BUSINESS CARDS.

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Offers his professional services to the citizens of Pinegrove and vicinity.

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Office on the Diamond, one door west of the Post-office.

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Will visit Bellefonte professionally when specially retained in connection with resident counsel.

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Will practice in the several courts of Centre and Clinton counties. All business entrusted to their care will be promptly attended to.

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March 1864.—tf.

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Office—Room No. 4, up stairs, Reynolds's Iron Front, directly opposite the *Watchman* office, on Main street.

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Will attend to professional calls as heretofore. He respectfully offers his services to his friends and the public. Office at his residence on Allegheny street.

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Respectfully offers his services to his friends and the public. Office on Mill street, opposite the National Hotel.
Refers to Drs. J. M. McCoy, S. Thompson, T. C. Thomas.

BANKING HOUSE
—OF—
WM. P. REYNOLDS & CO.
BELLEFONTE, PENN'A.
Bills of Exchange and Notes discounted.—Collections made and proceeds promptly remitted. Interest paid on special deposits. Exchange in the Eastern cities constantly on hand for sale. Deposits received.

MISCELLANEOUS
JEWELRY ESTABLISHMENT.
G. W. PATTON, *Proprietor.*
Having purchased the extensive Jewelry Establishment of W. J. Stein, and largely increased the Stock, the Proprietor will keep constantly on hand, a splendid assortment of
AMERICAN WATCHES,
PATENT LEVER,
ENGLISH LEVER.
CYLENDAR ESCAPEMENT
WATCHES.
WATCH CHAINS OF ALL KINDS,
VIOLIN BOWS,
GOLD AND SILVER THIMBLES,
SPECTACLES,
&c., &c., &c. &c.,
which will be sold cheaper than at any other establishment in Central Pennsylvania.
Watches, clocks and jewelry repaired, and all work warranted.
Jan. 29, 1864—1y.

IMPORTANT TO ALL!!!
—SINCE THE FIRE—
W. W. McCLELLAND
has removed his large and splendid stock of
READY-MADE CLOTHING,
AND
GENTS' FURNISHING GOODS,
to the ARMORY BUILDING, on the north-east corner of the DIAMOND, where he will be happy to see his old friends and customers. His stock is comprised in part of
CLOTHS, CASSIMERES,
VESTINGS, TRIMMINGS
COLLARS, NECK-TIES,
HATS AND CAPS,
and in fact, every article worn by well-dressed gentlemen.
CLOTHING MADE TO ORDER
on the shortest notice and upon the most reasonable terms, and satisfaction guaranteed: Give him a call. Jan. 29, 1864—1y.

BOOT AND SHOE STORE.
BELLEFONTE, PA.
PETER McMAHON, PROPRIETOR.
Would respectful inform the citizens of Bellefonte and vicinity that he has opened up a shop on
ALLEGHENY STREET,
A few doors below Hoffer's Store, where he is prepared to sell at the
LOWEST PRICES
BOOTS, SHOES, GAITERS, &c.
May 1st, 1863.—1y.

JOB PRINTING neatly executed at this Office.

The Democratic Watchman.

"STATE RIGHTS AND FEDERAL UNION."

Vol. 9. BELLEFONTE, PA., FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1864. No. 18.

MISCELLANEOUS.

HALT! LISTEN! STOP AND READ!
IF THAT WOULD
PRESERVE YOUR HEALTH,
SAVE YOUR MONEY
AND LIVE HAPPY AND CONTENTED,
SHOULD PURCHASE YOUR LIQUORS
AT THE WHOLESALE
WINE AND LIQUOR STORE,
ON BISHOP STREET
directly opposite the old Temperance Hotel.

