National Whigs, are strong enough to cope with the foreign party and the Disunionists, by whatever name designated. It was indeed supposed and believed by the enemies of the American party that you would be ensnared by the New York June Convention. They did, indeed, attempt to transfer you to the Sectionalists, and to the Disunionists. But their deep laid scheme was defeated, and their crafty designs baffled. The New Jersey delegates to that Convention indignantly left them and nobly vindicated the honor of the state and the principles of the American party. The Republican Convention, in Philadelphia, refused to give the nominal Americans from the New York Convention a respectful hearing, and I think they were treated as they deserved to be treated. But in the act of repelling their advances, the Republicans disclosed and avowed their inveterate hostility to Americans. The insolent preference for the foreigner expressed by that hoary Abolitionist of Ohio, was responded to in that Republican Convention by acclamation. The resolution offered by Mr. Littlejohn for a respectful treatment and reference of the supposed American communication, was rejected with dis-

dain and contempt, and by acclamation. The hostility of the Republicans to the Fillmore party broke out in spontaneous bursts of uncompromising hatred. New Jersey was fully and fairly represented in the Convention that expressed this preference and this hostility. From the New Jersey delegation there one note sounded in condemnation of that unscrupulous and enthusiastic insult to the American party? Did a single Republican delegate from New Jersey dissent from the general acclaim? I think not. If any such thing occurred, I have yet to learn it. Since the dispersion of that Convention, has any portion of the Republican press said one word in condemnation of that unnecessary and unmitigated insult? No. If there has been any such expression, it has escaped my attention. They have been too busy in courting the foreign vote, and conciliating the favor of German infidels and socialists, to pay any attention to the American party, except to abuse them, and except also to use them by attempting to allure them to a heartless union.

We owe them no debt of gratitude. Americans, I congratulate you that you are clear of all alliances with them. (Great applause.) I congratulate you that you have avoided the wiles and artifices thrown around you by friends and foes—that you have escaped unhurt the rocks and the breakers with which you have been environed, and are now once more in deep water, with a fair sky and a free wind. (Loud cheering.) Nail the American standard at the masthead, and stand by your guns! (Great applause, cries of "good, good," "we will.") Stand firm, Americans!—Stand for your country! Stand firm, and the people of New Jersey who love the Union, who abhor treason, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, who revolt from giving any aid to perpetuate the power or principles of the present administration, will on the 4th day of November sustain you. (Cheers.) Stand firm, Americans! Intelligence from all parts of the state is encouraging. Stand firm! Intelligence from abroad is encouraging. Maryland is coming! Tennessee is coming! Louisiana is coming! California is coming! Kentucky is coming! New York is coming, and New Jersey is coming! Stand firm to your principles, Americans! The bloody flag of Disunion may for awhile float over the tempestuous waves which the storms of faction have disturbed. The flag of a condemned administration, upheld by aliens, without whom it would droop and trail in the dust, must come down; and the gladdened eyes of all true lovers of their country, see high up waving in triumph, the American

standard, inscribed with "Union and Liberty, now and forever, one and inseparable." Stand firm, Americans!

"By our fathers' gory bed,
By the suffering hearts that bled,
And sacred memory of the dead,
We will preserve the Union."

(Long continued applause.)

I see some of my former political friends around me. (Laughter.) I see Democrats and Whigs—men with whom I have heretofore associated politically. I would say a word or two to them. Fellow citizens, I have been obliged to leave your political organization, but you will bear in mind that I left you when you were in the plenitude of your power. I went from the strong to the weak side. Right or wrong, *I went from Party to my Country.* (Great applause.) I come here for no vindictive purpose. I come not to indulge in any intemperate harangue; I come to make no personal display; but I come to speak the truth in behalf of my suffering country; and I ask you for Auld Lang Syne, to listen. I do not ask for any opinion as to what I may say—you may go as you came apparently, but I know you, and if you go away without having something placed in your hearts that you cannot, if you would shake out, I will be disappointed. (Laughter and applause.) All that I desire at this time is that you will listen.

