The Sunbury American.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY BY H. B. MASSER, Market Square, Sunbury, Penna. TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION. TWO BOLLARS per annum to be paid half year-y in advance. No parent discontinued until all arrearages are paid,

TO CLUBS: Three Copies to one address .

Seven do. do. .

Fifteen do. do. Beven Fifteen Five dollars in advance will pay for three year's sub-scription to the American.

**costmasters will please act as our Agents, and frank-letters containing subscription money. They are permit ted to do this under the Post Office Law.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING. One Square of 12 lines 3 times, Every subsequent insertion, One Square, 3 months, Six months, One year, Hasiness Cards or Five lines, per annum, Hasiness Cards or Five lines, per annum, Merchants and others, advertising by the year, with the privilege of inserting different adver-

tisements weekly. JOB PRINTING. We have connected with our establishment a well see leated JOB OFFICE, which will enable us to execute in the neatest style, every variety of printing.

H. B. MASSER. ATTORNEY AT LAW. SUMBURY, PA.

Business attended to in the Counties of Norsumberland, Union, Lycoming Montour and Columbia References in Philadelphia: Hon. Job R. Tyson, Chus. Gibbons, Esq... Somers & Snodgrass, Linn Smith & Co

CHARLES MATTHEWS Attornen at Law. No. 128 Broadway, New York. Will excefully attend to Collections and all othe autrosted to his care. May 21, 1858.

FRANKLIN HOUSE, REBUILT AND REFURNISHED, Cor. of Howard and Franklin Streets, a few Squares West of the N. C. R. R. Depot,

BALTIMORE. TERMS, \$1 PER DAY G. LEISENRING, Proprietor, From Selms Grove, Pa. July 16, 1859,-tf

WILLIAM E. SUMERS G. SOMERS & SON, Importers and Dealers in Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, Taylors Trimmings, &c.,

CHALKLEY SOMERS.

No 32 South Fourth Street, between Market and Chesnut Streets, Philadelphia. Merchants others visiting the city would find it to their advantage to give them a call and exsmine their stock. March 10, 1860-

J. P. SHINDEL GOBIN, Attorney & Counsellor at Law SUNBURY, PA

WILL attend faithfully to the collection of claims and all professional business in the counties of Northumberland, Montour, Union and Snyder. ounsel given in the German language. Office one door east of the

Sunbury, May 26, 1860,-1y

THE INTERNATIONAL HOTEL, PROADWAY, CORNER OF FRANKLIN STREET

NEW YORK CITY, first inducements to Merchants and Tourists visiting ew York, unsurpassed by any Hotel in the Metropolis. Our following are smong the advantages which it possesses, and which will be appreciated by all travelers. Int. A central location, convenient to places of business, is well as places of anuscement.

2d. Scrapalously elessa, well furnished atting rooms, with a magnificent Lodge Parior, commanding an exten-

with a magnificent Principle of the community of the comm frondway.

4th Being conducted on the Furepean plan, visitors and live in the best style, with the greatest economy.

5th. It is connected with

Taylor's Celebrated Saloons. where visitors can have their meals, or, if they desire they will be forushed in their own rooms.

6th. The fair served in the Salcons and Hotel is acknowledged by epicares, to be vastly superior to that of any other Hotel in the city.

With all these advantages, the cost of living in the International, is much below that of any other first class Hotel.

August 4, 1840.—19

August 4, 1860.—1v SPALDING'S Prepared Glue, and Shelleys Mucilage Price per bottle and brush 25 cents Cordini Elixir of Calinaya Bark & Benzine, for removing grease. FOR SALE AT THIS OFFICE.
Sunbary, March 17 1860.

A NEW LCT OF HARDWARE & SAD. DLERY. Also, the best assortment of Iror Nails and Steel to be found in the county, at the Mammoth store of PRILING & GRANT. Sunbary, June 2, 1860.

CONFECTIONARIES, TOYS &c.

necessary machinery &c., he is manufacturing all kinds of Toys, and keeps up his stock, so that purchasers will not be at a loss for a supply of almost any article they may desire.

APPLES! APPLES!! APPLES!!! Just received, a large lot of apples, which he is selling at wholesale and retail, at low prices

Give us a call. M. C. GEARHART Sunbury, March 5, 1861 .- if

SKELETON SKIRTS-AT the Mammoth Store will be found a very large assortment of Skeleton Skirts from seven hoops up to thirty. Oct. 6, 1860. FRILING & GRANT.

