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SPEECHES OF MILLARD FILLMORE

At New York, Newburgh, Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, &c.

ALSO

EVIDENCES OF FREMONT'S ROMANISM.

The return of Mr. Fillmore to his native land, after an absence of nearly a year spent in travel on the European continent, has been made the occasion of a public demonstration on the part of the people of this State, that proves how proud a position this eminent statesman holds in the hearts of his fellow countrymen, and that can not fail to have an important effect upon the approaching Presidential election. The consideration with which he has been received by the old and staid citizens of the Empire State; the enthusiasm which has marked the greeting extended to him by the young; the earnest affection manifested by his political friends, and the respect displayed towards him by political opponents, are certain indications that he is regarded by all classes of citizens and by all parties as no ordinary man, and that resting confidently upon his past history, he can well defy the malice and unscrupulousness of personal enemies, and leave his future in the hands of his countrymen.

In reviewing the events of the week that has just closed, we are actuated by a higher motive than a desire to create political capital for a mere party candidate. It is our earnest hope that the intelligent and conservative portion of the citizens of the Republic may be led by the perusal of a connected sketch of the honors paid to Mr. Fillmore and by a careful study of the political sentiment avowed by him, to reflect seriously upon the present condition of the affairs of their country, and of its future prospects; and may awake in time to a sense of the imminent peril into which the unscrupulous ambition and unreflecting fanaticism are threatening to lead us. We should hold ourselves in some measure responsible for the evils which might ensue, should we suffer any tear of a misinterpretation of our motives, to deter us from availing ourselves of all means that offer to stay the tide of sectional animosity now flowing over the country. When brother is arrayed in open hostility against brother; when the uplited arm of fanaticism seeks to strike its dagger into the heart of the Union; it is no time for true men to falter.

It has been urged that the triumphal progress of Millard Fillmore through his native State was not a party demonstration, but a mere expression of respect for one who had filled the highest office in the people's gift. But would this public honor have been tendered to one who had not filled that high office to the people's satisfaction? In traveling through the little State of New Hampshire, could Franklin Pierce call forth so flattering a demonstration of the public veneration and esteem as has marked the progress of Millard Fillmore through the great Empire State? We do not claim the ovations in New York as strictly a party triumph. We regard them rather as a spontaneous expression of the respect of men of all parties for a great and good man, a statesman and a patriot. And in that light we consider the demonstration most significant; believing, as we sacredly do, that in the present deplorable condition of our government at home and abroad—with a foreign war threatening us on one side, and the more appalling danger of a disruption of the Union menacing us on the other—the great mass of our countrymen will rise superior to political associations and party ties, and place the command of the ship in the hands of that man who has already guided her through the terrors of a storm not less fearful than that which now rages around us, and anchored her safely in the harbor of peace and national prosperity.

Mr. Fillmore is the candidate of a great national party. That party will give him a powerful, if not an undivided support. But their principles are patriotic—their platform broad and comprehensive. They invite the co-operation and assistance of all true-hearted Americans who are the friends of the Union in the coming contest. The nomination they have made is a convincing proof of the pure patriotism by which they are influenced. Their candidate, while standing firmly and unyieldingly upon their platform, can well challenge the support of all conservative, Union-loving men. Neither too well known, like Mr. Buchanan, nor too little known, like Mr. Fremont, he points to the past as security for the future, and stands

forth as the champion of the Union—the foe to sectionalism, let it spring from the South or from the North.

In order that the history of Mr. Fillmore's reception in his native State may be complete, and its lessons properly understood by all, we give in connection therewith the platform of principles upon which he was placed in nomination by the national convention of the American party, together with his letter of acceptance and the ratification resolutions adopted by the National Council, and the grand council of his State.

Platform of the American Party, adopted at the Session of the National Council, February 21st, 1856.

1st. An humble acknowledgment to the Supreme Being for His protecting care vouchsafed to our fathers in their successful Revolutionary struggle, and hitherto manifested to us, their descendants, in the preservation of the liberties, the independence and the union of these States.

2d. The perpetuation of the Federal Union, as the palladium of our civil and religious liberties, and the only sure bulwark of American Independence.

3d. Americans must rule America; and to this end, native-born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal, or municipal offices, or government employment, in preference to all others; nevertheless,

4th. Persons born of American parents residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native-born citizens; but

5th. No person should be selected for political station (whether of native or foreign birth), who recognizes any allegiance or obligation of any description to any foreign prince, potentate or power, or who refuses to recognize the Federal and State constitutions (each within its sphere), as paramount to all other laws, as rules of political action.

6th. The unqualified recognition and maintenance of the reserved rights of the several States, and the cultivation of harmony and fraternal good will between the citizens of the several States, and to this end, non-interference by Congress with question appertaining solely to the individual States, and non-intervention by each State with the affairs of any other State.

7th. The recognition of the right of the native-born and naturalized citizens of the United States permanently residing in any territory thereof, to frame their constitution and laws, and to regulate their domestic and social affairs in their own mode, subject only to the provisions of the Federal Constitution, with the privilege of admission into the Union whenever they have the requisite population for one Representative in Congress; provided always, that none but those who are citizens of the United States, under the constitution and laws thereof, and who have a fixed residence in any such territory, ought to participate in the formation of the constitution, or the enactment of laws for said Territory or State.

8th. An enforcement of the principle that no State or Territory ought to admit others than citizens of the United States to the right of suffrage or of holding political office.

9th. A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years, of all not heretofore provided for, an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime, from landing on our shores; but no interference with the vested rights of foreigners.

10th. Opposition to any union between Church and State; no interference with religious faith or worship; no test oaths for office.

11th. Free and thorough investigation into any and all alleged abuses of public functionaries, and a strict economy in public expenditures.

12th. The maintenance and enforcement of all laws constitutionally enacted, until said laws shall be repealed, or shall be declared null and void by competent judicial authority.

13th. Opposition to the reckless and unwise policy of the present administration in the general management of our national affairs, and more especially as shown in removing "Americans" (by designation) and conservatives in principle, from office, and placing foreigners and ultra-trusts in their places, as shown in the truckling subserviency to the stronger, and insolent and cowardly bravado toward the weaker powers; as shown in reopening sectional agitation by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; as shown in granting to naturalized foreigners the right of suffrage in Kansas and Nebraska; as shown in its vacillating course on the Kansas and Nebraska question; as shown in the corruptions which pervade some of the departments of the government; as shown in disgracing meritorious naval officers through prejudice or caprice; and as shown in the bungling mishandling of our foreign relations.

14th. Therefore, to remedy existing evils, and prevent the disastrous consequences otherwise resulting therefrom, we would build up the "American Party" on the principles hereinbefore stated.

15th. That each State Council shall have authority to amend their several constitutions, so as to abolish the several degrees, and substitute a pledge of honor, instead of other obligations, for fellowship and admission into the party.

16th. A free and open discussion of all political principles embraced in our platform.

NOMINATION OF MR. FILLMORE.

A committee having been appointed by the National Convention, which nominated Mr. Fillmore, to inform him of their action, the following correspondence was had.

LETTER OF THE COMMITTEE.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 26, 1856.

SIR: The National Convention of the American party which has just closed its session in this city, has unanimously chosen you as their candidate for the Presidency of the United

States in the election to be held in November next. It has associated with you Andrew Jackson Donelson, Esq., of Tennessee, as the candidate for the Vice Presidency.

The Convention has charged the undersigned with the agreeable duty of communicating the proceedings to you, and of asking your acceptance of a nomination which will receive not only the cordial support of the great national party in whose name it is made, but the approbation also of large numbers of other enlightened friends of the Constitution and the Union, who will rejoice in the opportunity to testify their grateful appreciation of your faithful service in the past, and their confidence in your experience and integrity for the guidance of the future.

The undersigned take advantage of this occasion to tender to you the expression of their own gratification in the proceedings of the Convention, and to assure you of the high consideration in which they are,

Yours, &c.,

ALEXANDER H. H. STUART,
ANDREW STEWART,
ERASTUS BROOKS,
E. B. BARTLETT,
WILLIAM J. EAMES,
EPHRAIM MARSH.

Committee, &c.

To the Hon. MILLARD FILLMORE.

MR. FILLMORE'S ACCEPTANCE.

PARIS, May 21, 1856.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, informing me that the National Convention of the American party, which had just closed its session at Philadelphia, had unanimously presented my name for the Presidency of the United States, and associated with it that of Andrew Jackson Donelson for the Vice Presidency. This unexpected communication met me at Venice, on my return from Italy, and the duplicate mailed thirteen days later, was received on my arrival in this city last evening.

This must account for my apparent neglect in giving a more prompt reply.

You will pardon me for saying, that, when my administration closed in 1853, I considered my political life as a public man at an end, and thenceforth I was only anxious to discharge my duty as a private citizen. Hence I have taken no active part in politics; but I have by no means been an indifferent spectator of passing events, nor have I hesitated to express my opinion on all political subjects when asked, nor to give my vote and private influence for those men and measures I thought best calculated to promote the prosperity and glory of our common country. Beyond this, I have deemed it improper for me to interfere.

But this unsolicited and unexpected nomination has imposed upon me a new duty, from which I can not shrink; and therefore, approving, as I do, the general objects of the party which has honored me with its confidence, I cheerfully accept its nomination, without waiting to inquire of its prospects of success or defeat. It is sufficient for me to know that by so doing I yield to the wishes of a large portion of

my fellow-citizens in every part of the Union, who, like myself, are sincerely anxious to see the administration of our government restored to that original simplicity and purity which marked the first years of its existence, and, if possible, to quiet that alarming sectional agitation, which, while it delights the monarchists of Europe, causes every true friend of our country to mourn.

Having the experience of past service in the administration of the government, I may be permitted to refer to that as the exponent of the future, and to say, should the choice of the Convention be sanctioned by the people, I shall with the same scrupulous regard for the rights of every section of the Union which then influenced my conduct, endeavor to perform every duty confided by the constitution and laws to the Executive.

As the proceedings of the Convention have marked a new era in the history of the country, by bringing a new political organization into the approaching presidential canvass, I take occasion to reaffirm my full confidence in the patriotic purpose of that organization, which I regard as springing out of a public necessity forced upon the country to a large extent by unfortunate sectional divisions, and the dangerous tendency of those divisions towards disunion.

It alone, in my opinion, of all the political agencies now existing, is possessed of the power to silence this violent and disastrous agitation, and to restore harmony by its own example of moderation and forbearance. It has a claim, therefore, in my judgment, upon every earnest friend of the integrity of the Union.

So estimating this party, both in its present position and future destiny, I freely adopt its great leading principles, as announced in the recent declaration of the National Council in Philadelphia, a copy of which you were so kind as to enclose to me, holding them to be just and liberal to every true interest of the country, and wisely adapted to the establishment and support of an enlightened, safe and effective American policy, in full accord with the ideas and the hopes of the fathers of our Republic.

I expect shortly to sail for America, and with the blessing of divine Providence hope soon to tread my native soil. My opportunity of comparing my own country and the condition of the people with those of Europe has only served to increase my admiration and love of our blessed land of liberty, and I shall return to it without even a desire ever to cross the Atlantic again.

I beg of you, gentlemen, to accept my thanks for the very flattering manner in which you have been pleased to communicate the result of the action of that enlightened and patriotic body of men who composed the late convention, and to be assured, that I am, with profound respect and esteem, your friend and fellow-citizen.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Messrs. Alexander H. H. Stuart, Andrew Stewart, Erastus Brooks, E. B. Bartlett, Wm. J. Eames, Ephraim Marsh, Committee.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE AMERICAN STATE COUNCIL.

At the time of the nomination of Mr. Fillmore at Philadelphia, the Grand Council of the American Order for the State of New York was in session at Canandaigua. The action of the National Nominating Convention having been announced therein, it was met with a timely response; and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this Grand Council has seen the liveliest satisfaction in the nomination of Millard Fillmore as the representative of the American party for the office of President of the United States; that in his tried statesmanship, patriotic integrity, and his ever ready and disinterested regards of the whole people, we have the best guarantee of his fitness for the high position which he has been honored with; that we warmly and earnestly commend him to the American electors of the Empire State, as eminently worthy of their suffrages, which we are confident will most cordially receive.

Resolved, That in the nomination of Andrew Jackson Donelson, of Tennessee, for the office of Vice-President of the United States, we recognize a patriot and statesman of the highest ability, and Jacksonian sympathies, and that in the recognition of his illustrious predecessor, by the people of "Sam" we will elect him.

The nominations were then ratified by the hearty cheers for each candidate.

On the 3d day of June 1856, a session of the American Grand Council of the State of New York was held in the city of New York, at which the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That our earnest thanks are tendered to the American National Convention for the nomination of Millard Fillmore for President, and Andrew Jackson Donelson for Vice-President, and that we are confident of their election by the people of the nation.

Resolved, That the extreme party action of the Administrative Democracy on the one side, and the Black Republicans on the other, driving the country with increased zeal into the most dangerous sectional strife, not only requires a prompt and signal rebuke, but abundantly proves that neither party can be safely trusted.

Resolved, That as conservatives of law, and the constitutional rights of a free press and free speech, without licentiousness in either, the American party is equally opposed to the tomahawk and revolver on the one side, and to Sambo's rifles on the other, for the settlement of constitutional questions or sectional issues.

Resolved, That we present the American party to the country, not as an order, not as a society, but as a broad, comprehensive, non-sectarian, national party, standing for other political parties, openly before the country, inviting to its fold all who adopt its sentiments, and participate in its convictions; but nothing herein shall be so construed as to interfere with any

organization which the party, in any State, for its own government, may choose to adopt.