I believe all good citizens—not only those within the hearing of my voice, but all within the bounds of our commonwealth—to be desirous of promoting the interests and happiness of their country. No true American can wish evil to befall the Republic. No good citizen, whether he be naturalized or native born, if he thought voting for a particular man would bring injury to his country, would not refrain from casting such a vote. It appears to me, therefore, that we commit a great error when in our political discussions we attribute improper motives to those who differ from us in opinion. A little reflection will satisfy us that none but monsters of iniquity would wilfully do anything to injure or destroy their country. I believe that our citizens generally desire without regard to party, to do what is best for the country, at all times, and especially in the present crisis of public affairs. The earnest party-man, when he sees his country bleeding and dying, will look to it. He will abandon his political party and renounce all political antecedents which interfere with his love of country.

My Democratic friends, and my Whig friends, and all other friends, I take it for granted that you accord in the general opinion that we are threat-

ened with a crisis of great danger in relation to public affairs. The country is in a dreadful state of agitation. Her condition is one of painful anxiety to every patriotic mind. I may say, indeed, that she is *sick*;—but she is unfortunately in the hands of quack doctors and crafty demagogues. Her complaint is alarming, and her symptoms are ominous of death; but the doctors disagree as to the proper treatment which the patient should receive. *Dr. Buchanan* would administer the Cincinnati platform. (Laughter.) She cannot swallow that. (Laughter.) *Dr. Fremont* would administer a dose of Black Republicanism. (Laughter.) That nauseates her. Besides, the first is suitable only to Southern latitudes, the last only to Northern latitudes; but *Dr. Fillmore's* prescription applies to both latitudes, it can be administered safely in the South and in the North. He prescribes *National Americanism*—(Tremendous applause)—defence of the Union—abolition of all sectional proscriptions, and devotion to the country, the whole country, and nothing but the country. (Enthusiastic and long continued cheering.) I have intimated that the Democratic party is a sectional party. The destinies of this country—its happiness, its welfare, if not its liberty for years to come, depend upon a proper estimate on the part of citizens of the positions of the respective parties in relation to public affairs. A very cursory examination will show the utter impossibility that either of the political organizations opposed to us can even mitigate the troubles with which the country is afflicted. I ask you, and men every where in our land, whether the Democratic party is not a sectional party? Is it not the chosen champion of the South? It is undoubtedly a sectional party. I admit, the Democratic party was once a national party. Under Gen. Jackson, who said "The Union must and shall be preserved," it was a national party. They could not seduce him from his allegiance to the whole country. But when the Democratic party humbled itself to do the bidding of the South in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, it lost its nationality and became sectional. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which carried slavery into territories made free by that compromise, was a Democratic measure. The party becomes, in consequence, necessarily sectional. In the Convention at Cincinnati, would the Democratic party have ventured to propose a candidate unacceptable to the South? So apparent was this, that in that Convention the name of no person was proposed who was not approved by the

South. It is notorious that the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was universally disapproved at the North, and yet, at that Cincinnati Convention there was presented the name of no Northern man opposed to that measure. For the reason that the South would have voted for no such name.

It is plain then, it seems to me, that the Democratic party is a sectional party; and not only that, it has become a mere instrument of the South with which they hope to govern the country. National Americans desire that the existence of the North as well as of the South shall be recognized. The country will not submit to be governed by a sectional party. It is utterly out of the question. The Union cannot be preserved; our nationality will become extinct.

The exclusively sectional character assumed by the Democratic party has given rise to another party;—I refer to the Republican party. There is such an organization in Trenton, I am told, but it can hardly be found anywhere out of Trenton. I cannot find it anywhere in the rural districts. I have not heard of a meeting of any consequence which they have held anywhere except at Trenton, New Brunswick, and perhaps Newark. Among the agriculturists of our state I know but few Fremont men.

The Democratic party professes to be national; the Republican party professes to be nothing else but sectional. Its leaders and those with whom it originated, are Abolitionists; they are against the South. I care not whether Abolition is their immediate object; the party was formed, and exists, upon one single idea—and that is, opposition to the South, right or wrong—opposition to the South constitutes the "head and front" of their party; it runs through it—up and down, lengthwise and sidewise;—opposition to the South—disunion—fraternal war—anything but the restoration of tranquility.