ABRAHAM BAUM & Co.
Notwithstanding the enormous taxes imposed upon all articles in his line of business, he still continues to sell the purest articles at the very lowest figures. Every discription of,
FOREIGN & DOMESTIC LIQUORS,
wholesale and retail, at the lowest cash prices, which are warranted to be the best qualities according to their respective prices. His stock consists in part of
OLD RYE,
MONONGAHELA,
IRISH,
WHEAT,
CORN,
NECTAR,
and others whiskies, at from 37½ cents to $2,00 per gallon. Also,
ALL KINDS OF BRANDIES,
from 75 cts., to $8,00 per gallon. Holland Gins *pure*, from 75 cts., to $2,50 per gallon.
PORT, MADERIE, CHERRY, BLACKBERRY and other wines,—the best articles—at as reasonable rates as can be had in the city.
CHAMPAGNE, BLACKBERRY, GINGER, AND CARAWAY BRANDIES, PURE JAMACA AND NEW ENGLAND RUM
CORDIALS OF ALL KINDS,
all o which will be warranted to be as represented, and sold at prices exceedingly low.
All the liquors offered for sale at this establishment have been purchased at the United States Custom House, and consequently must be pure and good.
Physicians and others are respectfully requested to give his liquors a trial. He has the only article of
PURE PORT WINE JUICE IN TOWN.
May, 28, 1862. tf.

THE WONDER OF THE AGE!
EVERY BODY ASTONISHED
AT THE PURENESS AND CHEAPNESS
OF THE ARTICLES SOLD AT
MEIT & ETTELE'S
WHOLESALE
WINE AND LIQUOR STORE.
BISHOP STREET, BELLEFONTE PA.,
The proprietors of this establishment take pleasure in informing the public that they have constantly on hand a supply. of choice foreign and domestic liquors, such as
Old Nectar,
Old Rye,
Monbongala,
And Irish Whiskey;
Cognac,
Blackberry,
Cherry,
Ginger,
And common Brandies;
Port,
Maderia,
Cherry,
And Lisbon Wines,
Scotch,
And Holland Gin;
New England Rum,
Jamaica Rum.
CORDIALS Peppermint, Anniseed and Rose.
The attention of practicing physicians is called to our stock of
PURE LIQUORS,
suitable for mepical purposes. Bottles jugs and Demijons constantly on had.
We have
ONLY PURE NECTAR WHISKEY
in Town.
All liquors were bought when liquors were low, and we sell them accordingly.
All liquors are warranted to give satisfaction.
Confident that we can please customers we respectfully solicit a share of public patronage
Liquors will be sold by the quart, barrel or tierce. we have a large lot of
BOTTLED LIQUORS
of the finest grades on hand.
Ppril 1st, 1863.

FASHIONS' EMPORIUM.
MAIN STREET, BELLEFONTE, PA.
W. W. MONTGOMERY, *Prop.*,
Has received a large invoice of
CLOTHS
CASSIMERS,
VESTINGS,
etc., etc.,—
Which will be manufactured in the
LATEST STYLES,
and in a manner that cannot fail to prove satisfactory.
A large assortment of
GENTS' FURNISHING GOODS,
Consisting of
Collars, Neck Ties,
Suspenders, Hosiery,
Hankerchiefs, etc.,
Exactly suited to this locality and intended for the
SUMMER TRADE,
His shelves present a greater variety of plain and fancy goods than can be found elsewhere in Central Pennsylvania.
Call and see that,
Montgomery is the man that can make
Clothes in the fashion, strong and cheap;
All that has ever tried him yet,
Say that he really can't be beat.
JueJn5th '63—1y

NEW BAKERY!
MATTHIAS SCHMUCK,
Would respectfully inform the people of Bellefonte and vicinity, that he has opened a new and
COMPLETE BAKERY,
in the old Temperance Hotel, on BISHOP street where he will keep constantly on hand all kinds of
BREAD, RUSKS,
POUND-CAKES,
SUGAR AND GINGER CAKES,
CRACKERS, CANDIES
&C., &C., &C.,
which he will sell at a reasonable and satisfactory price.
Families will find it to their advantage to patronize his baking department, for they can always get fresh articles, and hot rolls just when they want them. Sept. 18, 1863—1y