The reader has now before him the platform of the American party, and he can judge for himself of the principles upon which they govern their countrymen, and ask of them their united support of the candidates whom they have nominated for the highest offices in the gift of the American people.

We now proceed to give a narration of the Grand Oration tendered to "The Man for the Hour" by the citizens of his native State, on the occasion of his return to his home from his foreign sojourn.

As soon as the nomination of Mr. Fillmore had taken place, the citizens of the Grand Council of the New York State immediately assembled at Canandaigua, and taking a preliminary vote on the Executive and Legislative branches of the State, the action of the Council was referred to the responsible officers of the general assembly. A preliminary meeting, which was held at Canandaigua, on the 27th of June, was announced by the publication of the names of the citizens. This was followed up by the appointment of a Working Committee, the duty of which was to prepare a series of these resolutions, in order to exhibit the wisdom of the proposed general state convention. Brooklyn was the largest of the New York metropolitan cities, and was the only one that extended into other States, and Her Council of State citizens had already passed similar resolutions to those that had been passed at New York, a collective proposition for a public reception. Although in the same name, the address was made in the hall of the New York Convention, as well as the Central one, and the resolutions were adopted, their effect was to induce the citizens to avail themselves of the opportunity.

On Saturday evening, June 15, at about eight o'clock P.M., a large number of citizens of Canandaigua, with a few from the surrounding villages, were assembled in the hall of the Convention.

The hall being so filled with an immense number of citizens, a number of musical societies, and a number of bands of music, were introduced, and commenced to play, each on their own part.

The majority of the appearance of the first rock, the salute of 117 guns was fired from the wharf, and as the vessels arrived on the bay, two or three vessels were sent up, when the thunder of artillery was again heard, but this time from the wharf of New Jersey shore.

More than one thousand and three hundred people were at the wharf, and as the vessels passed the main garden, the party cheerily waved the National Flag.

As soon as the Grand Council of the New York State had assembled, a preliminary meeting was held, and a preliminary vote was taken on the Executive and Legislative branches of the State, and the action of the Executive Council was referred to the responsible officers of the general assembly.

After a few preliminary observations, Alderman Briggs delivered the following address:

Mr. Fillmore: In the name of New York and of this nation, I welcome you to your native shores. Your countrymen have watched your pilgrimage through the European States with intense solicitude, fearing that those natural calamities always depending over the living might deprive them of your valuable life, and overwhelm your country with universal sorrow; and I congratulate yourself and your kindred that you have passed the dangers of land and sea, and have returned in health and happiness to your native land; and above all, I rejoice that you will soon return to the White House, to remove the venom that have gathered there during your unfortunate absence from the national helm. Our country is blessed with all the climates and productions of nature, and with free institutions; and the Americans kindle fires of liberty and union in every vale and on every hill, on your safe return to again bless us with an administration that will enforce respect and obedience to our glorious flag wherever it waves, and restore unity and tranquility and contentment to the fairest frontiers of our beloved country.

MR. FILLMORE'S RESPONSE.

Mr. Chairman: This unexpected and flattering reception from the city of New York, and my native State, reaches a heart that may not feel otherwise than grateful. It is true, sir, that for more than a year I have been a laborious traveler in foreign countries, and although I have wandered far, my heart has always been with the American people. (Great applause.) And this, sir, is the happiest and proudest day of my life, to be received thus by a city which is known throughout Europe. For, sir, travel where you will there, and ask the humblest peasant what town he knows in the United States, and he will tell you that it is New York. (Applause.) I am proud to own that I am a native of the State of New York; and I am prouder still, sir, to be able to say that I am an American citizen. (Applause, and three cheers were here given for Mr. Fillmore.) Sir, you have been pleased to allude to my former services in the councils of my country. It does not become me to speak of them here. They have passed into history. Much less does it become me to speak of the future. All that I can say, is, sir, that my name, unsolicited on my part, and entirely unexpected, has been presented by my friends for the suffrages of the people. If they shall see fit again to manifest their confidence in me by elevating me to that high position, all I can promise is a faithful and impartial administration of the laws of the country in every part of the country. (Applause.) If there be those either north or south who desire an administration for the north as against the south, or for the south as against the north, they are not the men who should give their suffrages to me. (Most enthusiastic applause and cries, of "that's so.") For my own part, I know only my country, my whole country, and nothing but my country. (Great applause.) But, sir, I

am unexpectedly called upon on this occasion, to make these few remarks, and must conclude by again returning my sincere thanks to the corporation of the city of New York, which has done me the unexpected honor to welcome me back again. (Applause.)

A voice—And the people receive you, too. (Cheers.)

Mr. F.—I return my thanks to the people, too.

After some remarks by Chester Driggs, Esq., in behalf of the ward clubs, Mr. Fillmore was conducted from the cabin, and as soon as he made his appearance on deck, the most enthusiastic cheers were given. On landing he was surrounded by hundreds, all eager to grasp his hand, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the committee succeeded in conducting him to the carriage which was in waiting.

As soon as Mr. Fillmore took his seat in the open barouche prepared for him, the immense crowd formed five abreast, and getting in front of the carriages, proceeded slowly up Canal street to Broadway, and from thence to the St. Nicholas hotel—the crowd cheering during the whole way, while banners waved from various windows on the route, and in almost every window were ladies waving white pocket-handkerchiefs, and greeting him with their smiles.

On arriving at the door of the hotel, about one o'clock A. M., a large crowd, who had been waiting there since 11 o'clock on Sunday night, rushed forward and surrounded the carriage, and literally lifted him out of it, amidst immense cheering.

Mr. Fillmore was then escorted up stairs to his private room, but the cheers and calls for Fillmore, and clapping of hands, became most enthusiastic; and he at length appeared on the balcony, escorted by Alderman Briggs and Councilman Van Riper, and bowed gracefully to the crowd, while the cheering continued for several minutes. Having at length obtained silence, Mr. Fillmore spoke as follows:

Fellow Citizens—I believe I shall hardly trespass upon the Sabbath; (cries of "no! no! it is Monday morning.")—for it is past midnight; if I give you my thanks for this welcome back to my native State. You may readily conceive that a person just landing from a long voyage, weakened by sea sickness and wearied by travel, can hardly appreciate the enthusiasm displayed by a street full of people, gathered together at this unseasonable hour. I have seen much of European life. I have been able to contrast it with that of my own country. Compared with my own I would say to you, that after all my wanderings, my heart turns to America, my home and the place of my birth. But, fellow-citizens, this is no time for a speech, and I will merely add that, from this time forward, I am not only with you but of you.

Mr. Fillmore then retired from the balcony, and cheer after cheer arose from the assembled crowd.

SECOND DAY.

Mr. Fillmore was called upon by a large number of strangers and citizens this morning, including many of his old associates in Congress from this and neighboring States, and many distinguished and official persons from home and abroad. Several committees were also received; and delegations were present from places along the Central Road, from Albany to Buffalo, and on the Erie Road, from Piermont to Dunkirk, asking his acceptance of invitations to stop by the way.

About a hundred gentlemen from Philadelphia, delegates authorized to invite Mr. Fillmore to visit Philadelphia, were received by him this morning in the parlors of the St. Nicholas, where the Hon. Mr. Moore, late a member of Congress from that city, thus addressed him:

SPEECH OF THE HON. MR. MOORE.

Mr. Fillmore: In behalf of this Committee, from your many warm and ardent friends in Philadelphia, it is my sincere pleasure to extend to you a cordial welcome to your native soil, after a year's absence in other lands, and also to extend to you as cordial an invitation to visit Philadelphia, and thus afford our citizens the opportunity of personally assuring you, that this welcome does not consist in the mere formal enunciation of that word from my lips, but that in the honest, cordial and sincere emotions of every true, patriotic heart in Pennsylvania, you are welcome, thrice welcome, to your native land. It has been, sir, with feelings of a true national pride that we have noticed the outpouring expressions of respect and esteem, which you have everywhere, and from all classes, received during your sojourn and travels in other lands; and, when we connect those expressions with the fact that you hold or occupy no political or public station, and that, therefore, they were given to the man, and not to position or power, we could not repress the feelings of national pride which those reflections excited in our breasts, and we recognize you therefore not as a New Yorker, not as a Pennsylvanian, but as the property of the whole country; and it is not as Philadelphians merely, but as Americans, as citizens of a common country, of a great and glorious Union, that we welcome you home, and venture to express the hope that you will visit Philadelphia, and thus afford our citizens an opportunity of personally tendering to you a welcome as honest, as cordial and sincere as Philadelphians can and do feel, but which I, in my imperfect language, can and have but feebly expressed.

MR. FILLMORE'S REPLY.

Mr. Chairman: This unexpected welcome from the city of our Independence and of the Constitution, calls forth feelings of gratitude which I have not words to express. If there be any place outside of my native State which I respect, more than another, that place is Philadelphia. Its history, its sacred associations, all inspire me with respect and admiration, and I look to it as the birthplace of our Liberty and

our Laws; for there Independence was proclaimed and our Constitution formed; and when I see here to-day the number of your delegation, and know the intelligence they represent, this kindness gives me a pleasure I have not the power adequately to express. You have, sir, in your remarks, seen fit to allude to my travels and receptions in foreign countries. It is true that, from the crowned head to the peasant, I have been received everywhere with kindness and respect; but I do not attribute this to any merit of my own, but to the fact that your power had elevated me to the office of Chief Magistrate of this great and free Republic. But often, sir, while I have received such kindness abroad, I must own that I have heard, with the most painful solicitude, of events and scenes which have been transpiring at home. Not often, in many parts of Europe, have I been able to see an American paper; but extracts from them I have seen everywhere copied into foreign journals, which showed that alarming dissensions and turmoil existed in my own country—such as excited in my mind the liveliest solicitude, and which has given me the greatest pain. And when it is known that foreign monarchies are watching, with feelings of satisfaction, every new cause of internal discord, and expecting therefrom a speedy dissolution of this model Republic, is it to be wondered at that such should be my feelings?

But, sir, it was some consolation to see, nay a real satisfaction to know, that in all parts of Europe, many hopeful hearts were beating with anxious solicitude for our welfare, and were trusting and believing, that a free and intelligent people would continue to govern themselves. They trusted, and I trusted with them, that the day is far distant when we shall be called upon to witness so great a calamity as civil war in these States. For God's sake, let us all remember that our present freedom and greatness is the gift of our forefathers, and of their concord and unity in your own city of Philadelphia.

But I am trespassing on your time. I only intended to return my acknowledgments for your kind invitation to me to visit your city. I regret that it is out of my power to accept it. I am anxious to return to my home, and see my friends from whom I have been so long absent—and at some future time, after the people shall have decided to do with me as they have a right to decide, it will afford me extreme pleasure to respond to the cordial invitation of my friends in Philadelphia.

THE PROCESSION.

At 11 o'clock Hon. Daniel Ullmann, on behalf of the Fillmore and Donelson General Committee, welcomed Mr. Fillmore to the city, to which Mr. Fillmore briefly responded; after which accompanied by the committee, and followed by the American General Committee he left the Hotel, for the City Hall, and was received by the throng of people in the streets with tremendous cheers. The assembly of people was immense, every accessible point of

the streets and buildings being occupied, and the enthusiasm of the populace unbounded.

THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE GOVERNOR'S ROOM.

On the arrival of Mr. Fillmore at the Governor's Room, the ceremony of introduction was commenced and continued for about ten minutes, when the Mayor arrived. After the usual hand shaking, the Mayor addressed him as follows:

Mr. Fillmore: In behalf of the corporation of the city of New York, it becomes my duty to receive you on this occasion, and to tender the municipal hospitalities. We are ready to do public honor to those who have filled eminent stations with fidelity and usefulness. In this instance we have an additional incentive in your personal relation to us as our own fellow-citizen—well known to us and admired in all the walks of private life, and as truthful and liberal in the posts of public duty. You have never disgraced your State or shocked its conservative sentiments by a resort to sectional agitation or appeals to the passions or prejudices of men.—You have, indeed, in this respect, reflected its public opinion, by refusing to lend your countenance or aid to the seditious efforts of demagogues, who would embroil the State and citizens of this republic in sectional and fratricidal warfare, to gratify their own unjustifiable ambition for place and power. As a public man, you have been national and conservative, and New York can have no reason to receive you in any other way than as a dutiful son, who has been true to her interests. In this spirit I bid you welcome back to your native country, and am happy to be made the organ of your reception. Sir, the Common Council have passed resolutions [which we omit,] upon which this public reception is based, and which I will now read, as expressing the opinion and feeling of that branch of the corporate authorities.

Mr. Fillmore responded as follows:

Mr. Mayor—This unexpected and agreeable welcome from the great commercial emporium of the United States, leaves me without language to express the grateful emotions of my heart. I had hoped for a moment to have arranged my ideas, but, you know, as well as others within the sound of my voice, that from the time I landed, I have scarcely found a minute for thought. It is, however, hardly necessary. I have known this city, and I thought, appreciated its importance, but until I traversed Europe, I was not so sensible of the importance of this city to the United States, and the importance of the United States to this city. (Applause.)—You have been pleased to refer to the fact that my public life has been of a conservative character, and I am free to admit that I regard this conservatism as the proudest principle I have been able to sustain. (Applause.) We have received from our fathers a Union and a constitution above all price and value, and that man who can not sacrifice anything for the support of both is unworthy of his country. You, sir, known, for I have had the gratification of ex-

pressing it to you in person, how highly I appreciated the stand you took in sustaining the laws. You know better than I can express it, that liberty can only exist in obedience to law. (Renewed applause.) That country which is governed by despotism instead of law, knows not liberty. I never was so strongly impressed with this as since my return.