Indeed the Democratic and Republican parties are both parties of a single idea. This is no fiction, no mere declamation. The single idea of the Democratic is subservience to the South; the single idea of the Fremont or Republican party is opposition to the South. These hostile sectional parties stand in battle array. Suppose there were no other parties in existence than those two hostile sectional parties; suppose the South should succeed—the minority rule the majority—the weaker conquer the stronger—eight millions conquer sixteen millions. It is contrary to common reason to suppose that the North would submit. Would the North consent to see Kansas divided into three States

colonised by the South, and Nebraska Africanised?

No! no! Fellow citizens if you want to save the country, if you desire to preserve the Union—you must remember and act upon Washington's admonition, and frown indignantly on every attempt to alienate one section of the country from another. The difficulties which environ the Republic, through the instrumentality of these sectional parties cannot be overcome but by voting for Mr. Fillmore. Their leaders have their own objects to accomplish. The leaders of the Republican party hope by reusing hostility at the South and arraying the North against the South, to obtain power and place. The leaders of the Democratic party hope, through the instrumentality of party discipline and subservience to the South, to hold on to the power of the Federal Government, and to perpetuate their principles. Now, I would have you observe—(and I ask any Democrat or any Whig how he will get out of the difficulty)—here are two hostile sectional parties, each obstinately insisting, not only that its principles and measures are right, but, that right or wrong, they must be carried out. There is no compromise to be made. How is the difficulty to be settled? I warn you that in the strife of these hostile sectional parties the Union may perish.

Let us now pass from the contemplation of these two sectional and disunion parties to the American party. The American party is no Northern party, no Southern party, it is a *National party*. Its success, so far from endangering the country, would give the fullest assurance of its safety.

Patriotic and reflecting men have during the past few years observed that from the vast influx of foreigners, and the tendency of all political parties to court the foreign vote, there is imminent danger that our government may become subject to the control of the foreign vote. How disgraceful and ignominious are the efforts now being made by both the Democratic and Republican parties to court the foreign vote! The Republican nomination for the Presidency was made to conciliate the German vote. The German infidels and socialists recommended Fremont, and the Republican Convention ignored their most distinguished men—Seward and McLean. They cared more for the 50,000 German votes than they did for the welfare of their country or the honor of their party. (Applause.)

The founders of the American party foresaw, likewise, the tendency of all parties to become sectional. They thought that they might check the growth of sectional parties by presenting to the

people of the whole nation some national object of political association. (Applause.) The American party, therefore, in the person of Mr. Fillmore, presented to the people of the United States this proposition—That all good citizens and true Americans should unite for the preservation of the Union. (Loud cheering.)

But the American party for that have been denounced. This laudable aim did not suit the purposes of either of these hostile sectional parties. Fraternal war and revolution were their object; therefore great efforts have been made by both of these political parties to destroy the American party by sectionalizing or abolitionizing it. The American party has, however, escaped those toils, and it now stands before the nation as the only National party—the party that goes for the Union, the whole Union, and nothing but the Union. (Enthusiastic cheers.) It stands on a platform which allows no rivalry except for the good of the whole. Without resorting to crimination or recrimination, it opens its arms and implores all men of all parties—all true Americans, without regard to previous political antecedents—to come to the rescue of the Union. They are willing to yield all dogmas and isms to preserve the country from civil war.

If you remember what I have said—if you remember the uncompromising position of these two hostile sectional parties, you must see the impossibility of their ever agreeing or harmonizing, let what will happen. I appeal to you as honorable, candid, patriotic men, will you not vote for Fillmore? (Three cheers for Fillmore were given with overwhelming power.)