PHILADELPHIA
BARLOW'S INDIGO BLUE!
Dealers and Consumers of the above *Celebrated Wash Blue*, will please take notice, that the *Labels* are altered to read
INDIGO BLUE,
PUT UP AT
ALFRED WILTBERGER'S
DRUG STORE,
No. 238 North Second Street PHILADEL'A.
The quality of this Blue will be the same in every respect.
It is warranted to color more water than twice the same quantity of Indigo, and go to much further than any other Wash Blue in the market. It dissolves perfectly clear and does not settle on the cloths as most of the other makes do. One Box dissolved in a half pint of water, will make as good a Liquid Blue as any that is made, at one third the cost.
As it is retailed at the same price as the Imitations and inferior articles, housekeepers will find it very much to their advantage to ask for that put up at WILTBERGER'S.
All blue put up after this date with Barlow's *name on it is an Imitation.*
The New Label does not require a Stamp,
For Sale by Storekeepers generally,
Feb. 19th 1864—6m.

ARCH ST. CARPET WARE-HOUSE.
No. 832 ARCH St. two doors below
Ninth, south side, Philadel'a.
The subscriber has just received for *Spring Trade* a well selected stock of English and American
CARPETINGS,
embracing all the new styles of the best makes—bought previous to the late advance for cash, and will be sold at *low prices.*
Velvets, Brussels, Three-plys, Ingrains and Venetains Carpetings,—with a large Stock of
OIL CLOTHS, DRUGGETS, MATTINGS,
&c. &c.
Persons who are about furnishing, are requested to make an examination of the above goods previous to making their selections, as such inducements will be held out as cannot fail to please.
JOS. BLACKWOOD,
March 13, '61—3mos. 832 ARCH St. Phil'a.

EYRE & LANDELL,
FOURTH & ARCH STS.
PHILADELPHIA.
ARE OPENING FOR SPRING 1864,
100 pcs. $1. Fancy SILKS. 50 pcs. India Silks, $1. 100 " Good Black Silk.
200 " Ordered Plain Silks
4-4 Lyons Black Silk VELVET.
Black Silks, $6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 per yard.
Brown Silks, $6, 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 per yard.
Moire Antiques, all colors.
Magnificent Grenadines,
Magnificent Organdies.
Richest Chintzes and Prints.
Spring SHAWLS. New Household STAPLE GOODS.
N. B. General assortment of Men's Wear!
March 11, 1864.—3m.

GUNS, PISTOLS FISHING TACKLE,
FINE CUTLERY,
AND SPORTING APPARATUS GENERALY
Rods, Hooks,
Lines, Nets,
Reels, Foils,
Baskets, Gloves.
Bait, Flies,
Masks, Billies,
Corkscrews, Dog Collars &c.,
constantly on hand and for sale—Wholesale and Retail at—
JOHN KRIDERS.
Sportsmens Depot.
N. E. cor. 2nd & Walnut Phil'a
March 11 '64—6m.

HENRY HARPER,
No. 530, ARCH St.,
PHILADELPHIA.
MANUFACTURER & DEALER IN
WATCHES,
FINE JEWELRY,
SOLID SILVER-WARE AND
ROGER'S Superior PLATED WARE.
All kinds of SILVER WARE, made on the premises. *WATCH Repairing carefully* done.
April 1st, 1864—3m,

1864. { PHILADELPHIA PAPER HANGINGS. } 1864
HOWELL & BOURKE,
MANUFACTURERS OF
WALL PAPERS
AND WINDOW CURTAIN PAPERS,
Cor. 4th., & MARKET STREETS,
PHILADELPHIA.
N. B. A fine stock of **Linen Shades** *constantly on hand.*
February, 11, 1864—3m.

VALUABLE PROPERTY FOR SALE.
The subscriber offers at private sale, the following described real estate, situate in Snow Shoe Twp., Centre county containing
FOUR HUNDRED ACRES,
One hundred of which is cleared, and under good cultivation, with
A GOOD DWELLING HOUSE,
two Barns, out buildings and a tenant house erected thereon. All the buildings are nearly new. There is a splendid young orchard of choice fruit and an excellent well of water near the house.
The balance of the land is well timbered, and has two large and
VALUALE COAL MINES
opened, and ready for operation, where fifty hands could be to work, within a few rods of the Snow Shoe Rail Road, and lying on the same hill, between the two banks now used by the Snow Shoe Rail Road & Mining company. The coal is of the best quality, and two different
VEINS OF IRON ORE
in regular Strata is on the land. Altogether it is one of the most valuable properties in Centre county, and will be sold cheap. Possession will be given at any time. For further particulars apply on the premises to
Feb. 10m, '63. GEORGE GRAHAM.