It has been my fortune to visit most of the principle cities on the Continent, where many of the governments of Europe exercise their control over their subjects the same as the master exercises his power over the slave. No man is permitted to go without the walls of a city unless with a passport, nor enter another kingdom without the same permission. I thank God, that when I stepped upon the shores of America my passport was not demanded. (Enthusiastic applause.)

Sir, your beautiful bay has often been compared to that of Naples. I have had the good fortune to look on both. Italy with its sunny skies is a delightful region. Oh, that it had a government like ours and a people to maintain it. (Applause.) There are points of resemblance between the two bays, but when you look at the waters and the surrounding scenery, there the comparison ends. When I entered that city I was surrounded by swarms of beggars, but I no sooner stepped on shore here than I was surrounded by thousands of freemen.—(Applause.) That is the difference between New York and Naples. Rome is in its decay. Venice once shone forth with more commercial splendor perhaps, than New York does now; but where is it, and what is Venice now but a waste in the midst of the ocean? New York has just emerged to greatness, and if it would continue its onward march let our people remember the lessons taught them by our forefathers, that they must maintain the constitution intact.

If they do this they will find that this city has but commenced its great commercial career. England at present wields the destinies of the commercial world, and her power is concentrated in London: but if this country can maintain its union, there are those now within the hearing of my voice who will live to see New York what London is now. (Applause.) I congratulate you, sir, that you are the Chief Magistrate of this great city, and I congratulate my fellow citizens that you are equal to the burden imposed upon you. I also congratulate you, that no matter what may be your private feelings, you are determined to stand by the union of your country. Pardon me for these remarks—they are desultory, but I speak with a sincere heart when I return you my most grateful thanks.

When Mr. Fillmore had finished his remarks and shook hands with a number of persons who were present, the procession returned to the Saint Nicholas Hotel, when a call being made, he appeared on the balcony and addressing the procession, said:

Mr. Marshal: I beg leave, sir, to tender you

copy of the hotel, amid the most enthusiastic plaudits, and addressed the crowd as follows:

I have been told (said he,) that this is the Club which has just been sold out. (Cheers and roars of laughter.) If this be so, it is very clear that you who were sold have not ratified the sale. But be not discouraged, my friends, by traitors. It was the lot of Americans in the contest of 1776 to be sold out.—as it is said you have been sold out now. But though there was an Arnold there was also a Washington, (Cheers renewed,) and in spite of the traitor, Americans were safe. (Continued cheering.) Have faith, my friends. Be not discouraged. No treason, no traitors, can sell out Americans, who rally under the flag of their country, the Constitution and the Union.

Mr. Fillmore then retired, amid cheering that made the streets ring again.

After Mr. F. had retired, the vast assemblage who seemed to be unwilling to retire, were addressed in a spirited manner by several gentlemen, when, after a song written for the occasion had been sung in an enthusiastic manner, the immense crowd dispersed at a late hour.

This day was appropriated to a reception by the citizens of Brooklyn, who welcomed him with the utmost enthusiasm. A procession of a mile in length escorted him to the City Hall, where he was received by the Mayor, who welcomed him in the name of the people of that city. Mr. Fillmore replied in an appropriate speech. From the City Hall the procession marched to the Pierpoint House, where he again addressed the crowd. In the evening a brilliant display of fireworks was given, at the conclusion of which Mr. Fillmore returned to New York, an immense concourse of people accompanying him to the St. Nicholas, where he was serenaded by a band, and the people renewed their cheers for him until a gentleman from one of the windows stated that Mr. Fillmore had retired to rest, and begged to be excused from appearing. The crowd then dispersed at about half past twelve o'clock.

FOURTH DAY.

MR. FILLMORE'S DEPARTURE.

Seven o'clock Thursday morning, being the hour fixed for the departure of Mr. F., a large crowd assembled in front of the St. Nicholas Hotel at an early hour. Precisely at six o'clock Alderman Briggs arrived, accompanied by several members of the Common Council. In a few minutes Mr. Fillmore appeared, when the Albany delegation, headed by Sheriff Brayton, was immediately introduced to him. Mr. Fillmore forthwith proceeded to his carriage, and was warmly cheered on making his appearance. As he had expressed a wish, however, that no public demonstration should be given on his departure, the proceedings were private and quiet.

THE ALIDA.

On arriving at the wharf, at a quarter before seven o'clock, the steamboat Alida was in readiness to receive the guests and their attendants.

The boat was beautifully decorated with banners, while hundreds of ladies who crowded her upper deck, received him with the warmest demonstrations of enthusiasm. Cheer after cheer also rose from the crowd that had already assembled on the pier.

As Mr. Fillmore stepped on board, the cheering and waving of handkerchiefs were renewed, and the ladies were then successively presented to Mr. Fillmore. Having gone through the ceremony of this presentation, Mr. F. was surrounded by a troop of friends who paid him their parting respects, and bade him a happy journey.

THE RECEPTION BY THE COMMITTEE.

The Albany Delegated Committee were then drawn up in the cabin, and when all the members had been introduced, Mr. J. C. Rose, on behalf of his associates, delivered the following address to Mr. Fillmore:

Mr. Fillmore. On behalf of the Albany delegation I congratulate you, on your return to your native state and country. We have been deputed as a delegation from the citizens of Albany to receive, and on their behalf, extend to you the welcome and hospitalities of that city. We are gratified to find you, the favorite son of New York, and I trust, of these United States, in the enjoyment of such perfect health—and ready and willing to enter into the warm contest, now about to be fought by the sons of America, with all your strength and ability. Feeling confident of your success, I again beg leave, on behalf of my associates, to offer you our sincere esteem as a true and tried son of the soil.

On our leaving Albany, two steamers, each with a six pounder and a band, with numerous delegations of citizens, will meet us—and then, sir, I trust we shall show you that we speak not only from our hearts, but also that our best efforts will be put forth to gain the coming contest, which we are confident of winning.

Mr. Fillmore, in reply, said—

Gentlemen—I thank you for your kind reception, and would try to express my thanks in a fitting manner, but that from so repeatedly speaking for the past few days, I have been rendered unable, by a severe hoarseness, to do justice to the undertaking. (Applause.)

As the steamer left the wharf, ten guns were fired from a brass six-pounder, which had been brought from Albany by the delegation. As the Alida rounded the head of the pier, cheer after cheer was sent up by the multitude who had assembled to witness the departure of the noble guest. Mr. Fillmore stood on the promenade deck facing the dock, and acknowledged the compliment by gracefully bowing to the people.

The first landing the Alida made after leaving New York was at Cozzen's Dock. The crowd on the wharf was immense, and long before the boat reached her mooring, the cheers that rent the air from the enthusiastic assembly were deafening in the extreme. Flags and banners were profusely displayed by the various

clubs and associations that had assembled to welcome Mr. F. He was induced to walk to the promenade deck and present himself to the throng, which had the effect of partially restoring quiet.

At the West Point Landing a large crowd was also assembled to do homage to the Man of the People.

Arriving at Newburgh, a tremendous assemblage of citizens was in waiting, and Mr. Fillmore was received with immense enthusiasm.

When the cheers had subsided, Mr. A. K. Chandler, of Fishkill Landing, introduced Mr. Fillmore as the American standard bearer and the man of the Union. Mr. Fillmore responded as follows :

Fellow citizens of Newburgh—Accept my cordial thanks for this hearty greeting. My friend has introduced me as the standard bearer of the American party, and a friend of the Union. For the former position I am indebted to the partiality of my friends, who have without my solicitation made me their standard bearer in the contest for President, which has just commenced; but I confess to you that I am proud of the distinction, for I am an American, with an American heart. (Cheers.) I confess also I am a devoted and unalterable friend of the Union. As an American, occupying the position I do before my countrymen, I have no hostility to foreigners. I trust I am their friend. Having witnessed their deplorable condition in the old country, God forbid I should add to their sufferings by refusing them an asylum in this. I would open wide the gates and invite the oppressed of every land to our happy country, excluding only the pauper and criminal. I would be tolerant to men of all creeds, but would exact from all faithful allegiance to our republican institutions. And if any sect or denomination, ostensibly organized for religious purposes, should use that organization, or suffer it to be used for political objects, I would meet it by political opposition. In my view, Church and State should be separate, not only in form, but fact—religion and politics should not be mingled.

While I did this I would, for the sake of those who seek an asylum on our shores as well as for our own sake, declare as a general rule, that Americans should govern America. (Great cheering.) I regret to say that men who come fresh from the monarchies of the old world are prepared neither by education, habits of thought, or knowledge of our institutions, to govern Americans. The failure of every attempt to establish free government in Europe, is demonstrative of this fact, and if we value the blessings which Providence has so bounteously showered upon us, it becomes every American to stand by the constitution and laws of his country, and to resolve that, independent of all foreign influence, Americans will and shall rule America. (Cheers.)

I feel, fellow-citizens, that I need hardly allude to the importance of maintaining this Union. I see the national flag floating from your

height which marks the consecrated spot of Washington's head quarters. There was performed an act of moral heroism before which the bravest deeds of Alexander pale, and with which the greatest achievements of Bonaparte are not to be compared. It was there, on that sacred spot, now shaded by the flag of a free Republic, that Washington refused a crown. (Cheers.) It was there that the officers of the army, after our independence had been achieved, made him the offer of a crown, which he indignantly spurned. I am sure I need not urge upon you who live near this hallowed spot, and in sight of that flag, the duty of observing in all your actions, the farewell advice of the father of his country, "that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to the Union; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of 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 that now link together the various parts." Again I thank you most sincerely for this unexpected and hearty welcome to my native State. (Cheers.)

At Catskill, Hudson and Kinderhook, large crowds were assembled and salutes were exchanged, and cheer after cheer went up as the Alida passed with her distinguished passenger. At Greenbush opposite the steamboat landing at Albany, a salute was fired, which was rapidly returned from several points on the opposite side. Delegations were present in Albany from all quarters, having banners with suitable inscriptions.

THE RECEPTION AT ALBANY.

After the Alida reached the dock it was for some time impossible, on account of the crowd, for Mr. Fillmore to make his way from the boat to the dock. As he stepped ashore he was greeted with deafening cheers. An opening was finally made through the dense crowd, and Mr. Fillmore passed through—cheered at every step—to the carriage which stood ready to receive him. Mr. Fillmore entered the carriage, and as he rose to his feet in it, seen by the vast concourse, there was a spontaneous outburst of cheering from the thousands who saw him. Mr. Fillmore bowed in acknowledgment, and the carriage was driven off. Other carriages for the N. Y. Committee who accompanied Mr. Fillmore, were driven into the line, and the procession finally passed up to the Capitol. Along the line of march, the distinguished guest was greeted with hearty welcomings. The windows of the houses were filled with ladies waving their handkerchiefs; and the sidewalks were crowded with men.

The procession entered the park with three bands of music, and marching up to the staging it formed into two lines, one on either side of

the avenue, leaving an open space for Mr. Fillmore to pass through. The carriage in which he was seated was driven up into the park, when he alighted amid the cheers of the people.

Ascending the platform, and appearing in view, he was again cheered. The utmost enthusiasm prevailed, which lasted many minutes.

When quiet was at length restored, Mr. Fillmore stepped forward with Mayor Perry, when the latter addressed him in a speech of which we are unable, for lack of room, to give more than the closing paragraph. After welcoming the Ex-President to the city, and congratulating him in behalf of the people of Albany on his safe return to his beloved country, Mayor Perry said:

"During your absence it has been at once the pride and pleasure of the American people to present your name again as their choice for the high office of President of the United States, knowing that you sought not office for office sake; knowing that no mean ambition could tempt you from the path of duty; the public mind stood in anxious suspense until they received the welcome announcement of your acceptance of the honor they have delighted to confer upon you. And if anything could add to the pride and pleasure with which we now welcome you, it is a knowledge of the fact that, if there be any, either at the North, or at the South, who desire an administration for the North as against the South, or for the South against the North, they are not the men who should give their support to you. Sir, we glory in the patriotic announcement you made when you landed on our shore, that if you should be the choice of the people for the Chief Magistracy of our united and beloved land, you would *know only your Country, your whole Country, and nothing but your Country.* It is such a sentiment as this which will restore peace to our agitated land. Sir, we welcome you, as a man, with a warm heart, but chiefly because of those proofs we derive both from your past and present course that the same pure patriotism you have ever manifested will continue to influence you in the future in whatever position you may be placed. Mr. Fillmore—Again, sir, in behalf of the citizens of Albany, I bid you a hearty welcome to our ancient and honorable city, and to the Capitol of the Empire State."

Tremendous cheering from the crowd endorsed the sentiments so happily expressed in the address of Mayor Perry, and after their subsidence, Mr. Fillmore stepped forward to address the multitude. He was received with thundering cheers, which lasted many minutes. At length he was permitted to speak, when he addressed the multitude as follows:

MR. FILLMORE'S RESPONSE.

Mr. Mayor and Fellow-Citizens: This overwhelming demonstration of congratulation and welcome almost deprives me of the power of speech. Here, nearly thirty years ago, I commenced my political career. In this building I

first saw a legislative body in session; (cheers) but at that time it never entered into the aspirations of my heart that I ever should receive such a welcome as this in the capital of my native State. (Cheers.)