The success of the Fremont party would be a Northern triumph; the success of the Buchanan party would be a Southern triumph; but the success of Mr. Fillmore would be a victory of a National party over Sectional parties. The American party stands before the country, not as a Northern party, nor as a Southern party—not as an Eastern party, nor a Western party; American parties pervade every state in the Union. The foundation of the American party is in the hearts of all good citizens, and is based on Truth and the Constitution. (Enthusiastic applause.)

There is one ground taken by some Republicans in New Jersey who are anxious to avail themselves of Mr. Fillmore's strength in this state, which demands some notice. It is alleged that the Republicans occupy the same platform with Mr. Fillmore's friends in relation to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. This is not true; there is not one word of truth in it. The Republican platform

adopted in the Philadelphia Convention of the 17th of June, entirely ignores everything like a compromise. In that platform not a syllable is said in reference to the Missouri Compromise; it was an obsolete idea in the Philadelphia Convention. Not one word as to its restoration, but on the contrary, that platform declares war on slavery in the abstract, and on involuntary servitude outside of the original thirteen states in particular. The Republicans in that platform declare:

"That, as our Republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it for the purpose of establishing slavery in the Territories of the United States, by positive legislation prohibiting its existence or extension therein. *That we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, of any individual or association of individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States while the present Constitution shall be maintained.*"

There is the fatal error; there is the great rock which they cannot escape,—they must go to pieces on it, or they must do as they did in Congress the other day—back out. (Laughter.)

Of course, assuming these positions, the Republican Convention could recognise no line beyond the Mississippi where they would agree that slavery would be tolerated. They could not and cannot propose the restoration of the Missouri line of 36, 30. From the extreme position occupied by them, they look down with scorn and contempt upon all compromise lines. They contemplate no compromise whatever. Mr. Seward in his place in the Senate emphatically said "the day of compromises is past." Mr. Seward and his friends propose to dictate terms to the South; and if their platform means anything, those terms are that slavery shall retreat to the limits within which it was restricted in 1787.

That is the Republican doctrine. Will any reasonable man stand up and tell me that we can escape civil war in the event of the success of such a party? Their objects cannot be attained but by civil war, or dissolution, or both. We have only one month more to erect our defences for the Union, and to repel the danger which threatens us. The people must arise, and with unanimity resolve to war against infidelity, socialism, and all sectional parties, or the Union will be dissolved, and we will all be involved in one common ruin! (Great applause.)

The day of compromises is past, says Mr. Seward, backed by the Republicans. They would prefer dissolution of the Union to any compromise.

They sneer at any slavery compromise. No more compromises forsooth! The Republicans will it! Better dissolution, civil war, anything but compromising the difficulties of the country! There is not a crowned head in Europe whose throne would not tremble beneath him at the manifestation of such inhuman arrogance! Their will must be done. They must have possession of the power of the Federal Government, or the Union must be dissolved.

Now, while the Republicans view with contempt and scorn every compromise line—while they contemplate and intend revolution—the American party and the friends of Mr. Fillmore, condemning and abhorring the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as the chief source of all the evils and dangers which beset the country and looking forward to no revolutionary expedient which might in its inauguration break into fragments this Union, come to you, my fellow citizens, imploring and entreating that you will aid in the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, or at least that that line shall always be considered in spirit the impassable barrier to slavery. The admission of Kansas as a free state, (which is embraced in the territory made free by that compromise,) would at once restore peace. There is our remedy. That compromise was a compact entered into by our fathers—better, and greater, and wiser men than we are; and why should it be touched with such significant delicacy as some seem to think is necessary? why should we feel reluctant to insist upon it? The American party believe that the restoration of that line would at once restore peace. They go for peace—they go for the preservation of the Union. Their motto is—"Union and Liberty, one and inseparable, now and forever." (Great applause.) The New Jersey delegates to the New York Convention, after leaving that corrupt conclave, passed a resolution which fully and ably sets forth the views of the American party.

Resolved, That the repeal of the Missouri compromise, perpetrated for the purpose of continuing in power the present administration and its supporters, was uncalled for by the people, North or South; that it is a breach of the national faith and a violation of the national honor, and was designed to array one section of the country against the other; that it is an aggression upon freemen and free territory, and that it cannot and will not be recognized as having valid authority; but that, notwithstanding the abrogation by law of that compromise, it must and shall be forever considered as subsisting, and the territory consecrated by it to free labor must and shall forever so remain.

