

To My Wife

BY REV. G. W. BETHUNE.

AFAR from thee! The morning breaks, But morning brings no joy to me;

AFAR from thee! 'Tis solitude, Though smiling crowds around me be,

AFAR from thee! The words of praise My lips can unobdurate greet;

AFAR from thee! The night is come, But slumbers from my pillow flee;

TOGETHER, in his loved embrace, No distance can our hearts divide;

SUBSTANCE OF THE REMARKS OF HON. HUMPHREY MARSHALL, ON THE EVENING OF JUNE 25TH, WHEN CALLED OUT BY THE SENSORS.

GENTLEMEN: I am not in the habit of receiving calls from Democratic masses; but, it would be an affection to conceal my knowledge that I am indebted for the honor of this visit to your desire to hear, from my own lips, a confirmation of the rumor, that I will support Breckinridge and Lane at the next Presidential election.

I cheerfully render my own testimony to the truth of that statement. (Applause.) It might have been more prudent to defer this declaration until after a free conference with those friends in Kentucky with whom I have heretofore acted, and by whom my past career has been so generally sustained.

Others may watch the direction of the popular current, who wish to swim on its tide to a haven of success; my ambition is not for place or preferment; it rises no higher than a simple performance of duty, and I leave consequences to take care of themselves.

I believe I have truly stated the points of difference which ultimately severed the Convention, and have presented to the country the nominations of Senator Douglas and Vice President Breckinridge. It is also true that the occupancy of that position with the firmness and the alacrity which support a union of my conscience and my action upon the line of conduct I meant to pursue.

Gentlemen, I am familiar with the points upon which the Democrats have failed to agree. They involve principles which I have frequently discussed, in Congress and out of it; on the stump, at home, and elsewhere.

I am not now taking a stand for the first time upon those principles. I made, in 1856, a somewhat celebrated declaration, that between Jas. Buchanan, if he were the exponent of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and J. C. Fremont, as the exponent of the doctrine of the Wilmot Proviso, I would not toss up a copper for choice. I was then discussing the Cincinnati platform before the people, and I then saw the ambiguity which made it Janus-faced—presenting one view to the North and another to the South.

Southern Democrats did not believe me. They denounced my suspicion as the effect of parizan rancor. I told them that Mr. Douglas did not entertain the same view of the platform they did, and that, one day or another, they would find all the evils which could flow from such persistence in maintaining party lines at the expense of important principles, would "come home to roost." I must be permitted to say I did not anticipate the rupture which occurred at Charleston, and was consummated at Baltimore. It may sever the ties which bound the Democratic party together, North and South, but it is a home-coming to principle. It exhibits the democrats who have nominated John C. Breckinridge as at last awakening to the facts which I have stated to them a thousand times, and ready to prefer sound principles to unsound party associations.

I render them the tribute of my respect for the choice they have made, and I think their country will do the same. Fellow-citizens, the rupture of the Democratic party has taken place essentially on the same ground upon which the Whig party went to pieces, and which afterwards rent the American party in twain. The same cause severed relations of the church, North and South. It is not astonishing that under its force, though lost of all, the tower of Democracy has fallen. It is evidence, which a considerate people will regard, that there is a wide difference of principle—of cardinal, vital principle—that no force of party attraction can withstand, and which demands a settlement, final and satisfactory.

Gentlemen, after the Whig party went to pieces on the issues of 1852, because Northern Whigs "spit upon the platform" which pronounced in favor of the principles of the Compromise of 1850—after the American party severed in 1856, because Northern Americans would not yield this most baneful theme of "anti-slavery agitation"—I tried in vain in the last speech I made in Congress, to evade this issue, by creating some other upon which to divide parties, until time could cure the evils which would flow from this agitation. I appealed to the conserva-

tive North to come to the rescue, and to refuse to follow the Republican leaders into the new campaign under banners which had no inscription upon their folds but antagonism to the slaveholding States of this Union, but anathemas against slaveholders, and an affirmation of the doctrine of an irrepressible conflict between systems, until a homogeneity of labor should be established everywhere through the land. I appealed in vain. Satisfied that I could no longer render my country service in the existing condition of things, discontented to stand as I had stood for four years, between the Democratic and Black Republican parties, while both of them occupied wrong positions upon this great question—which involved the equality of the States and the equality of the people of the States—I withdrew from the public councils, and returned to the more quiet walks of my profession. But I have been an anxious spectator of the signs of the times. Your action at Charleston and Baltimore is so definite that I see it must change the issues of the approaching canvass. The question comes up for a definite solution, and the people of both sections find themselves in a crisis to demand the exercise of all their prudence and all their patriotism.