You have been pleased, sir, to allude to my former services and my probable course if I should again be called to the position of Chief Magistrate of the nation. (Applause.) It is not pleasant to speak of one's self, yet I trust that the occasion will justify me in briefly alluding to one or two events connected with my administration. (Cheers.) You all know that when I was called to the executive chair by a bereavement which shrouded the nation in mourning, that the country was unfortunately agitated from one end to the other upon the all-exciting subject of slavery. It was then, sir, that I felt it my duty to rise above every sectional prejudice, and look to the welfare of the whole nation. (Applause.) I was compelled to a certain extent to overcome long cherished prejudices, and disregard party claims. (Great and prolonged applause.) But in doing this, sir, I did no more than was done by many abler and better men than myself. I was by no means the sole instrument, under Providence, in harmonizing these difficulties. (Applause.) There were at that time noble, independent, high-souled men in both Houses of Congress, belonging to both the great political parties of the country.—Whigs and Democrats,—who spurned the dictation of selfish party leaders, and rallied around my administration, in support of the great measures which restored peace to an agitated and distracted country. (Cheers.) Some of these have gone to their eternal rest, with the blessings of their country on their heads, but others yet survive, deserving the benediction and honors of a grateful people. By the blessings of divine Providence, our efforts were crowned with signal success, (cheers) and when I left the Presidential chair, the whole nation was prosperous and contented, and our relations with all foreign nations were of the most amicable kind. (Cheers.) The cloud that had hung upon the horizon was dissipated. But where are we now? Alas! threatened at home with civil war, and from abroad with a rupture of our peaceful relations, I shall not seek to trace the causes of this change. These are the facts, and it is for you to ponder upon them. Or the present administration I have nothing to say, for I know and can appreciate the difficulties of administering this government, and if the present executive and his supporters have with good intentions and honest hearts made a mistake, I hope God may forgive them, as I freely do; (loud and prolonged applause.) But if there be those who have brought these calamities upon the country for selfish or ambitious objects, it is your duty, fellow-citizens, to hold them to a strict responsibility. (Cheers.)

The agitation which disturbed the peace of the country in 1850, was unavoidable. It was brought upon us by the acquisition of new territory, for the government of which it was ne-

cessary to provide territorial organization. But it is for you to say whether the present agitation, which distracts the country and threatens us with civil war, has not been recklessly and wantonly produced by the adoption of a measure to aid in personal advancement rather than in any public good. (Cheers.)

Sir, you have been pleased to say that I have the union of these States at heart? This, sir, is most true, for if there be one object deared to me than any other, it is the unity, prosperity, and glory of this great Republic; and I confess frankly, sir, that I fear it is in danger. I say nothing of any particular section, much less of the several candidates before the people. I presume they are all honorable men. But, sir, what do we see? An exasperated feeling between the North and the South, on the most exciting of all topics, resulting in disunion and organized military array.

But this is not all, sir. We see a political party, presenting candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? (Cheers.) Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? (Cheers.) Would he be required to follow the same rule prescribed by those who elected him, in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon's line be not worthy to be President or Vice President, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter, as one of his Cabinet Council, or to represent the nation in a foreign country? Or, indeed, to collect the revenue, or administer the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the President to adopt in selecting men for office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him? These are serious, but practical questions, and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves. Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they will only give slaveholders for President and Vice-Presidency, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North? Do you think we would submit to it? No, not for a moment. (Applause.) And do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? (Tremendous cheering.) If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance.

I tell you, my friends, that I feel deeply, and therefore I speak earnestly on this subject,

(cries of "you're right!") for I feel that you are in danger. I am determined to make a clean breast of it. I will wash my hands of the consequences, whatever they may be; and I tell you that we are treading upon the brink of a volcano, that is liable at any moment to burst forth and overwhelm the nation. I might, by soft words, inspire delusive hopes, and thereby win votes. But I can never consent to be one thing to the North and another to the South. I should despise myself, if I could be guilty of such duplicity. For my conscience would exclaim, with the dramatic poet,

— "It is not much to serve
The people, who are in the streets, if heaven
Will, in a commonwealth, to set the men
Who cover it, to witness his country's ruin."

In the language of the lamented, but immortal Clay, "I had rather be right than be President!"

It seems to me impossible that those engaged in this can have contemplated the awful consequences of success. If it breaks assunder the bonds of our Union, and spreads anarchy and civil war through the land, what is it less than moral treason? Cries of "nothing is nothing less!" Law and common sense hold a man responsible for the natural consequence of his acts, and that not those whose assistance to the destruction of the government, be it any help, responsible for the result of it.

And let me say, that when this Union is dissolved, it will not be divided into two Republics, or two monarchies, but be broken into fragments, and at war with each other. (Sensation.)

But, fellow-citizens, I have perhaps said all that was necessary on this subject. Cries of "go on! go on!"—and I turn with pleasure to a less important, but more agreeable topic. It has been my fortune during my travels in Europe, to witness the reception of royalty, in all the most splendid splendor of military array, where the music was given to order, and the cheers at the world's command. But for myself, I prize the honest spontaneity of this—great cheering—of affection with which you have welcomed me back to my native State—renewed cheering—give a cheer to the pageants which royalty can display. (Cheers.) Therefore, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I return you a thousand thanks, and bid you adieu.

As Mr. Fillmore concluded, the vast multitude raised their voices in repeated cheers, waving their hats and handkerchiefs, making all possible enthusiastic demonstrations, which were continued some minutes.

Mr. Fillmore then stepped back, and received the congratulations and welcomes of a large number of citizens of Albany and other cities.

FIFTH DAY.

On Friday morning Mr. Fillmore was engaged in receiving calls from citizens and strangers, among whom were the Judges of the Court of Appeals. At a quarter to 11 A. M., Mr. Fillmore left on the train for Schenectady, accompanied by a delegation from that city, headed by Major Smith.

On arriving at this city, a large gathering of citizens were assembled to greet Mr. Fillmore.

Mr. Fillmore having been introduced by Mayor Smith to his fellow citizens, he briefly addressed them from the cars; and on the conclusion of his remarks, he was again greeted by hearty and repeated cheers, and the train proceeded on its way.

FONDA.

Here a large crowd had assembled, to whom Mr. Fillmore was introduced by S. Sammons, Esq., of that village, where three cheers were given with a hearty will, when Mr. Fillmore was introduced to several friends, and a number of ladies. A bouquet was handed to Mr. Fillmore by a little girl, with a card attached, on which was written "Lilly Sammons to Hon. Millard Fillmore." As the cars moved off, he was warmly cheered.

LITTLE FALLS.

The people were here gathered in large numbers, awaiting the arrival of the train. A salute was fired on its approach. Mr. Fillmore was introduced, and in response to their hearty cheers, returned his cordial thanks for the honor. He said that he had a number of personal friends in their beautiful village, the name of which he understood had been changed.

A voice—"It's been changed back."

Well, it is right, said Mr. Fillmore, to return to first principles. It is good for the country to adhere to old landmarks. (Cheers) He had been informed that there was a good sprinkling of Americanism in that section, and he was glad that it was so. He was himself an American, and he was proud of it. It gratified him to see so many young men around him, and engaged in the American cause. He hoped they would persevere in it. He would say that he deemed it best and wisest, that while America is and should be an asylum for the oppressed of all lands, Americans should govern America. These, said Mr. Fillmore, are my sentiments, and I trust they are yours.

A pleasant incident occurred just before Mr. Fillmore commenced speaking. Three beautiful girls, about 12 years of age, each presented to him a beautiful bouquet of flowers, which Mr. F. accepted with many thanks.

UTICA.

A committee from Utica came on the cars at Fonda. On the arrival of the train at the Utica depot, a large crowd immediately surrounded the car, and on the appearance of Mr. Fillmore on the platform, he was received with immense cheering. M. M. Jones, Esq., addressed Mr. Fillmore as follows:

President Fillmore: In behalf of the party which has chosen you as its standard bearer, and in behalf of the citizens of Utica, without distinction of party—I welcome you to our midst. We are glad that a kind Providence has vouchsafed to guard and shield your health and person during your long absence from, and a safe return to your native land. We doubt

not that your observations of the governments and peoples of the old world have tended only to confirm and strengthen your love and fidelity to our free Constitution, and the institutions that have grown up under its genial influence. The various stand-points from which you have looked back upon our Union, have enabled you to judge correctly of its influence and standing among the nations. But it is this Union unbroken—not in fragments—whose influence is felt and acknowledged by all nations and races of men. So far as the hopes of the oppressed of the old world, or the principles of popular liberty are concerned, the fragments of this Union whenever dissolved will be found powerless for good but omnipotent for evil.

Familiar with your sentiments and acts, cordially fellowshipping the principles upon which your administration of our National and State governments have been based, we have hopefully looked for your return; and with these sentiments allow me, sir, again to welcome you to our midst.

Mr. Fillmore in response said that he was quite unprepared for this flattering demonstration, and the very flattering manner in which he had been addressed. It had been well remarked, he said, that his recent travels abroad had afforded him an opportunity of comparing the countries of the old world with his own. He alluded to the condition of Europe—to the fact that standing armies were required to protect them from each other, and that the men were drafted into the army, while the women were compelled to perform servile labor. The position of our country commands the respect of the world, and he had been pained to note the discord that threatened its existence. If the time should ever come, which God forbid, when the American Republic shall be rent asunder and broken into fragments, he did not know where the world would look for another government which would be esteemed as the asylum of the oppressed. Mr. Fillmore said he knew it was not necessary that he should exhort the people of Central New York to be vigilant in guarding their liberties and protecting the Constitution. He knew they would do it. He was proud that he was a New Yorker, and prouder still that he was an American citizen. He said that he regarded Utica with peculiar interest. He could almost look upon the building where he had read his first diploma in his profession. It was then to him a prouder day than it would now be to be made President of the United States, although he regarded that as the most exalted position on earth.

He said he knew well the virtue, intelligence and industry of those he addressed, and he should never cease to feel a peculiar regard for their city. Thanking them for the warm manner in which they had welcomed him, Mr. Fillmore retired amidst vociferous cheering.

A salute of fifty guns was fired, and the population generally seemed to participate in the generous welcome.

ROME.

Rome was soon reached, and here as elsewhere the people had assembled in thousands to greet Mr. Fillmore. As he appeared upon the platform, he was greeted in the warmest manner, while a cannon stationed near by thundered forth his hoarse welcome. He thanked his friends for their generous reception, and said that if anything could add to the pleasure he felt, it was this manifestation of their regard. A short time since he was at Rome, in Italy, and saw the Pope, but he had not become a Roman Catholic—far from it. He had returned to his country, loving it all the more for having compared it with Europe, and felt no disposition to leave it again. You should be thankful, said he, that you live in this free and happy land. Guard well your institutions, and be ever watchful against any attempt to divide or destroy your country. Mr. Fillmore again thanked the citizens for the honor they had done him. He was repeatedly interrupted by cheers.

Mr. Fillmore then entered, and as the cars moved off, he was loudly cheered.

SYRACUSE.

Greatly beyond expectation, Mr. Fillmore's reception was warm and participated in by thousands. Capt. Walworth's fine company of Continentals, with a band of music, were drawn up adjacent to the depot, where several thousand people were congregated. We understand that eight fire companies of the city joined in a procession which the military had escorted to the depot.

Mr. Fillmore was introduced from the platform of the car, by Col. R. F. Stevens, as follows:

MR. FILLMORE—I am happy to in behalf of the citizens of Syracuse to welcome you to our city, and congratulate you on your safe return to your native land. In a few years you the ripe scholar, the tried statesman, the true and faithful representative, the true patriot. While you have secured a firm hold upon the hearts of your countrymen. Also, you have gained the esteem of foreign nations. Your American heart can not but beat with renewed vigor as you pass again through this noble state, beholding your place of residence, where thousands will meet your arrival, not as partisans, but as citizens of this glorious Republic. You see before you a company, whose every member, be he a Revolutionary sire,—whose delight it is to bear the arms of their country, and feel the gratification of him who was the first in the hearts of his countrymen. This company of citizens express desire to act as your escort in your only passage to your westward home, and I now present them to you in their behalf.

Mr. Fillmore replied by saying, that this welcome by the citizens of Syracuse to his native state and almost to his native county was altogether unexpected, and it added greatly to the pleasure which he felt on returning. While abroad he had seen much of soldiers and military display, but they were in armies composed of

the oppressed people—not to protect their rights but to keep down freedom. He was glad to see the citizen soldiers before him had adopted the name and assumed the style of Washington. It was evidence that they revered the Father of our country, and he hoped that they would never forget the counsels which he left behind him, and that they never would be called into service but in defence of the principle upon which our government was formed. Mr. Fillmore then retired inside, where he received the congratulations of friends, who in great numbers crowded in and around the car.

CLYDE.

There was no display here, although a large number of citizens gathered to pay their respects, and gave three cheers to Mr. Fillmore.

CAMBRIDGE.

As the train approached, a salute was fired, and a large gathering of people was ready to welcome Mr. Fillmore and pledge him their support. Their cheers were many and hearty. Mr. Fillmore said he was much excited to say more than simply to return his warmest thanks to his friends and neighbors. He was glad to see them all, and especially gratified to witness so many honest American faces. A vigorous cheering and which Mr. Fillmore withdrew. The enthusiasm manifested here was unmistakable.

ROCHESTER.

The arrangements for receiving Mr. Fillmore here were of the most unimpeachable character. It was not known before that morning, when Mr. Fillmore would arrive, an little more than a promise of the fact would be given. The result has demonstrated amply what had been at least a foregone conclusion for the day. The day's labor was not at all the more an excuse. Mr. Fillmore's presence was sufficient to draw a large number of men as no man has done since Henry Clay's decease.