In my remarks I have borne in mind that resolution, and believe that I have expressed the views

of the party. You will see that they are not only conservative, but they propose a remedy for existing evils, which they believe will be effectual to restore peace. I think you must be satisfied that the Republicans occupy an antagonistical position to that of the Americans of New Jersey in relation to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the remedy for that unwise and wicked breach of faith. We are for the compromises, because we are for the Union. The Republicans are opposed to all compromises, because they are disloyal to the Union, hostile to the Constitution, and bent upon revolutionary objects. (Applause.) Is not this plain? Facts bear me out; I can hardly command patience enough to utter truths like these, so obvious and palpable that "he who runs may read." Such is the difference between the two parties. The alternative presented to us on one hand, is Union; fraternity, love, peace, concord, liberty forever; on the other discord, disunion, fraternal war. Already fraternal blood smokes from the ground in reproach of the Disunionist and the Republican.

An analysis of the Republican platform, more thorough and elaborate than I have time to give, will show clearly and conclusively that the Republican party recognizes and contemplates the recognition of no compromise line whatever. On the contrary it looks to the abolition of slavery in eight of the states where that platform itself says that involuntary servitude has no legal existence. You perceive, therefore, that instead of advocating the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, they desire to drive slavery out of the states where, according to our interpretation of the Constitution, it has a legal existence.

What are the opinions of the leaders of the Republican party who constructed that extraordinary platform of principles? They are on record. They have not been whispered in a corner, they have been boldly proclaimed to the country, and these principles will show that all who entertain them are determined to cut the last ligament that binds these states together; that they are prepared for dissolution, and that they are now employed in preparing the minds of their countrymen for that dire event. From Seward's speech at Albany, Oct. 12, 1855:

"Slavery is not, and never can be, perpetual. It will be overthrown either peacefully and lawfully under this Constitution or it will work the subversion of the Constitution together with its own overthrow. Then the slaveholder would perish in the struggle."

Mr. Banks said:

"Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union, though I am

willing in a certain state of circumstances to let it 'slide,' I have no fear for its perpetuation. But let me say, if the chief object of the people of this country be to maintain and propagate chattel property in man, in other words, human slavery, this Union cannot and ought not to stand."

Mr. Banks is now actively leading the Abolition in support of Fremont.

The sentiments of Giddings against the South are those of Garrison, Greeley, and Phillips. No man has exhibited such ferocious hostility to the fugitive slave law, to the compromise measures, and to the Federal Constitution. His speeches, full of treason and of war, would fill a volume. I give the following specimens:

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South; when the black man, armed with British bayonets, and led on by British officers, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millenium."

Solomon F. Wade, now a U. S. Senator from Ohio, is a supporter of Fremont, and a leader of the party. Hear him:

"He thought there was but one issue before the people, and that was the question of American slavery. He said the Whig party is not only dead, but stinks. It shows signs occasionally of convulsive spasms, as is sometimes exhibited in the dead snake's tail after the head and body have been buried."

"There is really no union now between the North and the South, and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other, than these two nations of the Republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from all taint of slavery."

Rufus P. Spaulding was a member and leader of the Convention. Hear him:

"In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes."

Horace Mann, formerly of Massachusetts, and now of Ohio, is the supporter of Fremont. Hear him:

"In conclusion I have only to add that such is my solemn and abiding conviction of the character of slavery, that, under a full sense of my responsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, better disunion—better a civil or a servile war—better anything that God in his providence shall send—than an extension of the bounds of slavery."

Hear Mr. Greeley on revolution:

"Let the Governor of the state of Ohio issue a proclamation for a special session of the Legislature, and let the enrolled militia of that state march out to Kansas 'by authority.' Let 10,000 men be at once dispatched after this fashion. Gov. Chase

is just the man to inaugurate this movement. With such an army as he could rally to his standard from the bold yeomanry of Ohio he could conquer the whole South. But let the governors of Iowa, Wisconsin and all the New England states proceed to follow the example of the Governor of Ohio."