Kerosene Lamps. A VERY LARGE and cheap assortment will be found at the Mammoth Store of Dec. 15, 1860. FRILING & GRANT.

IIO! YE LOVERS OF SOUP! A fresh supply of Macaroni and Confectionery at FRILING & GRANT'S. Sunbury, June 2, 1860.

T is important to the t-ADIES to know that Friling & Grant, have the best and largest assortment of Dress Goods in the county. Sunbury, June 2, 1860.

FRESH SUPPLY OF DRUGS at the Mammoth Store. Also, a new lot of per-fumery, Soaps and Fancy Article. Very cheap. FRILING & GRANT. Sunbury, May 26, 1860.

PATENT BRITTANIA STOPPERS fo bar bottles for sale by H. B MASSER.

BAR Iron, Steel, Nails, Picks, Grub-Hoes and Mason Hammers, at low prices. BRIGHT & SON. Sunbury, June , 1860.

Mi scellaneous.

Waterloo the day after the Battle.

On a sorface of two square miles it was ascertained that fifty thousand men and horses were lying! The luxurious crop of ripe grain which had covered the field of battle, was reduced to a litter, and beaten into the earth; and the surface trodden down by the cavairy, and furrowed deeply by the caunon wheels, strewed by many a relic of the fight Helmets and cuirasses, shattered firearms and broken swords; all the variety of military ornaments, lancer caps and Highland bon nets; uniforms of every color, plume and pennon; musical instruments, the apparatus of artillery, drams, bugles, but good God! why dwell on the harrowing picture of a forgotten field?-each and every roinous display bore mute testimony to the misery of

such a battle. * * Could the melancholy appearance of this scene of death be heightened, it would be by witnessing the researches of the living, amid its desolation, for the objects of their Mothers, and wives, and children, were occu-pied in that mournful duty; and the confasion of the corpses-friend and foe intermingled, as they were-often rendered the attempt at recognizing individuals difficult, and in some cases impossible.

In many places the dead lay four deep upon each other, marking the spot some British square had occupied, exposed for hours to the murderous fire of a French battery .-Outside, lancer and cuirassier were scattered thickly on the earth. Madly attempting to force the seried bayonets of the British, they had fallen in the bootless essay by the musketry of the inner files. Further on, you trace where the cavalry of France and England had encountered, chassear and hasseur were intermingled, and the beavy Norman horses of the Imperial Guard were interspersed with the gray chargers which had carried Albyn's chivalry. Here the Highlander and traileur lay, side by side, together and the beavy dragoon, with green Erin's badge upon his belmet, was grappling in

death with the Polish lancer. * *
On the summit of the ridge, where the ground was cumbered with dead, and trodden fetlock deep in mud and gore by the frequent rush of rival cavalry, the thick strewn corpses of the Imperial Guard pointed out the spot where Napoleon had been defeated. Here, in column that favored corps, on whom his last chances rested, had been annihilated; and the advance and repulse of the Guard was traceable by a mass of fallen Frenchmen. In the hollow below, the last struggle of France had been vainly made; for there the Old Guard attempted to meet the British, and afford time for their disorganized companions to rally.

Mrs. Partington's Visit to the Tented Field.

We take the following from the Boston "Did the guard present arms to you, Mrs.

Partington?" asked the commissary of her as she entered the marques. "You mean the century," she said, smiling. "I have heard so much about the tainted field officer. You asked me if the guard presented arms. He didn't, but a sweet little man with an epilepsy on his shoulder and a smile on his face did, and asked me if I wouldn't go into a tent and smile. I told him that we could both smile outside, when he politely touched his chateau and left me." The commissary presented a hard wooden stool upon which she reposed herself. "This is one of the seats of war, I suppose?" said she. "Oh, what a hard lot a soldier is objected to. I don't wonder a mite at the bardened influence of a soldier's life. What is that for ?" said she, as the noise of the cannon saluted her ear. hope they hain't firing on my account."-There was a solicitude in her tones as she spoke, and she was informed it was only the Governor, who had just arrived upon the field. "Dear me," said she, "how cruel it must be to make the old gentlemen come way down here, when he is so feeble that he has to take his staff with him wherever he goes." She was so affected at the idea that she had to take a few drops of white wine to restore her equilibrium, and to counteract the dust

from the "tainted field." PASSAGE OF TROOPS THEOREM BALTIMORE -Since the first of June the following regiments of United States troops have passed through Baltimore to Washington : Number of Men -let Maine, 830 ; 2nd do