As the train entered the city, the discharge of cannon was heard, and a cheering at the depot greeted Mr. Fillmore as he alighted. A procession was formed headed by the Syracuse Continentals, and it proceeded to the Eagle Hotel. A fine band was stationed at the Eagle, and as the band that followed Mr. Fillmore then he took his station in front of a company of militia. On a banner in front of the Eagle, in two columns, across the street, were inscribed the names of all the Syracuse citizens who took Mr. Fillmore appeared on the balcony of the Eagle, and was addressed by Roswell Hart, Esq., as follows:

MR. FILLMORE—I am glad to be the citizens of Rochester with the citizens of every town in their behalf, their hospilities and cordial welcome. We are gathered to accord to you on your return from the old world to your native land, that freedom of a pause which is due from patriotic citizens to a public servant, who in all trusts committed to him has acquitted himself with honor and fidelity, and with equal

justice to the rights of all. Especially, on this occasion, you are enhanced in our regard, when returning from your sojourn in other lands, where obedience to the laws is enforced at the point of the bayonet, and amid the ruins of departed glory, where liberty has had shrines, but now has no more, the lustre of your merit has ever shone conspicuous—in all your wanderings our heart and our pride went hand in hand with you; wherever your footsteps turned you have borne in your person noble testimony to the simplicity, beauty and power of our American institutions. To potentate and peasant we gloried in presenting you as our true American type and representative.

It was your fortune during the memorable term of your administration of the government to witness, and in a great measure to contribute to what at the time was regarded as a settlement of a dangerous and exciting question. You retired from office with the serene conviction that civil strife was subdued, the storms of passion cleared away, the waves of agitation subsided, and the ship of state careering away with swelling sail from the breakers which ragged for its destruction. The voice of discord was hushed, and citizens of our confederacy, whether from South or North, again dwelt together like brethren in unity. Not a speck loomed upon the horizon to foreshadow alarm. Peace and fraternal good will possessed the land from the Atlantic shores to the golden gates of the Pacific. But, alas! with what anxious concern must you now contemplate our condition upon your return to your beloved country. How sad is the change.

You come to behold a people you had left tranquil and at peace, now rent by dissension, and the glorious Union in jeopardy; solemn compacts violated and annulled, and ancient landmarks ruthlessly torn away; yet justified and applauded by a numerous party. Again are the baneful fires of sectional agitation rekindled with greater fury than before. You come to behold the anomaly of a new political organization claiming to be under the Constitution, yet proclaiming itself sectional in its aims and purposes. The memories of the lion-hearted Webster, with godlike power dealing his blows for the Constitution; of the clarion-voiced Clay, pleading in burning accents for the maintenance of the Union; the earlier patriots who with voice and arm secured to us our precious legacy of constitutional freedom—all are lost in the wild hunt for motives of contest in political strife. The press and the forum appealing with intractable temper to the passions and prejudices of men, and seeking with reckless ardor to array one section of the Union against the other to the utter disruption of that fraternal concord which should bind us together as a people, so that the time may not be far distant when we may become a mere nation of Ishmaelites, forgetting that we are heirs of a glorious common inheritance, hallowed as much to us by the memories of a Marion or a Sumpter, of a Jefferson or a Madison, of a Warren or a Stark, or of a Hancock or Adams.

In this distracted condition of our country, patriotic men have turned their hopes toward you, as the Palinurus to guide the bark of our destinies from the perils by which it is encompassed. In your patriotism and fidelity to the Union, in your sound conservative statesmanship, we place our reliance. The history of the past gives us the assurance that you will preserve to us and perpetuate that liberty which is obedient to law, and restrain on the one hand that rampant radicalism which would overturn the fair fabric of our republic, and on the other hold fast to the sacred landmarks of our forefathers.

Under the benign influence of your administration, we have an abiding confidence that this brotherhood of States will be more closely knit together in bonds of fellowship—that all heart burnings will cease, passions be allayed, and as in our domestic relations we shall be as we have been in the past, one glorious people, so in our relations with other powers we shall command the respect and admiration of the nations of the earth.

Again, sir, be pleased to accept our heartfelt congratulations that you are restored to us in health, and with your enlarged and valuable experiences, with the cordial wish that our fond desires may be gratified in your elevation to the high position for which you have been nominated.

Mr. Fillmore then came forward and addressed the people.

After returning his thanks for the manner in which he had been received, and for the flattering terms in which the Chairman had been pleased to speak of his administration, Mr. Fillmore said that he had no reason to disguise his sentiments on the subject of the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which seemed to be the chief source of the unfortunate agitation that now disturbed the peace of the country. He said that it would be recollected, that when he came into the Administration, the country was agitated from centre to circumference with the exciting subject of slavery. This question was then forced upon the country by the acquisition of new territory; and he feared that the eloquent address of the Chairman had given him more credit for the settlement of that question than he was entitled to—not more, however, than he would have deserved, had his power equaled his desires. But the truth was, that many noble patriots, Whigs and Democrats, in both Houses of Congress, rallied around and sustained the Administration in that trying time, and to them was chiefly due the merit of settling that exciting controversy. Those measures, usually called the Compromise Measures of 1850, were not in all respects what I could have desired, but they were the best that could be obtained, after a protracted discussion, that shook the republic to its very foundation, and I felt bound to give them my official approval. Not only this, but perceiving there was a disposition to renew the agitation at the next session, I took the responsibility of declaring, in substance, in my annual message, that I regarded these measures as a "final settlement of

this question, and that the laws thus passed ought to be maintained until time and experience should demonstrate the necessity of modification or repeal."

I then thought that this exciting subject was at rest, and that there would be no further occasion to introduce it into the legislation of Congress. Territorial governments had been provided for all the territory except that covered by the Missouri Compromise, and I had no suspicion that that was to be disturbed. I have no hesitation in saying, what most of you know already, that I was decidedly opposed to the repeal of that Compromise. Good faith, as well as the peace of the country, seemed to require, that a compromise which had stood for more than thirty years, should not be wantonly disturbed. These were my sentiments then, fully and freely expressed, verbally and in writing, to all my friends, North and South, who solicited my opinion. This repeal seems to have been a Pandora's box, out of which have issued all the political evils that vex afflict the country, scarcely leaving a hope behind, and many, I perceive, are ready to impute all the blame to our Southern brethren. But is this just? (No, no.) It must be borne in mind that this measure originated with a Northern Senator, and was sustained and sanctioned by a Northern President. I do not recollect that even a single petition from a Southern State solicited this repeal, and it must be remembered that when a Northern administration, with large numbers of Northern senators and Northern members, entered the Southern States also, Southern members of Congress could not, if they would, safely refuse it. To refuse what seemed a boon, would have been to sacrifice themselves, and this is certainly expecting too much from political men in times like these. The blame, therefore, it appears to me, with all due deference, is chiefly chargeable to those who originated this measure, and however we may deplore the act, it affords no just ground for controversy with our Southern brethren—certainly none for which they could be deprived of their political rights. But, we now see a party organized in the North, and for the first time selecting its candidates exclusively from the Northern States, with the avowed intention of electing them, to govern the South as well as the North. By what rule is a President to be elected, to select a cabinet-council, his foreign ministers, judges and administrative officers? Are they also to be selected exclusively from the North—or may you take a cabinet officer from the South, though you can not a President or a Vice-President? These, in practice, as I have said on another occasion, must become embarrassing questions. The North is, beyond all question, the most populous, the most wealthy, and has the most votes, and therefore has the power to inflict this injustice upon the South. But we can best judge of its consequences by reversing the case. Suppose that the South was the most populous, the most wealthy, and possessed the greatest number of electoral votes and that it should declare that, for some fenced or

real injustice done at the North, it would elect none but a President and Vice-President of slaveholders from the South to rule over the North. Do you think, fellow-citizens, you would submit to this injustice? (No, no.) No, truly, you would not; but one universal cry of No would rent the skies! And can you suppose your Southern brethren less sensitive than yourselves, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you that you are mistaken—and you must therefore perceive that the success of such a party, with such an object, must be the dissolution of this glorious Union. I am unwilling to believe that those who are engaged in this strife can foresee the consequences of their own acts.—Why should not the golden rule which our Saviour has prescribed for our intercourse with each other, be applied to the intercourse between these fraternal States? Let us do unto them as we would that they should do unto us in like circumstances. They are our brethren, they are our friends, and we are all embarked in the same ship, and if she founders in consequence of the mismanagement of the crew, we must all go down together; this Union must be torn asunder, this beautiful fabric, reared by the hands of our ancestors, must be scattered in fragments, and the people, in the language of the eloquent address of your Chairman, be converted into a nation of Ishmaelites. I can not contemplate such a scene without horror, and I turn from it with loathing and disgust.

I fear that your Chairman anticipates too much, when he supposes it would be in my power, if elected to the Presidency, to restore harmony to the country. All I can say is, that if such an event I should be willing to make every sacrifice, personal and political, to attain success, I could do it. But I can never consent to be the instrument of one portion of this nation against the other. I can give no pledge for the future that is not found in my past conduct. If you wish a Chief Magistrate to administer the Constitution and laws impartially in every part of the Union, giving to every State and every Territory, and every citizen, his just due, without fear or favor, then you may cast your votes for me. I repeat here what I have said elsewhere, if there be those at the North who want a President to rule the South—if there be those at the South who want a President who will rule the North—I do not want their votes. I can never represent them. I stand upon the broad platform of the Constitution and the laws. If I should be called upon to administer the government, the Constitution and laws of the country shall be executed, at every hazard and at every cost.

SIXTH DAY.

Leaving Rochester Mr. Fillmore was escorted by the Syracuse Continentals, and a large concourse of citizens. He was taken in charge at the cars by a committee of the citizens of Lockport. As the train passed through the suburbs of the city, the workmen came from the shops and foundries, and cheered the car in which Mr. Fillmore was seated, with hearty good-will.

Laborers in the field stopped to cheer homeward the faithful public servant, and true man.

BROCKPORT.

The stop was only for a single moment. As usual a large crowd had collected. To their cheers, Mr. Fillmore could do no more than bow his acknowledgments.

ALBION.

The whole community of this beautiful village, and of the surrounding country, appeared to have congregated at the depot. A salute was fired, and flags waved in the breeze. A platform had been prepared, and as soon as the train stopped, Mr. Fillmore stepped forward, and when the cheering had subsided, he was addressed by John H. White, Esq., as follows:

MR. FILLMORE.—As the representative of the Americans of Albion and of Orleans county, I congratulate you on your safe return to your native country, and to Western New York, the home of your childhood, as well as your maturer years, and on their behalf I bid you a hearty, cordial welcome. We welcome you not only as citizens of the Commonwealth, but as Americans, neighbors and personal friends—for we claim to be all of these. It is a gratifying reflection to us, that here, in Orleans county, the first action was had which resulted in your elevation to the highest office in the gift of the people of these United States. We had the utmost confidence in your ability, integrity and patriotism, and although we watched narrowly your course during your occupancy of the Presidential Chair, we found nothing therein to condemn, but, on the contrary, that confidence was strengthened and revived—and we trust, Sir, that the action of the electors of this county in November next, will convince you that that confidence still remains undiminished. Again, I bid you welcome. Fellow-citizens—I have the honor to introduce to you the Hon. Millard Fillmore, the next President of the United States.

Mr. Fillmore returned his acknowledgments and said that there were peculiar relations existing between him and his friends in that beautiful village. It was they, more than ten years ago, who first coupled his name with the highest office in the land. He never had, and never should cease to remember the fact with peculiar gratification and pride. In reference to the confidence which they had been pleased to express in him now, as well as the satisfaction with which they regarded his acts while administering the affairs of the government, he would say that when he entered upon the discharge of the high duties of President, he found the country convulsed on the exciting topic of slavery. A series of measures calculated to restore peace—yet not in all respects what he would have been glad to have seen passed by Congress—were enacted, and he felt it his solemn duty to give them his sanction. It was not by the influence of any one man, or of any one party, that those healing measures were carried through; it was by the aid of national men and conservatives of

all parties—of Whigs and Democrats—that the country was again restored to peace, and to them equally belonged the credit. He then fully hoped that peace would not be disturbed. But on his return to his country, he found it convulsed again, and threatened with the direst consequences, through the repeal of those measures, and the breaking down of a compromise that had cost so much labor and anxiety.

Mr. Fillmore said it had been truly remarked that while abroad, he had had the opportunity to compare other countries with his own; and he could say that nowhere did he find a country that could compare with Western New York, with your own Orleans County. Nowhere else is there so much intelligence, so much virtue, so much industry—so much solid prosperity as here. He had seen much of Italy, where a Priesthood denied the people Liberty and the Bible—where they were lowered and crushed beneath a despotism that was strongest where the people were least educated. Be thankful, therefore, my friends, said Mr. Fillmore, that you are permitted to live in this happy land; and be vigilant—ever watchful—that internal dissensions, or misgovernments, do not divide you into fragments and destroy your prosperity.

Again thanking his friends for the greeting, Mr. Fillmore withdrew amid great cheering. His remarks were repeatedly and warmly cheered. Quite a large company came on the cars from Lockport. They had a fine banner, on one side of which were the portraits of Fillmore and Donelson, and on the other, "Beware of Foreign Influence." The train left amid thunders of applause, and the booming of cannon.

MEDINA.

Mr. Fillmore was fast reaching his home. He had already reached the heart of the people that knew him best, and loved him most truly; consequently, it was not altogether strange that they should turn out *en masse* to greet him. Here a national salute was fired. Banners were displayed, and flags floated in the breeze, music sent forth inspiring strains, guns fired, and an expression of general joy attested the sentiments of the great concourse of people who had assembled. Mr. Fillmore was introduced by Mr. Win. Jackson, in some well chosen words, and he replied briefly in one of those neat speeches which he so well knows how to make. The air was rent with cheers, amid which the train moved off.

PROCEEDINGS AT LOCKPORT.

The citizens of Niagara county assembled in large numbers in Lockport at an early hour in the morning to welcome the Ex-President on his way home. An immense crowd was in attendance from an early hour.