I understand the matter thus: After the delegates met at Charleston, the committee on resolutions was appointed, and in that committee it was proposed to renounce the Cincinnati platform of 1856 as the platform of principles maintained by the Democratic party. But a part of that committee, representing constituencies in the slaveholding States, asked that this announcement should be accompanied by explanatory resolutions to this purport:

1. That Congress has no power to abolish slavery in the Territories. Second, That the Territorial Legislature has no power to prohibit the introduction of slaves there; nor any power to exclude slavery therefrom; nor any power to destroy or impair the right of property in slaves by any legislation whatever.

2. Resolved, That it is the duty of the Federal government to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property on the high seas, in the Territories, or wherever else its constitutional authority extends.

3. That when the people of a Territory come to make their State Constitution—which is an act of sovereignty—their admission into the Union should not depend on the question whether they choose that their State shall be a slaveholding State or a free State.

The other part of the committee refused to accede to these propositions, and, on the contrary, adhered to the doctrine announced by Judge Douglas, which asserts the right of the people of a Territory, while in their territorial condition, to legislate so as to exclude slaveholders from an enjoyment of their slave property in the Territory, and denies to Congress the power to extend to them any protection against unfriendly legislation.

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Equality—Equality forever. She cannot be persuaded to indifference. Her freemen are intelligent and spirited, and they understand what this proposition means. They know the Supreme Court has decided that Congress has no constitutional power to pass a law prohibiting them from going upon the public domain with their property as the citizen of a free State goes there with his property. They will stand by that decision, for we all agreed that such was the law of our case before the Court decided it. The Republicans may say they care nothing for the decision, and will not respect the Court; we believe they will not be able to execute their threats, and we will, at any rate, wait for them to attempt it. But when Mr. Douglas preaches to us that though Congress cannot bar us from the Territories, it can create an instrumentality which can and will keep us out, or will render our property useless if we do go in, our people are not so stupid as they seem to be. They will stand by their rights, and they will stand by their property, and they will stand by their honor.

I feel that the existing condition of affairs has imposed upon Mr. Breckinridge a still more responsible position than any to which he has yet been called by the people. His candidacy for the presidency asserts the principles, on the part of all the States, of the equal participation of all the people of the States in the common domain bought by their common blood and treasure. It asserts the constitutional rights of minorities; it represses the domination of mere numbers; it enforces the great principles advocated by Clay and Webster, and of which I have been a humble advocate ever since 1850. Therefore I sustain his nomination; and while I take nothing back of my own views on other questions—while I ask nothing, and expect nothing, in the event of his success, (for he has political friends nearer to him than I am, who are better qualified, and have higher claims than I)—I say here that, in the contest as it is shaped at present, he will have no friend more ardent than I shall be, or whose plans will be more forward in the fight for the assurance of that safety of the Union which has been so highly jeopardized by pressing forward in this crisis those illogical points which distinguish, from first to last, the unfortunate doctrine of "squatter sovereignty." They never will be accepted by the Southern people. Southern democrats have always denied their existence in their platform, and they now stand ready to resist them. I extend the hand of true fellowship in the contest; I will do my best to sustain the rights which our people enjoy under the Constitution. I am no extremist—I love the Union—I will fight for the Union—but I will never betray the equality of our people in the Union. Soberly and quietly I say to you that I love my wife and children, who are now in my Kentucky home; but rather would I see them turned into the woods to live among the forests of our hills, without shelter from the storm, than to enjoy the comforts which now surround them, if these are to be purchased by the surrender and sacrifice of the constitutional rights of our people. I hope to die on the soil of Kentucky; but I would prefer to be an exile from my native country than to live upon it, deprived of my birthright. We will have equality—I tell you our people will have equality under the Constitution, not as human power, no party ties, no political watchwords, no personal resentments or disappointments, will make them abandon their own rights. Mr. Webster embraced this whole question ten years ago. His speech in the Senate in 1850, in twenty lines, contains all we have advanced upon this question of Territorial sovereignty and of protection to property in the Territories. I keep that speech always by me, and I will close these remarks by reading to you what the great man of New England said in 1850 on these questions.—Where he stood in that speech I stand now, and it is interesting to observe how far Northern sentiment has advanced, how steadily Southern sentiment has settled on every ground. We will not be diverted from it. We will maintain it firmly and with success. The step in the true direction is to rally upon Breckinridge and Lane, without regard to party.