BLANKS of all kinds, neatly printed at this office.

SPEECH
OF
HON. ALEXANDER LONG OF OHIO,
DELIVERED
In the House of Representatives, on Friday April 8th, 1864.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union in consideration of the President's Message, Mr. Long said:

MR. CHAIRMAN: I speak to-day for the preservation of the Government, and, although for the first time within these walls I propose to indulge in that freedom of speech and latitude of debate so freely exercised by other gentlemen for the past four months, and which is admissable under the rules in the present condition of the House; but for what I may say and the position I shall occupy upon this floor and before the country, I alone will be responsible, and in the independence of a Representative of the people, I intend to proclaim the deliberate convictions of my judgement in this fearful hour of the country's peril. And now, Mr. Chairman, as we are in Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, let us inquire, how stands the Union to-day?

A little over three years ago, the present occupant of the Presidential mansion at the other end of the avenue, came into this city under cover of night, disguised in plaid cloak and Scotch cap, lest, as was feared by his friends, he might have received a warmer greeting than would have been agreeable on his way through Baltimore at the hands of the constituents of the honorable gentleman from Maryland (Mr. Davis). On the 4th of March he was inaugurated, and in his address deprecated civil war, using that ever to be memorable language. "Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you." Seven States had up to that time seceded from the Union. All believed that war would be averted. At the conclusion of the address the lamented Douglas, who had closely watched every word as it escaped from the lips of the President, turned to a friend, and, with tears in his eyes, "thanked God that after all the election of Abraham Lincoln would not involve the nation in war." A secret meeting of the Governors of a number of States was soon after held in this city. A scheme was devised and a vessel sent out under pretense of furnishing provisions to the troops with Major Anderson in Fort Sumter. On arriving in Charleston harbor the people of that city fired upon the Fort. The telegraph bore the news to this city and on its first mention to the President, he exclaimed, "I knew they would do it," which to my mind is conclusive that it was intended expressly for that purpose. Seventy-five thousand men were immediately called for, war was inaugurated, twenty days were given the insurgents to lay down their arms; an additional five hundred thousand men were soon called for, and hostilities commenced. The rebellion was to be crushed inside of sixty days; more troops were called for: the Union was to be restored with all the rights, equality and dignity of the States unimpaired. No man was permitted to question for a moment the right of the Government to coerce the States back into the Union. To doubt the right or question the speedy suppression of the rebellion and restoration of the Union, was to be denounced as a traitor to the Government and a sympathizer with the South. Thus, sir, was the war inaugurated. The first year passed away; the second came and passed in like manner, so of the third; and now, sir, let me again inquire how stands the Union to-day? The brief period of three short years has produced a fearful change in this free, happy and prosperous Government; so guarded in its restraints upon personal liberty, and so gentle in its demands upon the resources of the people, that the celebrated Humboldt, after travelling through the country on his return to Europe said; "The American people have a Government which you can neither see nor feel." So different is it now, and so great is the change, that the inqury might be well made to day, are we not in Constantinople, in St. Petersburg, in Vienna, in Rome or in Paris? Military Governors and their Provost Marshals override the laws, and the echo of the armed heel rings forth as clearly now in America as in France or in Austria, and the President sits to day guarded by armed soldiers stationed at every approach leading to the Executive mansion. So far from crushing the rebellion in sixty days three years have already passed away and from the day on which the conflict began up to the present hour, the Confederate army have not been forced beyond the sound of their guns from the capitol in which we are assembled. The City of Washington is to day, as it has been for three years, guarded by Federal troops in all the forts and fortifications with which it is surrounded to prevent an attack from the enemy, and as an evidence of the despondency of the Administration, and the unsuccessful opening of the Spring campaign of the fourth year in the progress of the war, *the Morning Chronicle* of this city, the President's organ, in an editorial a few mornings since, said: "Charleston has not been taken; Lee maintains a bold front on the Rapadan; the Florida expedition has not been a success, and the rebels have everywhere shown more vigor than they were supposed to possess." Although the same paper, and others in support of the Administration, have told the country from time to time during the past winter, that the rebellion was crushed, and slavery was dead: that the Confederates were deserting in whole regiments at a time, coming within our lines, taking the oath, and describing the most horrible suffering and demoralization from want of food, clothing and ill treatment, at the very time the people have been so deceived and misled from day to day the President calls for 500,000 more troops and in a few weeks follows it with an additional call for 200,000 more making 700,000 since the first of January, and over 2,500,000 since the commencement of the war out of the 3,500,000 who voted in the so-called loyal States at the last Presidential election when 75,000 militia were to end it in twenty, or at most sixty day.