When the procession reached the hotel, a line was formed by the military, and Mr. Fillmore passed into the hotel and soon appeared on the balcony, led forward by Gov. Hunt. Three loud cheers were immediately given for the Ex-President. As soon as quiet was restored, Gov.

Hunt welcomed Mr. Fillmore in the following speech:

ADDRESS OF GOV. HUNT.

Sir—I have been requested by a large and respectable portion of my fellow townsmen of various political sentiments, to express to you the sincere gratification it affords them to see you once more in their midst. They desire me to tender to you in their name a cordial welcome, and to congratulate you on your safe return to your native land. While they recognize in you an eminent citizen, who has attained the highest distinction by virtue of integrity, ability and honest zeal in the service of the country, they feel a just pride in those free institutions which develop manly energies, and constitute merit and patriotism the true passport to public honors. (Applause.) It has been your lot to bear a conspicuous part in our national history, and to act upon important measures which have excited deep interest, and produced grave effects of opinion. (Loud applause.) These differences ought not, and among liberal reflecting minds they surely will not, be permitted to weaken the sentiments of respect so justly due to your public character and private virtues. (Loud cheers.) If by some healing process the disturbing questions which have prevailed in the course of domestic strife, could be laid to rest, and by restoring the basis established during your administration of the government—all the evils engendered by the subsequent disfigurement from that policy could be excluded forever from our history, no one can doubt that a large majority of the American people of all parties, and in all sections of our country, would truly rejoice, and indulge brighter hopes for the permanence of our National Liberty, Union and Independence. (Enthusiastic applause.) It affords me pleasure to be the medium of conveying to you the friendly greetings of my neighbors who surround you, and to express to you my personal wishes for your future prosperity and happiness.

MR. FILLMORE'S REPLY.

He said that he received this tender of the congratulations of the citizens of Niagara County on his return to his native land through the distinguished citizen acting as the organ, with feelings of gratitude and pride. If any thing could add to the pleasure he experienced in traveling once again his native soil, it was the universal expression of friendship with which his countrymen had received him by the way to their midst. His chief source of gratification, however, lay in meeting those whose names he regarded as neighbors, as well as friends, with whom his life had been spent; who had known him from his boyhood, and had watched his career since his earliest days. (Cheers.) Their distinguished fellow citizen had been pleased to refer in flattering terms to certain acts of his administration, and he should therefore be excused for alluding to those acts himself. It had been his earnest hope, as it certainly was his expectation, that the measures which had been passed during his term of office with the design

of allaying the agitation then existing on the exciting subject of slavery, would have been received as a finality by all, and have proved effectual in the accomplishment of that object.— (Applause.) He regretted extremely that those who succeeded him in the administration had thought proper, by disturbing existing compromises, to re-open the wounds so recently healed, and again to shake the country from the centre to the circumference with the same deplorable agitation. (Loud applause.) The disturbance of a compromise that had existed for more than thirty years, he deeply deplored. (Continued applause.) The evils it had entailed upon the country were anew to all, and he could only hope that the authors of those evils had not foreseen the consequences of their policy. He deprecated any interference on the part of a State with the affairs of any other State or Territory. (Loud cheer.) He believed that the States and Territories of the Union, like the Union itself, require to foreign influence in their government from any source whatever. (Loud and long continued applause.) He looked upon the people of this Republic as being able to govern themselves, and there was sound sense in the saying that they were best governed when least governed. He deplored the sectional policy that had been adopted by important political parties at the present time, and could only place his trust in the sterling patriotism and sound sense of the people, to avert the calamities which sectional agitation must always entail upon a country. (Loud applause.) Every reasoning man must see that the success of parties now in their origin, is avowedly hostile to either section of the Union, and tend only to the destruction of those institutions, of which all are so proud, and of that Union so dear to every American heart. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Fillmore then alluded to the various countries he had visited during his recent journey, and drew a comparison between their institutions and our own—highly favorable to the latter. He alluded to the social wealth of England—the splendid gardens of Paris—the classic beauty of Italy—but not a ray, not a gleam of these could wound his heart, or trouble his spirit— from the institutions heaped upon us by Washington. He trod his native land once again with pride and with pleasure, and returned to his home without a new desire ever again to leave its shores. These remarks, called forth continued applause, and several other rounds of hearty cheers were given as Mr. Fillmore, and bowing to the crowd, he withdrew into the hotel.

LEAVING LOCKPORT.

Upon reaching the depot, the special train, consisting of the Pullman cars, drawn by the locomotive "Hercules," was standing awaiting the arrival of the company, and soon the eyes were in motion and a hearty party cheer from the good people of Lockport, which was responded to by those on board.

TONAWANDA.

As the train approached Tonawanda, the

booming of cannon was heard, and at the depot appeared a crowd of some four or five hundred persons, many of whom were females. The cars were stopped amidst the cheers of the people, and loud cries immediately arose for Mr. Fillmore. The Ex-President stepped out on to the platform, and was received with three hearty cheers; and when they had subsided, he spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very happy to see you. I am very happy to be received on my return from abroad, by such a kindly greeting on the part of the citizens of Tonawanda. I know not and care not what are your political sentiments; but one thing I do know—that you are all Americans, and that as such I may address you. (Cheers) I am confident that, living on the borders as you do here, you are all true and staunch friends of your country. I trust that no such calamity will befall us as a war with England; but if, in the course of events, we should be driven to hostility with the country of our neighbor, we shall, I know, always find the borderers ready to defend the territory and the honor of America. I did not expect this kind greeting from the citizens of Tonawanda, or I should probably have been prepared with some more fitting words of thanks. As it is, I can but assure you of gratitude for your kindness. If I can not call you all neighbors, we yet live so near to each other that I recognize among you faces that I have known for many years. I wish you all prosperity and happiness, and for the present I wish you, also, farewell.

With three hearty cheers from the crowd, and amidst the waving of handkerchiefs and hats, the cars moved on towards Buffalo.

THE ARRIVAL IN BUFFALO.

As the cars approached the city, the cannon roared forth its welcome, and immediately upon the first discharge, the bells of the city rang out a loud and merry peal. In and around the depot, along the banks of the canal, on the bridge, up Erie street, as far as the eye could reach, ran a continuous and closely packed line of people, swelling out at every open space into a dense crowd. Along the centre of the depot, extending to the carriages, ropes were drawn to keep off the vast multitude, and afford a clear transit to the passengers. The galleries and windows at the end of the depot were packed full of ladies, and the very roof was crowded with men and boys. As soon as the train stopped, the Syracuse Continentals formed into line, and then Mr. Fillmore stepped from the car on to the platform.

The first part of the procession was then formed at the depot, and commenced its progress, the entire body falling into line as the head passed the Terrace Square, and thence proceeded up Main street.

Our space does not permit us to give in detail the order of the march, the various bodies composing the procession, nor a description of the banners borne therein, or those which adorned the buildings on the streets through which it

passed. Main and other streets, through which the cortege was to pass, were, as far as the eye could see, a perfect galaxy of flags and banners bearing complimentary inscriptions. The windows were, without a single exception, crowded with gaily dressed ladies, who waved their handkerchiefs as the carriage of the Ex-President passed by, while the crowd below kept up round after round of cheers. The tops of the houses, too, bore their living loads, anxious to look down upon the procession as it passed by.

After the procession had arrived at the stand, and order restored, Mr. Rogers advanced, and as soon as the cheers which had greeted Mr. Fillmore's formal introduction had subsided, spoke as follows:

Mr. Fillmore—Your neighbors and friends, represented by a committee of citizens and of the Common Council of the city of Buffalo, have commissioned me to express to you on your return to the city of your residence, their friendly greetings.

This agreeable duty I gladly perform, and in their name and on their behalf, I do now extend to you a sincere and hearty welcome.

Your qualities as a neighbor and a citizen, not less than your distinguished public career, have elicited for you on this occasion a spontaneous expression of affection and regard; and it is cause for gratulation that this reception, without distinction of sect or party, is generously extended to a citizen sustaining, in some sense, partizan relations.

This, sir, happily illustrates the liberal feeling, good sense, and justice of men, whose education and habits grow out of and have their foundation in free and liberal institutions. Even our grateful little daughters, catching the impulse that moves the popular mind, hasten to do you homage.

Not many years since, you entered our city as you have to-day, amid the roar of artillery, the ringing of bells, and the joyous shouts of our citizens. You were then the incumbent of the highest office known to our constitution and government. You come now, clothed with no insignia of office, in the simple character of a private citizen; and it may well be to you a source of high gratification that the demonstrations of respect which greeted you then, are still more imposing now.

During your absence from the country, we have not been inattentive observers of the respect and consideration that have been paid you by your intelligent countrymen resident abroad, and by the distinguished persons connected with the several courts which it has been your privilege and pleasure to visit.

Your unostentatious movements have especially attracted our attention, and commanded our respect. Men of sense, in the old world as well as in the new, have fully appreciated the simplicity and dignity of your deportment; and we are proud to avow that your intercourse with the illustrious and enlightened men of Europe, thus characterized, has reflected honor and lustre upon our country and its institutions.

You have had an opportunity, and have not

failed to contrast and compare the governments of the old world with that of your own country; and we will not doubt that your confidence in the ultimate success of the great experiment of a government based upon the popular will, has been materially strengthened and confirmed.

Of your present relation to public and political affairs, I do not propose to speak. It is well understood, and no fastidious delicacy should attempt to conceal it, that in reference to certain important and vital questions now agitating the public mind, you and a large class of your fellow-citizens (myself included) entertain conflicting opinions. A discussion of these questions does not therefore pertain to this occasion. But your administration of the Federal Government belongs to the past, and its history is written. It is stamped with a conservative and national character that challenges the respect of all just and enlightened minds; and your countrymen will continue to recur to it with patriotic pride. You succeeded to the Presidential office, and entered upon the discharge of its duties, in troublesome times—**THE UNION WAS IN PERIL.** I should be false to myself, unjust to you, sir, and faithless to those whom I represent, when speaking of your administration, were I to pass unnoticed the important part you acted in bringing about the compromise measures of 1850. It is not to be forgotten that envy and malignity assailed your motives—that you were deserted by former political associates and friends, and that in the midst of a popular excitement and clamor that blanched the cheek of many a patriot, *you stood fearlessly and firmly by the Union.*

Justice to others, and among them the illustrious dead, requires me to add, that around that Union, side by side with you, stood Clay and Webster, and Dickinson and Cass, whose deeds like yours have become the common heritage of the Republic, and are indelibly written in its history.

All honor to you, sir, to them, and to other statesmen, who holding diverse political and party views, stood together in that struggle for the defence of the Constitution!

In your personal success and in your fortunate career as a public man, your fellow-citizens and former constituents, restricted by no party lines, feel a just and an honorable pride. Your progress has been marked by unusual industry and self-reliance, and affords a most useful lesson of encouragement, especially to the young. From humble birth, and small beginnings, you have filled the highest station upon earth.

The mothers of Erie county, and of the State, will hereafter point their sons to your example, as a triumphant illustration of what virtuous conduct and untiring effort may accomplish, in a government whose honors are within the reach of the rich and the poor alike, and whose favors and blessings, like the dews of heaven, fall equally upon all.

In conclusion, sir, I congratulate you on your safe return to your native land—and wishing you many years of health and happiness, I again greet you with a cordial **WELCOME HOME.**

This address was received with the most enthusiastic applause, and throughout its delivery the eloquent speaker was frequently interrupted by the cheers of the crowd. When the applause had subsided, Ex-President Fillmore made the following reply:

Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

I receive this eloquent congratulation upon my return, from your appointed organ, with no ordinary sentiment of gratitude, and I return you my heartfelt thanks for this beautiful and gratifying welcome to my home. No man, unless he has been separated from those he loves most dearly, and from a country that he values above price, can tell how sweet it is to revisit his home and his friends after a long absence in a strange land and among a strange people. (Applause.) While wandering, sir, over the various countries of Europe, looking at the fertile fields in some parts, and at those which are blighted and deserted in others; witnessing here, the pomp and splendor of the regal courts, and there the squalid poverty and the bitter sufferings of too many of the people, my mind has often turned with fond yearning to my home in Western New York, and I have longed for the opportunity of once more beholding this beautiful Queen City of the Empire State, and of breathing again the fresh and invigorating air that blows, from her Lake. (Tremendous applause.)

I receive your congratulations, my fellow citizens, as friends, and not as politicians. (Cheers.) I need not, however, disguise the fact, for it has not been disguised by my eloquent friend who has welcomed me, that it has been my fate to fill the highest office in the gift of this great republic, and I can not doubt that that fact had much to do in producing the vast congregation I now see before me, and in prompting this pleasing demonstration on my return among you. Indeed, I can account for it in no other way. It is true I did hope there were those who had an affectionate regard for me in the city of my residence; but could I ever conceive that I should be the recipient of such congratulations as these—that I should behold such a sight as this on my return? (Loud applause.) My friend who has so eloquently addressed me has made reference to my early history; I trust, therefore, that I may be pardoned for the apparent egotism of alluding myself to that subject. My career has been quite as miraculous and mysterious to myself as it can be to any other. I came to this city thirty-five years ago, a boy—a mere stripling—for the purpose of finishing my education, and fitting myself for the practice of the law. When I had received my diploma I had not the confidence to commence my career here. I saw men around me in the profession of marked ability and distinguished position; and I must confess that a want of confidence in myself deterred me from entering the professional arena with such competitors. I went, therefore, into a village to pursue my occupation of the law. I labored there as long as Jacob did for Rachael (laughter and applause), and then I ventured back to the

city. From that day to this my fortunes, my fellow-citizens, have been bound up in yours (applause), and if anything in my subsequent career has reflected honor upon myself, it has reflected the same honor upon you (loud applause). There is one recollection that above all others is prized by me. Although I have often been a party candidate for public office, and opposed, and very properly opposed, by those who held political opinions different to my own, it is due to them as well as to myself, to say that while I represented you all for eleven years in legislative bodies, no act that I ever did—no vote that I ever gave, received the censure of my political opponents, (enthusiastic applause). It is due to them to say that I feel gratitude to them in my heart; and that this consideration formed no little inducement to me to return to Buffalo, where I shall probably end my days. (Applause.)