Mr. Marshall then read the following extract from Mr. Webster's speech: after which he retired with applause, and the stand was occupied by Hon. Mr. Burnett, of Kentucky: "The argument is, that by possibility it may become necessary to pass laws respecting slavery, if it shall ever exist there. Now, I suppose that the amendment proper to be introduced for the purpose which has been signified by the gentlemen who have spoken would be to strike out those words, and to say that the territorial legislature shall have no authority to pass any law for establishing or excluding slavery in the territory. It appears to me that this is the upshot of the whole matter. That is very proper, because I take it that the meaning of the whole is that this question shall be left to the people of the State to decide after it becomes a sovereignty by admission into the Union on the same footing with the original States. It may then be a question for the people themselves to decide, because I take it to be clear that it is a municipal question. It is a question for the decision of the people in their State Sovereignty, and there may be a propriety—there certainly is no impropriety—in excluding the exercise of any power in the territorial government for the establishment or exclusion of slavery."

"It has been advanced that these people, while a Territory, have a right to do anything and everything that belongs to the right of man. I cannot conceive that they have. "We have always gone upon the ground that these territorial governments were in a state of pupillage, under the protection and patronage of the General Government. The territorial legislature has a constitution prescribed by Congress. They have no power not given by that Congress. They must act within the limits of the constitution granted them by Congress, or else their acts become void. The people under the territorial government are not a sovereignty, and do not possess any of the rights incident to sovereignty. They are, if you so please to denominate it, in a state of inchoate government and sovereignty. If we will consider this question upon the ground of our practice during the last half century, I think we

will find one way of disposing of it. It is our duty to provide for the people of the Territory a government to keep the peace; to secure their property; to assign to them a subordinate legislative authority; to assign to them a subordinate judicial authority; to see that the protection of their persons and the security of their property are all regularly provided for, and to maintain them in that state until they grow into sufficient importance, in point of population, to be admitted into the Union as a State upon the same footing with the original States. It seems to me that that is all our duty. I shall most readily concur in anything which tends to the performance of that duty. But I cannot go into general discussion about the rights of the people while under the territorial government, and do more than they are permitted to do by that constitution which creates a government over them."

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I have great confidence in his sense of honor—in his integrity as a gentleman—in his circumspection and caution as a statesman—in his freedom, from the impulses of sudden passion—in his deep devotion to the Union, and his clear perception of the right and wrong, whenever he shall be called to choose between them. I have marked him closely in the high office he has filled under the administration. It has not required him to do much, but there is a very high merit, and it requires high qualifications, in an elevated station, to do nothing and do it handsomely. Little men always fail at this, because they cannot repress their desire to have a hand in the administration.

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Breckinridge and Lane. It will be seen that we this week place at the head of our columns the name of Hon. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, for President, and that of GEN. JOSEPH LANE, of Oregon for Vice President. Both these names are familiar to our readers, and to the whole country. With the former as a standard bearer we marched to victory in the memorable contest of 1856, as we are about to do again. With the latter as a leader, our troops were led from conquest to conquest in Mexico, and our brothers on the shores of the Pacific have been led on to political victories. Fearless alike in the field or the forum—and every where admired and beloved for his bravery, patriotism, sound sense and practical energy—with acumen to detect, honesty to expose and power to overthrow every species of fraud upon the people, he is justly the general favorite of the masses.—Banner of Liberty, Middletown N. Y.

Could it Blow it Out! A great "fuss" was made at one of our hotels the other night about 11 o'clock. A good deal of puffing, blowing and shouting, aroused the polite clerk, who hastened to No. —, found a young man, evidently "sprouting,"—with signals of distress "flying from his mast," who was seeking help, after an ineffectual attempt, to extinguish the gas in his room.

"What in the world is the matter?" exclaimed the polite and attentive clerk. "Why, darn sich candles, I can't blow it out."

After being shown the modus operandi of blowing out the gas, he exclaimed:—"Du tell—sich city doins!—Holly Springs Star."

ANTI-CONFESSIONAL MOVEMENT AMONG ROMAN CATHOLICS.—A remarkable movement is in operation among the Roman Catholics of Manchester, as will be seen by the following address which has been extensively circulated among the members of that body: "Some Roman Catholics, holding entire the Christian faith so miraculously perpetuated in the communion of the See of St. Peter, yet deeming the office conferred by the Holy Sacrament of Orders to be simply ministerial, and abhorring the assumption by the minister of God of the judicial character in the Confessional, as obstructive of the free grace designed by our Lord for sinners in his institution of the Holy Sacrament of penance, are desirous of forming, under the special invocation of the Virgin Mary, an associated membership for earnest private prayer in each other's homes, that God will of his grace remove these and other scandals of man deriving from his holy and immaculate church."

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