840; 3d do 1066; 4th do 1056; 5th do 1000. 2d Michigan 900; 3d do 1034. Ist Minne the meantime they keep a considerable force sota 1046. Ist Massachusetts 1050. Ist on the Virginia side of the Potomac to 2d Michigan 900; 3d do 1034. Ist Minne New Jersey 1010; 2d do 1044; 3d do 996. 2d New Hampshire 1000. 14th New York 780; 15th do 770; 16th do 800; 18th do Gap. In this I think they will be mistaken, 810; 19th do 810; 21st do 1000; 22d do for Gen. Patterson, under the direction of 770; 27th do 850; 28th do 840; 29th do the brave old Scorr, will push his men M. C. GEARHAT,

ONSTANTLY keeps on hand all kinds of Confectionaries, Fruit and Toys, which he is selling at wholesale and retail. Having the 1000. United States Infantry 1400. Respectively. cruits (various bodies.) 1300. Total, 31,902. In addition to this total of thirty-one thousand nine bundred and two men going to Washington, the First Rhode Island regiment passed through to Chambersburg, and returned to Washington, and the Thirteenth a bragadocio, but in truth, for I have known necessity. An order was at once directed to and Twentieth New York regiments have them twice to be ordered to march, when be sent for the landing of the troops from the arrived and are still stationed there.

THE HUNDRED DOLLAR BOUNTY .- It may not be generally known that those of our volunteers who enter the service for three years. will be entitled, at the termination of their Regiment, on the side of the road, who had Sumpter. The news itself was that the term of culistment, to a bounty of one han in his possession a military cap with the letdred dollars. In general order number fif-teen, issued by the War department May 4th of it. A part of their Regiment, the day the fact is distinctly set forth. The order provides that "every volunteer non commis- met some rebels, had a brush with them. sioned officer, private, musician and artificer, who enters the service of the United States under this plan, shall be paid at the rate of fifty cents; and if a cavalry volunteer, twenty-five cents additional in lieu of forage, for every twenty miles travel from his home to the place of muster-the distance to be measured by the shortest usually traveled route—and when honorably discharged, an allowance, at the same rate from the place of discharge to his home, and, in addition thereto, the sum of one hundred dollars. Any volunteer who my be received into the service of the United States under this plan, and who may be wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, shall be entitled to the benefits which have been or may be conferred on persons disabled in the service, and the legal heirs of such as die or may be killed in the service, in addition to all arrears of pay and allowances, shall receive the sum of one

A Wir once asked a peasant what part he performed in the great drama of life. "I mind my own business," was the reply.

A Model Biography. Perhaps the briefest personal memoirs ever written were those of Count Roptopehin, written in ten minutes. We subjoin a few paragraphs, each of which constitute a "chap-

My Birtu.-On the 12th day of March, 1765, I merged from darkness into light of day. I was measured, I was weighed, I was baptized. I was born without knowing wherefore, and my parents thanked Heaven without knowing for what.

My Education.—I was taught all sorts of

things, and learned all sorts of languages. By dint of imputence and quackery, I some-times passed for a savant. My bead has be-come a library of odd volumes, of which I

My Surrenings .- I was tormented by masters; by tailors, who made tight dresses for ton harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus me; by women; by ambition; by self-love; by useless regrets, and by remembrances. MEMORABLE EPOCHS .- At the age of thirty,

I gave up dancing; at forty my endeavors to please the fair sex: at fifty, my regard of thinking; and I have now become a true sage, or egotist, which is the same thing. RESPECTABLE PRINCIPLES .- I have never neddled in any marriages or scandal. 1 have never recommended a cook or physician and consequetly have never attempted the life of any one.

My Distance.- I have a dislike to sots and fops, and to sutriguing women who make a game of virtue; a disgust of affectation; a into these States, and had been seized to be pity for made-up men and painted women; used against the Government. Accumula-an aversion to rate, liquors, metaphysics, tions of the public revenue, lying within and rhuberbs; a terror of justice and wild

ANALYSIS OF MY LIFE.- I await death without fear and without impatience. My life has been a bad melodrama on a ground stage, where I have played the hero, the tyrant, the lover, the nobleman but never the My EPITAPH.-Here lies, in hope of re-

sponse, an old deceased man, with a worn out to sever the Federal Union was openly spirit, an exhausted heart, and a used-up avowed. In accordance with this purpose body. Ladies and gentlemen, pass on.