Your eloquent chairman alluded to the fact that I have been traveling for some time in a foreign country. It has been my fortune, or misfortune while there, to see royalty on several occasions, when it has called forth such enthusiasm as it can command; but you must pardon me for saying that though I have heard the cheers given to order, and the music made to command, that mark such demonstrations there, I yet feel prouder at this spontaneous expression of a people with whom I have spent thirty years of my life, than I should to be received as Queen Victoria was received in Paris by the French nation. (Loud applause and long continued cheering.) I regard this, my friends, as the proudest day of my life. I feel, indeed, so overwhelmed by your kindness that I can scarcely give utterance to my feelings. Exhausted as I am by a week of continued excitement following close upon a fatiguing sea voyage, I can only say to you that you have my cordial, grateful thanks for the warm hearted reception you have given me; and next to my gratitude to that divine Providence which has guided me in my journey, and brought me safely to its end, is my gratitude to you, my fellow citizens, who have made my return to my home so doubly pleasant. (Loud applause.)

May heaven bless you all and reward you as you deserve, and may I be permitted to remain with you until I sleep here the sleep of death; for to you, and to you alone, my friends and fellow citizens, I trust my reputation and my happiness hereafter.

As Mr. Fillmore spoke, it was evident that his heart was touched by the kindness of his friends and neighbors, and his voice evinced how deep and earnest a feeling of gratitude and affection had been called forth by the flattering reception he had received from the city of his home. At the conclusion of his remarks, a loud voice called lustily for "three times three," and nine tremendous cheers were given in response.

MR. FILLMORE LEAVES THE STAND.

The ceremonies being now completed, Mr. Fillmore, bowing and waving his hand once

more to the vast multitude before him, left the stand, and proceeded through the file of the Continentals to his carriage. The military again formed into line, and the procession moved on towards the Ex-President's residence on Franklin street. A large concourse of people followed in the track, and a dense crowd had already gathered about the house, awaiting his arrival. As the carriage drew up they cheered vociferously, but Mr. Fillmore entered his house hastily, where he was met by the members of his family in a manner that plainly intimated that crowds and ceremonies were for a time at an end, and that he could once more enjoy the peace and happiness of his own quiet home.

FREMONT A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

We will give a few facts which fully sustain the assertion that Mr. Fremont is a Romanist. The following is from the *Washington Star*, of the 12th June:

"A SORT OF A CATHOLIC.—We take it for granted that among the informal pledges extracted by delegations in George Law's Convention, from Col. Fremont, there was not one against the Catholic Church; inasmuch as, up to the recent birth of his aspirations for the Presidency, he always passed in Washington for a good enough outside Roman Catholic; that being the Church in which he was reared. He was married in this city, it will be remembered, by Father Van Horseigh, a clergyman of his Church—not of that of his wife's family."

But this is not all the evidence. Mr. Fremont was educated in the Romish Faith, born of Catholic parents, and is a *Roman Catholic now*.

The *New York Day Book*, a Buchanan paper, says:

"Col. Fremont is not only a Roman Catholic, but he is a bigoted and proscriptive Roman Catholic. His prejudices against Protestants is stronger and he has carried it further than any other intelligent American we ever knew. It is but a few years ago (not more than 8 or 9), that he refused to accept as a gift from a friend, a Protestant book.

"Nor was this all; he was spending the day at this friend's house, and he refused to even read the book offered him, and gave, as a reason, that he was a Roman Catholic, and would not read a Protestant religious book."

"Some of Col. Fremont's friends may deny this, but he will hardly dare authorize any one to do so. If he does, we shall remind him of the time and place, and the friend that proffered him the book."

It is also said that Mr. Fremont, on his journey across the mountains, was in the habit of affixing the cross at prominent points, according to the invariable custom of his Church.

We have the proof in *Fremont's own words*. Let the reader turn to page 71 of Fremont's *Narrative of the Exploring Expedition to the*

Rocky Mountains in 1842," being Congressional Documents 166 of 1845, and he will find the following:—

August 23—Yesterday evening we reached our encampment at Rock Independence, where I took some astronomical observations. *Here, not unmindful of the custom of early travelers and explorers in our country, I engraved on this rock of the Far West a symbol of the Christian faith. Among the thickly inscribed names, I made on the hard granite the impression of A LARGE CROSS which I covered with a black preparation of India rubber, well calculated to resist the influence of wind and rain.*

The "early travelers and explorers of our country," were Spanish and French Catholics, or Jesuits, and it is to them Fremont refers. It was their "custom," as stated, to erect the Cross at prominent points, "as a symbol of the Christian faith," (and Catholics admit no other faith to be the "Christian" but the Romish) and to take possession of the country in the name of the Church and the Pope. All through the valley of the Mississippi, and especially on the routes of Hennepin and De Soto, these symbols of Romanism long remained, and perhaps in some instances may still remain. It is the "custom" of the Mother Church to instruct her missionaries or "explorers," to formally take possession of new countries and regions of countries, in her name and the name of the Pope by erecting the Cross. No fact is better established than this. Fremont, a true Catholic, faithfully obeyed this Romish custom, and we have the fact attested by his own hand.

But we ate not yet done with the proof. The *Washington Star*, a Buchanan paper, that bitterly opposes the American party, after stating that Fremont's father was a teacher of dancing and led a migratory life, proceeds to remark,

"The *New York Tribune* slings any quantity of slush at us because we attributed to Col. Fremont sympathy for the church of his ancestry, before he began to bill and coo at the Know Nothings, and insists that he was baptized by an Episcopal clergyman, and has adhered to that faith. We know not who baptized him; but we do know that our Catholic fellow citizens have, until recently, looked on him as one of their own outside ones. This opinion has not rested alone on the fact that he went to a Roman Catholic priest—the so generally beloved Father Van Horseigh, now no more—to unite him in wedlock to the daughter of Col. Benton; which was more than Father V. H. would have dared to do under the discipline of the church, unless either groom or bride solemnly pledged him or herself to be of the Roman Catholic faith, and as solemnly promised to bring up the children to be born unto them, in the Roman Catholic church. But they did not rest their opinion on the premises on that high alone, which, to our mind, knowing Father Van Horseigh's inflexibility as a Catholic disciplinarian, as we do, would have been sufficient to make us consider any one a Catholic in faith and affections, who had been united to a Protestant lady under his ministry.

"They had, or thought they had, strong proofs of the Colonel's Roman Catholicism, in the received account of the history of his adolescence, wherein he was represented as having been the recipient of the angelic charity of an association of pious Roman Catholic ladies of Charlestown, S. C., to whom he is said to have been indebted for his education under careful Roman Catholic Priests, in a Roman Catholic institution in or near Baltimore, Md.; and wherein it would probably be as rare to see a charity scholar who was not of the religious faith of the institution and those to whose piety he might be indebted for his education, as in a Protestant institution, wherein, as in all colleges conducted by Roman Catholic Priests, religious (sectarian) instruction is regarded as a point of importance in the training of youth. Not a few of our Roman Catholic fellow citizens have been giving Col. Fremont credit until lately, for Catholic earnestness of soul, in return for all they believe him to have received from Roman Catholic piety and zeal in good works, to the extent of having had a room fitted up in his residence here, AS A ROMAN CATHOLIC FAMILY CHAPEL.

"We know further, that considering his success in life as being mainly the result of the discipline and excellent and solicitous training of a Roman Catholic institution, they have been very proud indeed of his career; and that his recent seeming proclivity for Beecherism and his sudden evident desire to indoctrinate George Law's Know Nothing Convention, with the idea that they can rely on him to go the whole Know Nothing hog if North Americanism will support him for the Presidency, has made scores of them sick at the stomach."

The *Troy Whig* of the 16th inst., has an article on Fremont's Romanism, which concludes with the following statements:

"We desire that the public should be informed on this important question, and as there are one or two facts within our knowledge which have not yet undergone public inspection, we will here give them and add to the already formidable testimony against him.

"Edward Beale, of Washington, late Superintendent of the Indian affairs in California, was persecuted by Col. Fremont's own Roman Catholicism, much to the regret of Mr. Beale's own relatives." Beale was formerly a lieutenant in the Navy, and was well known throughout the country.

"Again, Col. R.—, of Mo., late Collector of Monterey, a gentleman of the highest character, and an intimate friend of Henry Clay, slept for eight months under the same blanket with Col. Fremont in California, and on being asked whether he was a Roman Catholic, replied, 'does any one doubt it? if they do I am ready to prove it.' I did not suppose there was any doubt on the subject. Fremont is not only a Roman Catholic, but a most bigoted one." If this statement or the other should be denied, we are ready to substantiate them with affidavits from the parties themselves. If Protestants persist in casting their suffrages for a Roman Catholic President, we are determined they shall do it *with their eyes open!*"

We will only add the following testimony of Alderman Fulmer, of the 16th Ward of New York city, at a meeting at Continental Hall, on Monday evening of last week:

"After referring briefly to the other candidates, Ald. Fulmer spoke of Col. Fremont whom he had seen and known. As for his being a Roman Catholic, there was no doubt of it. He (Ald. Fulmer) was in Washington in 1852, and thought quite a good deal of Mr. Fremont.

"But some one told him that Fremont was a Catholic. He couldn't believe it. But his informant told him that if he would accompany him to the Catholic Church on the following Sabbath, he could see for himself. He went, and there was Mr. Fremont going through all the crosses and pyramids, eating wafers, and so on. After church he returned to his hotel. At dinner Mr. Fremont and others were conversing about the solemnities of the service that morning, and, as he heard them all agree on that and other points, he couldn't stand it any longer. He then asked Mr. Fremont if he truly believed that the wafer was at a church that morning, was the real body of Christ. 'Most assuredly I do,' replied Mr. F. He asked Mr. F. if he thought Christ had but one body. Mr. F. replied no. Well, didn't that body ascend into heaven? Certainly, said Mr. F. Well now, Mr. F., will you be so kind as to tell me by what kind of machinery the priest contrived to obtain Christ's body after it had ascended to heaven? He said Mr. Fremont turned away

quickly, asking what he meant by asking such silly questions."

FREMONT A ROMAN CATHOLIC AND SLAVEHOLDER.

The Fact fully Established.

Letter from a Gentleman in St. Louis.

Every day adds to the testimony going to establish Fremont's Romanism, and the fact that he is a slaveholder and supporter of the peculiar institution. We only ask that intelligent men read, and then act according to the dictates of their judgment and consciences. The facts set forth below, should arrest the serious attention of every honest man, for they not only establish fully Fremont's Romanism, but that he is now, and for a long time has been a slaveholder. The following appears in the *Penn Yan Democrat*, a Buchanan paper, of last week, which paper states that "the reader is assured it is written by an individual of undoubted veracity, who is well and favorably known to many of our citizens, but has for many years resided in St. Louis, Missouri. The letter is addressed to a gentleman of this place; it is no Rooback, but a genuine extract, and we have no doubt of its authenticity, and the correctness of the statements made."

"In answer to the second branch of your letter, I must be pardoned for saying that your Eastern people, in their political action are an enigma that is insoluble to me. How is it possible, claiming as you do all the refinement, the intelligence, and, as I have heard it insisted, all the piety of this hemisphere, that you are so easily humbugged and led on from one extreme of infatuation and fanaticism to another, or that you are so easily and so willingly made the dupes and cats paw of cunning and designing men.

"The newspaper article to which you called my attention, I have seen before, and was not a little surprised to find such assertions made with such boldness, even by so emaciated a journal as the *New York Tribune*, and yet at such variance with candor and plain truth.

"You say you desire the real facts from one who is acquainted with Col. Fremont, and can speak from actual knowledge. THAT COL. FREMONT IS A CATHOLIC, NO ONE WHO KNOWS HIM WILL DENY. WHENEVER HE IS IN THIS CITY HE WITHOUT ANY CONCEALMENT WHEREVER, ATTENDS THE CATHOLIC CHURCH; HE WAS BAPTIZED AND CHRISTENED IN THE FAITH; he was married by a Catholic clergyman, and the Bishop, (the Right Rev. Dr. Kendrick), *by my certain knowledge, is his spiritual adviser and daily visitor whenever he has been sick or confined to his bed at the house of Col. Brant*, where he is in the habit of making it his home when in the city. Col. Brant is a particular friend of mine. I visit his house frequently. He is a man of great wealth, and married, as you know, a sister of Col. T. H. Benton, who also makes it his home there since Mrs. Benton's decease. Col. Fremont's sister, who is the wife of an officer in the army, is also a Catholic: *was educated at a Catholic convent, and so far as my knowledge extends all his family and kinsmen are Catholics.*

"Within the past year I have had occasion to transact business with, and frequently been at the house of Col. Brant, and several of the domestics have been from time to time pointed out to me as the Slaves of Col. Fremont, and these are not all either, as he owns many others, male and female, hired out in various parts of the city.

"These are facts and no secrets here, and if your very conscientious and strictly pious truth-seeking Christians are anxious to know all about the matter, why don't they get some of their own partizans (one in whom they can put confidence and whose statements would be credited by the public) and make the inquiry in a proper manner in the proper direction.