Henry Wilson is a leader of the Fremont party, and was present and spoke at the Philadelphia convention, where he was received with unbounded applause. Hear him:

"Let us remember that more than three millions of bondmen, groaning under nameless woes, demand that we shall reprove each other; and that we labor for their deliverance."

* * * * *

"I tell you here to night that the agitation of this question of human slavery will continue while the foot of a slave presses the soil of the American republic."

"There is a higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain."

* It (Slavery) can be and must be *abolished*, and you and I must do it. * * * Correct your own error that Slavery has any constitutional guarantees which may not be released and ought not to be relinquished."

* * You will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon Slavery."

Senator Crittenden, at the close of the extra session, speaking of dereliction of the House, and its contrast with the action of the Senate, said:

"We are about to adjourn, after all our efforts, and leave Kansas in the same deplorable condition in which we found her at our meeting. *The Senate has not been derelict of its duty on this subject.* During the late session of Congress, we passed a bill for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a State. It made the necessary provisions promptly to carry out and accomplish that purpose. That bill was not acceptable to the House of Representatives, and has not been acted on there, or even considered. If the provisions which it contained for the formation of a State constitution were unsatisfactory, it was in the power of that House to have made any charge or alteration or amendment in them. If the qualification of voters, if the residence required, if the time prescribed for the election, or if any of the various proceedings required as preparatory to the formation of a constitution, and her admission into our Union, were unsatisfactory, they could have been amended by the party which seems to have the practical majority in that House, assuming to be the peculiar friends of Kansas, and to desire her admission as a State, as the best remedy for all her troubles. They have totally neglected to take any notice of that bill."

That session closed, and the extra session called by the President seems to be approaching its close, and nothing has yet been done—nothing to settle the affairs of Kansas, or to stay the bloody and wide-spreading course of anarchy which there prevails."

The Senator from Kentucky not only showed that the House was responsible for refusing to repeal acts upon which the insurrectionary movements in Kansas were ostensibly based; and equally opposed to quieting those disorders, by new

laws, or by the exertion of force, in the upholding of civil order; but he showed the motive for all this recklessness and indifference to public calamities:

"It is not known to every one who hears me—is there one so uncandid as to deny it—that these troubles in Kansas are to form the great elements in that excitement which is expected to carry Mr. Fremont to the Presidency? WE ALL KNOW IT. And poor Kansas! what is her destiny, and what is her part here? She must remain a scene of blood; and more, in their bloody winding sheets, in the virgin soil of Kansas, must be victims in order to propitiate fortune in favor of a particular party elections in the United States. YOU MUST HAVE VICTIMS FROM KANSAS. You must have emissaries to announce those victims; you must have witnesses or you must at least have telegraphs, to establish their truth throughout the land; and stump speeches—or, if I may say so, long senatorial speeches, cut up into half a dozen little ones, would serve the purpose of many little cross-road gathering, and many a stump—to rouse the people to madness and to mutiny. Sir, this is the temper existing in the country at this time, and it tends greatly to increase apprehension, that while this policy is pursued merely for the purpose of carrying an election, it may collaterally have the fatal effect of stirring up CIVIL WAR in the land."

This is the language of him who was wont to be called "the noble Crittenden." It is the language of Clayton and Benjamin, and Pratt and Pearce also, the leaders of the old Whig party, whose veracity was never impeached by their opponents, much less by their friends.

Anson Burlingame, of Massachusetts, member of Congress, is also a leader of the Fremont Party.— Hear him:

"The times demand and we must have an anti-slavery Constitution, an anti-slavery Bible, and an anti-slavery God."

Gen. James Watson Webb was a leader in the Convention. Hear him in a speech on the floor:

"On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country; if the 'Republicans fail at the ballot-box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy with fire and sword.'" (Cheers.)

Add to this the resolution of a meeting in Wisconsin, intended to instruct its representatives in the House: "It is the duty of the North, in case they fail in electing a President and a Congress that will restore freedom to Kansas, to revolutionize the government."