RATHER SHORT .- The Boston Traveler states that most of the shirts made by the ladies of Boston for the volunteers, are from four to six inches TOP SHORT : Like a man without a wife,

> Like a ship without a sail, The most useless thing in life Is a shirt without a-proper length.

Says the Boston Saturday Evening Gazette : A man in Berks co., Pennsylvania has a rose bush in his garden which blossoms with red, white and blue roses. So says a reliable exchange. We can better this, for Mr. Jones, of Cambridge assures us that he has got a lilach bush that is budded with ministure American flags and patriotic breastpins, and that a robin comes there every morning and whistles "Yankee Doodle" on

A New Arm.—A new arm is now being exhibited in New York. The article is a grenade, and is thrown by hand in such a manner as to invariably strike on its point, which causes instant explosion and consequent destruction of the object that it comes in contact with. It is of an oval form, and that I believe I could deplore an attachment | may be any size, from one pound up to eight. | case everything was forborne, without which into line myself, and secure them as well as an Instead of the charge being ignited by a fuse, as is usual, it is done by an ordinary percus. ment on foot. The nipple on which the cap i placed is hidden from view, and everything is so arranged that it is perfectly barmless, upless when intended to be thrown. As it is necessary that the grenade should always strike on its point, a vane is affixed at one end, which properly directs its course.

> THE MONITOR CAPSIZED .- "I my time. miss," said a stern aunt, "the men looked at the women's faces instead of their nokles!" "Ah! my dear aunt." retorted the young lady, "you see the world has improved, and is more civilized than it used to be. It looks more to the understanding."

Correspondence.

(For the Sunbury American.) CAMP, NEAR DOWNSVILLE, MD.,)

Sunday, June 30, 1861. Dear Wilvert :- We are again ordered to march. Of our destination we are perfectly ignorant, but it is supposed we will go into Virginia, below Martinsburg, when the spunk of the Eleventh Regiment will be tried. It seems there is to be a battle at Manageas then proceed against Washington city; in impede the progress of General Patterson's Division, to make a more sure victory at the of a fight makes them quite hilarious, and I have no doubt if they meet the enemy you will hear such an account of them that their friends at home will not be ashamed to listen to. I don't say this for them in the style of there was every appearance of a fight, when not a cheek blanched, and every man seemed

eager for the fray.
On our march from Hagerstown, yesterday, made them retreat, and brought the cap to their regiment as a trophy. The officer, who beld the cap so that we could all see it as we passed, seemed very proud of having it in rather hold something of more importance for our inspection, for instance, the head of Jeff Davis. JOE SHITH (Bachman's jour) is now the proudest man in our company. Yesterday, when ordered to march, Joe was detailed as

piece of work, and on coming into this camp Joe was the only driver left, the rest of them gave out, and he had driven the cattle about one third of the way by himself. Jos takes his honors quite easy, and says "I don't care, dey had to knock under."
You must excuse the shortness of this letter, as I am ordered to play the fattoo, and get ready for our march to-night at 12

cattle guard or driver. It is rather a tedious

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :- Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation. At the beginning of the Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi,

Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi,
Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those
of the Post Office Department. Within
these States all the forts, arsenals, dockyards, custom houses and the like, had been
seized and were held in open hostility to this
Government, excepting only forts Pickens,
Taylor, and Jefferson, on and near the
Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor. South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition. New ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose .-The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumpter, which was nearly surrounned by well-projected hostile batteries with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal mus-kets and rifles had somehow found their way them, had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and pavy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined Government of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization in the character of Confederate States was already invoking, recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the Inaugural Address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property no already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at the Government's expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturban-ces to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a it was believed possible to keep the Govern-