"It is an easy matter to get well informed on this subject when the inquirer after truth is honestly in pursuit of it. But I imagine that it is the truth that cuts, and it is that which they fear. They are more anxious to conceal the real truth, than to have it placed asked before the people just about these days."

HE MUST HAVE BEEN A CATHOLIC!

There is a point now made one of great importance in the Presidential Election,—by the denial on the part of Col. Fremont's friends,—and by authority, as we under-

stand it, from him,—that he is, or ever has been, a Roman Catholic. The point is one of this importance, in a political view, first, because many Americans who support him in New England, especially support him upon the ground that he is anti-Roman Catholic,—and second, because if he ever has been a Roman Catholic, he now denies the fact, and has ostensibly changed his religion. The Rev. Mr. Beecher says in his Independent, apparently by authority:

"Until he was 44, Col. Fremont was educated in the hope and expectation that he would become an Episcopal minister. At 16, he was confirmed in the Episcopal Church, and has, ever since, when within reach of the church, been an attendant and communicant. And since his temporary sojourn in New York, he has been an attendant at Dr. Anthon's Church, until recently; and now he worships at Grace Church. Mrs. Fremont was reared strictly in the Presbyterian Church, and united with the Episcopal Church upon her marriage with Col. Fremont. Their children have been baptized in the Episcopal Church, &c., &c."

These are strong statements;—there is prodigious wrong somewhere, and we propose to try to find out where.

There are two periods in a man's life—when his religion, or the feeling for the religion he was educated in, first discloses itself,—the first, when he marries for life, the second, when on his death bed. It is admitted,—and nowhere denied,—that when Lieut. Fremont married Miss Benton, Father Van Horseigh, of Washington, a Roman Catholic Priest, of character and high standing in his church there, married them. Nobody compelled Mr. Fremont thus to go to a Roman Catholic Priest. He went there of his own free will and choice. True, it is said that in consequence of the social influence of Senator Benton, in Washington, no other than a Roman Catholic Priest would marry the runaway pair.—but it is not proven, and it is not true, or if true, it does not vitiate the fact that a Roman Catholic Priest, can not under the ordinances and councils of his church unite parties in the "Holy Sacrament of Matrimony," unless one of them, at least, professes to be of that church.

To understand the laws and the councils, and the censures of the Romish Church, we must take our readers a little ways into the theology of that church.

Marriage is with the Roman Catholics a *Sacrament*. The Protestants have but two Sacraments; the Roman Catholics have seven and among them is MATRIMONY. Hence a Roman Catholic Priest would no more administer the sacrament of MATRIMONY to a party not of his church, than he would the Lord's supper, or confirmation, or baptism,—for Matrimony is in the Romish Church just as much a sacrament as the Lord's supper. The highest written authority of the Romish Church is the famous COUNCIL OF TRENT, and there it is decreed:—

DECREE.

33. "Whosoever shall say, that Sacraments of the new Law were not all instituted by *Jesus Christ our Lord*, or that they are *more or less* in number than seven; that is to say, baptism, confirmation, the Lord's Supper, penance, extreme unction, orders, and MATRIMONY, or that any one of the seven is not truly and properly a SACRAMENT let him be accursed.

Marriage among most Protestants—not all, however,—is but a civil contract,—but in the Romish Church it is an obligation, to be taken only before Priests,—it is a Sacrament. The Romish Church is rigid, and stricter in its rule of marriage than any other religious denomination. Marriage in that Church is an indissoluble tie, and never to be loosed, even by the civil law of divorce. The marriage of heretics by a Priest is a crime, except under some special Papal dispensation,—just as much of a crime as it would be to administer the Lord's Supper to heretics. When Col. Fremont, therefore, voluntarily went before Father Van Horseigh, and asked him, as a Priest of Rome, —to marry him to a Protestant woman,—he must have been, or pretended to be, a Roman Catholic,—and he must have promised to bring up the offspring, if any, in the Romish Church. That promise Col. Fremont fulfilled in an adopted daughter, now a grown woman,—for he educated her in the convent on the Heights of Georgetown, D. C.—and he can not deny or authorize any one to deny the fact. The sacramental obligations of the marriage have been fulfilled till a late period,—and if they are not fulfilled now, it is because of late a change has taken place in Col. Fremont's profession of religion,—it may be

for the purpose of obtaining the Protestant vote for President.

The Roman Catholic celebration of the Matrimony Sacrament (*Ritus celebrandi Matrimonii Sacramentum*.) is one of the august ceremonies of that church. The Priest puts on his cassock and white stole, and he brings out his missal, and holy water to sprinkle the marrying parties, and he then unites the parties according to the *rite of the Holy Mother Church*, and the Priest sprinkles the marriage ring with holy water, in the sign of the cross.

THE PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE.

From the R. C. Catechism of the Christian Religion chap. 9, sec. 3, page 377, Donato's Edition:

Question. How should we prepare ourselves for marriage?

Answer. By prayer, good works, and the reception of the Sacrament.

Other authorities say by "Confession" and through the Confessional.

WHO CAN TAKE THE SACRAMENT?

From the Catechism of the Christian Religion. Patrick Donalo. Boston Edition 1852. Page 376.

Question. Who are the persons with whom the Church forbids us to contract marriages?

Answer. Besides unbaptized infidels, whose marriage with Catholics is null, the Church forbids marriage with heretics and excommunicated persons, so long as the excommunication is in force. THE CHURCH GIVES HER SACRAMENTS ONLY TO THOSE WITHIN HER BOSOM.

CHILDREN MUST BE PLEDGED TO ROMANISM.

From the Golden Manual.—being a guide to Catholic Devotion. D. & J. Sadler, N. Y.—with the approbation of the R. Rev. Archbishop Hughes. Page 5-2.

A Catholic on marrying a person of another religion, can not be allowed to enter into any agreement,—that any of the children shall be brought up to any but the Catholic faith.

THE RITUAL FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE SACRAMENT OF MATRIMONY.

From the Golden Manual, published in London with the approval of "† Nicholes, Archbishop of Westminster;" and in New York (Sadler & Co.) with the approbation of the Most Rev. John Hughes, Archbishop, N. Y.

The Priest, vested in a surplice, and white stole, accompanied by at least one clerk, to carry the book and a vessel of holy water, and by two or three witnesses, asks the man and the woman, separately as follows, in the vulgar tongue, concerning their consent.

And first he asks the bridegroom, who must stand at the right hand of the woman:

N wilt thou take N here present, for thy lawful wife, ACCORDING TO THE RITE OF OUR HOLY MOTHER CHURCH?

Response. I will.

Then the Priest asks the bride.

N wilt thou take N here present, for thy lawful husband, according to the *rite of our Holy Mother the Church?*

Response. I will.

Then the woman is given away by her father or friend; and if she has never been married before, she has her hand uncovered, but if she is a widow, she has it covered. The man receives her to keep in God's faith and his own; and holding her by the right hand in his own right hand, plight's her his troth, saying after the Priest as follows:

I, N take thee N, to be my wedded wife, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, till death do us part, *if Holy Church will it permit*, and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Then they loose their hands, and, joining them again, the woman says, after the Priest:

I, N take thee N, to my wedded husband, to have and to hold, from this day forward, for better, for worse, &c., *if Holy Church will it permit*, and thereto I plight thee my troth.

Their troth being thus pledged to each other on both sides, and their right hands joined, the Priest says:

Ego coniungo vos in matrim. I join you together in matrimony, in nomine Patris (marriage in the name of the Father, et Spiritus Sancti, the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen Amen Amen)

Then he sprinkles them with holy water.

This done, the bridegroom places upon the book gold and silver (which are presently to be delivered into the hands of the order) and also a ring when the Priest blesses.

The nuptial benediction, which here follows, is omitted in mixed marriages. (*Vide Rituales Romani*.)

Then the Priest sprinkles the ring with holy water, in the form of a cross; and the bridegroom, having received the ring from the hand of the Priest, gives gold and silver to the bride and says:

With this ring I thee wed; &c.

Then the bridegroom places the ring on the thumb of the left hand of the bride, saying: In the name of the Father; then on the second finger, saying: and of the Son; then on the third finger, saying: and of the Holy Ghost; lastly on the fourth finger, saying: Amen; and there he leaves the ring.

The service is continued in regular marriages with benediction, prayers, and sometimes the singing of mass.]

From these dogmatical and facts, thus authenticated,—the following conclusions follow.

1st. That the Church of Trent makes MATRIMONY a SACRAMENT IN THE ROMAN CHURCH.

2d. That a Roman Priest can not administer a sacrament but to a Roman Catholic.

3d. That Col. Fremont, therefore, at the time of his marriage, must at least have professed to be a Roman Catholic, and was, therefore, sprinkled with holy water, and accepted other forms and rites of the Roman Catholic Church, as such a Catholic.

4th. That then he must have taken all the obligations of that sacrament, with the pledge to educate his offspring in Romanism.

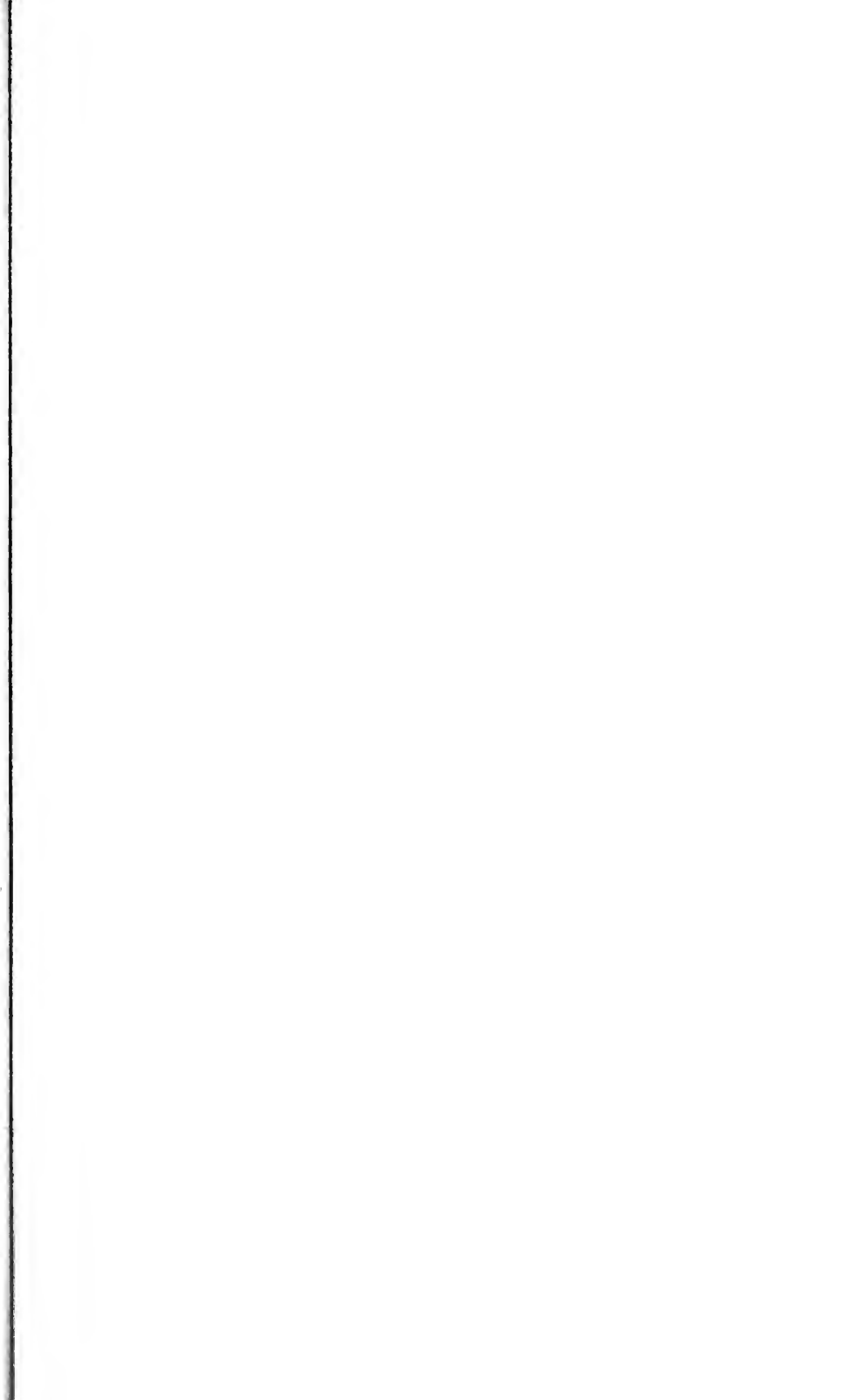
5th. That in educating an adopted daughter in the convent at Orange, she carried out one of the obligations of the sacrament.

But says the *Independent*

"It is said that a daughter has been sent to a Catholic institution for education. So far from it, she has never been sent away from home at all, but has been educated by her own mother."

This is a quibble. The statement was that his adopted daughter was educated in the convent on the heights of Georgetown, and we are a denial from Col. Fremont.

If Col. Fremont, in view of the Presidency, has recently changed his religion, and only with a view to that office, so much the worse; but the fact is untenable, overwhelming and crushing, that to be married by a Roman Priest, Father Van Housegh, Mr. Fremont must have professed the Roman Catholic Religion, and hence, accepted all the rules and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church! He may have broken the sacrament of his marriage within a few weeks past; and he may have become a convert to Protestantism in good faith, in order to win the American vote; but there is his record of ROMANISM, in the most solemn act of his life; and it can not be got over or got under, it can not be tied down or covered up, and we as Journalists but do our duty in publishing that is, no matter how much abuse may follow.





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