Hear Mr. Horace Greeley's remark that "the Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South!"

Yet while rejecting every measure which looked to the restoration of tranquility, the Republicans deliberately proposed to disband the army of the United States—or what was equivalent, refused to make any appropriation for its support. Thus en-

feebled and paralyzed, the Government would have possessed no power or means to avert a civil war. Fortunately for the country, however, the conspirators had not the courage to persevere in the meditated act of treason—they wavered, faltered, and coming under public indignation, they made an ignominious retreat from their revolutionary position!—A party whose leaders permit themselves to be bullied and bludgeoned—whose valor evanesces with vamping declamation—who invite insult which they avenge by speeches—who demand everything in bravado and yield everything to intimidation—who advance boldly to the verge of treason and make a cowardly retreat the moment their position is detected, need hope for but little support or encouragement in New Jersey. (Applause.) I do not believe that there is a Jerseyman who by-and-by will not be as much ashamed to be considered a member of the Republican party, as would a member of the Hartford Convention to be recognized now. God forbid that such a party should ever gain ascendancy in New Jersey.

Fellow citizens, I have spoken of the Republican and Democratic parties as sectional, and of the American party as national; I have now a word to say with regard to the Whig party. The Whig party always was a national party. It is now acting in concert with the American party for the preservation of the Union. They are both national parties, entertaining the most fervent and sincere love for the Union, and cherishing with reverential regard the admonitions of Washington, who warned us that we should *"indignantly frown upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest."* The words of his Farewell Address contain advice so applicable to the present embittered state of the popular mind, that I must read a short paragraph:

"It is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and immediate happiness, that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as THE PALLADIUM OF YOUR POLITICAL SAFETY AND PROSPERITY, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety, discountenancing whatever may suggest EVEN A SUSPICION THAT IT CAN IN ANY EVENT BE ABANDONED; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

I would ask you which of the parties are now remembering and acting upon the warnings of Washington? Do not the Democratic party and the Republican party each represent different and hostile sections? Are they not alienated each one

from the other? and are they not now both engaged in widening the breach between the two sections? Do they "discountenance whatever may suggest even a suspicion that the Union can in any event be abandoned?" No; they do indeed frown upon each other, but they do not frown upon the attempt to alienate one section from another;—can the success of either of these parties restore peace and tranquility to the country? (Many voices, "no, no.") No, my friends; the success of the one would be the signal for the other to unsheath the sword.

It is but little more than half a century since Washington died, and the country seems to have forgotten already his words of wisdom. There seems to be in the North and the South parties who no longer estimate the Union as Washington estimated it. The batteries of those internal enemies foreseen by Washington's prescient eye, are already directed against what he called "the palladium of our political safety and prosperity."

I know that the Republicans scoff at the suggestion of dangers which threaten the Republic; I know that they affect to consider the Union indestructible; but such was not the opinion of Washington, or in his dying legacy he would not have warned us against these perils which our Republic might experience. Remember, that all history teaches—that republics have ever been short-lived. Do not be deceived; there is danger. The cry of "wolf, wolf," was made by the shepherd often and often when there was no wolf; *but the wolf came at last.* You have often and often been alarmed by the cry of "danger to the Union," and those alarms have induced you in times past to rouse as one man to protect and defend the Union. In those days you frowned indignantly upon every attempt to alienate one section from another, and the disunionist fled before the ireful glance of a deluded and deceived people. Rise up once more. The wolf is here; I cry "wolf," and I never cried "wolf" before. (Applause.) The danger is here. Rouse up in your might and vote for Millard Fillmore, who is the only national candidate offered for your suffrages. (Three cheers for Fillmore were given with tremendous power by the immense auditory.) Throw overboard all sectionalists, denounce all who attempt to alienate one portion of the country from another; array yourselves under the American banner which marshals beneath its folds those who know "no North, no South, no East, no West"—nothing but one united whole. Put Millard Fillmore in power and the strong arm of this government will be effec-