On the 5th of March, the present incum-bent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumpter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was, by that Department, placed in his bands This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort, within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisious, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command; and their memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieut. General Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in that opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly, but decidedly, to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then within the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted -In a purely military point of view, this Gap, and the rebels, if victorious there, will reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garri-son safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that the pecassity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy. and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumpter as a military steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens .-- This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea The first return news from the order was we met an officer of the 23d Pennsylvania received just one week before the fall of Fort Regiment, on the side of the road, who had Sumpter. The news itself was that the sel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late Administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was despatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops.— To now reinforce Fort Pickeus before a crisis his possession, and looked as if he would would be reached at Fort Sumpter was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustion

of provisions in the latter named fort. In such a conjugature the Government bad a few days before commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumpter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest actioning to circumstances. pated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward, as had not be resisted there would be no effort to throw his men, arms, or ammunition without get ready for our march to-night at 12 of clock—such are the orders. When you next hear from me I hope I can inform you that we "have done the State some service."

Yours, fraternally,

H. D. W. the fortundation of the Union, who done the State some service."

H. D. W. the fortundation of the Union, who done the State some service."

Yours, fraternally,

H. D. W. the fortundation of the Union, who done the or taking their State out of the Union, who does not accept to be a popular taking their State out of the Union, who does not accept to vote against the Union, who demand and public necessity, trusting, then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done the State some service."

Yours, fraternally,

H. D. W. the fortune, or in case of an attack upon demand and public necessity, trusting, then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done the State some service."

This sophism derives much, perhaps the done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew—they were expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which could, on that occasion, be attempted, unless themselves by resisting so much should provoke more .-They knew that this Government desired to keep this garrison in the fort; not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, trusting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot box, for final adjustment. And they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object-to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate disso

be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumpter, with its surrounding circemstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the Government begain the conflict of arms without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the dis-tinct issue—immediate dissolution of blood. And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a Constitutional Republic or Democracy-a government of the people by the same people-can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control the Administration according to the organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case or any other pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to the freest government upon the earth. It forces us to ask: Is there in all Republics this inhesent and fatal weakness ! Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people or too weak to maintain its own existence So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to

call out the war power of the Government, and so to resist the force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation.

The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in muanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectations. Yet none of the States commony called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the Govern-ment service. Of course the seceded States so called, and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration, gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The Border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost unanimous for the Union, while in others, as Virginia and North Carolina, Tennesce and Arkansas, the Joion sentiment was nearly repressed and sienced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A convention elected by the people of disrupting the Federal Union was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter The reports of the fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter many members of that majority went over to the original discusion minority, and with them adopted the ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the as-sault upon Sumter, or the great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the Convention and the Legislature, which was in session at the same time and place, with lead ing members of the State not members of eiher, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed their military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the navy-yard at Gosport, near Norfolk .--They received, perhaps invited, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and cooperation with the so called Confederate States, and sent

members to their Congress at Montgomery, and finally, they permitted the insurrectionsry Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia bave thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it, and it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have, in due form, claimed its protection These loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect as being Virginia. In the Border States so called, in fact, the Middle States there are those who favor what they call an armed neutrality; that is an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces from passing one way or the Disunion the other, over their soil. This would be Disunion completed, figuratively speaking. It would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation, and yet not quite an impassable one, for under the guise of neu trality it would tie the hands of the Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the bands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the Disunionists that which, of all things, they most desirefeed them well, and give them disunion with-out a struggle of their own. It recognizes uo fidelity to the Constition, no obligation to maintain the Union; and, while many who have favored it are doubtless loyal, it is nevortheless very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the Government, may be stated that at first a call was made for seventy-five thousand militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for

At this point, the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of been intended in this contingency. It was also resolved to notify the Government of unteers to serve three years, onless scoper South Carolina that if the attempt should discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured

onsidered a duty to authorize the Commanding General in proper causes, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writs of habees corpus, or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercises but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to take care that the laws be faithfully executed should not bimself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety, before this matter was acted on.

The whole of the laws which were required

That this was the object, the Executive well to be faithfully executed were being resisted, understood; and having said to them in the In- and failing of execution in nearly one-third of augural address, "you can have no conflic with-out being yourselves the aggressors" he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but clear that, by the use of the means necessary also to keep the case so free from the power of to their execution, some single law, made in all thirteen, in the Articles of Confederation ingenious sophistry as that the world should not such extreme tenderness of the citizens liber two years later, that "the Union shall be perpe ty that, practically, it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should, to a very States, either in substance or name outside of limited extent, be violated.

To state the question more directly, are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the the official oath be broken if the Government disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution, that the privilege of the writ of babeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it, is equivalent to a provision that such privilege may be suspended when, in cases of require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made.

Now it is insisted that Congress and not the Executive, is vested with this power.
But the Constitution itself is silent as to pendent colonies made the Union, and, which or to who is to exercise the power, and as the provision was plainly made for a dan- and made them States, such as they are. gerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its

Congress could be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case by the rebellion. No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General. Whether there shall be any legislation upon

been so extraordinary and so long continued mental a mere administrative power. as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere principally respected by foreign Powers, and a general that State to consider this very question of sympathy with the country is manifested

> The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and Navy, will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and all the departments will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. That number of men is about one tenth of those of proper eges within the regions where apparently all are willing to engage, and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to

A debt of \$600,000,000 now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our own Revolution, when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely another, and when all shall have seceded, each man has as strong a motive now to none left to pay the debts. Is this quite just preserve our liberties as each bad then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men by allowing the Seceders to go in peace, it is and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, they will promise to remain. and that it needs only the band of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it a practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than providing for them. In word, the people will save the Government if the Government itself will do its part only

It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present move-ment at the South be called secession or rebellion. The movers, however, well understand the difference. At the beginning they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitue by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in, and reverence for, the history and Government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the toeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly they com-menced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenius sophism which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents to the complete destruction of the

The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully, withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union or of any other State. The little disguise, that the supposed distribution. There is much reason to believe right is to be exercised only for a just cause, that the Union men are the majority in many, because they themselves are to be the sole if not in every other one, of the so-called judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any seconded States. As the contrary has not

With rebellion thus sugar coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until in military camps, where the bayonets were at length they have brought many good men all on one side of the question, voted upon, to a willingness to take up arms against the | can scarcely be considered as a demonstration Government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the far:cidal pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the

Soon after the first call for militia, it was supremary pertaining to a State, to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union; while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the United Colonies were declared to be free and independent States.

But even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action, before, at the time, and afterwards, abundantly show. The express plighting of faith, by each and all the origitual," is most conclusive. Having never the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of State Rights asserting a claim of power to law-fully destroy the Union itself? Much is said Government itself go to pieces lest that one about the sovereignty of the States, but the be violated? Even in such a case, would not word even is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitushould be overthrown, when it was believed tions. What as a sovereignty, in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it 'a political community without a political superior?" Tested by this, no one of our States except Texas ever was a sovereignty, and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Con-stitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States, made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. rebellion or invasion, the public safety does If they break from this, they can only do so sgainet law, and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separated, procured their inde-pendence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The U is older than any of the States, and in the Union threw off their old dependence of them ever had a State Constitution i ent of the Union.

Of course, it is not forgotten that all

State framed their Constitutions before t tered the Union; nevertheless dependent and preparatory to coming into the Unior

Unquestionably, the States have the and rights reserved to them in and by the tional Constitution; but among these, surely, are not included all conceivable powers, however mis chievious or destructive, but at most, such only the subject, and if any, what it is, submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had the Government itself had never known as governing the Government itself had never known as governing the control of the control

This relative matter of national power and State rights as a principle is no other than the principle of generality and locality.

Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution, in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with be que also bound by that defining, without question, What is now combatted is the position that secession is consistant with the Constitution, is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it, and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust of absurd consequences.

The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding ! The nation paid very large sums-in the aggregate, I believe, of a hundred millions-to relieve Florida of the abo riginal tribes. Is it unjust that she shall now go off without consent or without making any re turn? The nation is now in debt for money applied for the benefit of these so called second-States in common with the rest. Is it just either that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? Part of the present na tional debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and par no part of this herself?

Again, if one State may secede, so may to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money? If we now recognize this doctrine difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or to extort terms upon which

The Seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a national constitution of their own, which of necessity they have either discarded or retained the right of secession as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must second from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no Government can possibly endure.
If all the States save one should assert the

power to drive that one out of the Union, it

s presumed the whole class of seceder poli

ticians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose that precisely the same act instead of being called driving the one out, should be called the seceding of the others from that one, it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the right of minorities; they are not partial to that power which made the Constitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself "The People." It may well be questioned whether there is to day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of been demonstrated in any one of them, it is ventured to affirm this, even of Virginia and Tennessee, for the result of an election held