Mr. Chairman: I have thus made a very brief statement of facts as to the condition of the Union to-day, and for doing which I have no doubt, the usual charge of "encouragement for the rebebels," "the prolongation of the war," "the rebels are aided by their friends on this floor," and the like charges will be repeated again by gentlemen on the opposite side of the House; and, as I have heard echoed so frequently during the past four months, may now and hope that the real friends of the Confederacy—those who give them aid encouragement and enable them to carry on the war—are on the opposite side of the House and in the control of the government. Your confiscation resolution, voted for and passed by the friends of the Administration, by which you propose to thrust your hands into the coffin of the deceased father, and take all he may have left at his death to his widow, and innocent and unoffending children, is worth more than fifty thousand men to the Confederate army. The order issued by the President to General Saxton, dividing up and parcelling out the State of South Caroline among the negroes and enterprising Yankees of Massachusetts; gives courage, energy and enthusiasm to the men now in arms in the Confederate States. The order of the President to his military commanders in Louisiana and Arkansas, and the order issued in pursuance thereof by General Banks to the people of Louisana in which, by a single dash of his pen, he strikes out of existence the Constitution and organic law of the State, and by virtue of the power vested in him as Major General, proceeds to call and hold an election, and inaugurate State officers, and set up a State Government—and the legislation consumated and proposed by Congress, and speeches made upon this floor in support of Radicalism, is strengthening the Confederacy and prolonging the war. Herein, sir, is where they find strength: the true friends of the Confederacy in the North are the Radical Abolitionists and the Radicals press goading on the President to issue proclamations and military orders which provide food raiment strength and support for the Confederacy.

If Mr. Lincoln had made a gift of millions of greenbacks to Jefferson Davis to be used as bounty in recruiting the Confederate army, he could not have done better service to the cause of the South than he has done by his silly, absurd and insulting Amnesty Proclamation, and his equally absurd attempt to create State Governments by dictatorial power. He has in effect said to the Southern people: "You shall not return to the Union except under such local Governments as I and my military officers dictate," and with the aid of his friends in Congress he is enabled to add: "in the event of your submission and return, your estates shall be confiscated; your property, personal and real shall be taken from you your children shall be disinherited and left homeless and penniless to starve, under the scorn and hatred of Northern fanatics: your lands and manor houses shall be parcelled out among our retainers; the negro (Freedmen) and the adventurer shall sit and rule at your hearthstones, and you—beggars and outcasts—shall be forbidden representation in our national councils, and be shut out forever from offices of trust and honor." Such is the language in which Lincoln and this Congress and the preceeding Congress have spoken and are speaking to the people of the South—and now, sir, with such a prospect before them as the sequel of submission, outlawry disfranchisement, social, moral and political degradation, penury for themselves and their children, decreed as their portion, will they throw down their arms and submit to the terms? Who shall believe that the free, proud American blood which courses with as quick pulsation through their veins as our own, will not be spilled to the last drop in resistance? This is the source, Sir, from whence comes encouragement, strength, support and sustenance for the Confederates; herein lies the secret of the unity of their action, the prolongation of the contest and the desperation of the conflict produced, not by anything said, or measures proposed by gentlemen upon this side of the House, or by any measures proposed or policy advocated by the Democratic party, but by the acts of the gentlemen who make the charges, and the President and his military commanders, who issue the proclamation and military orders.

Mr. Chairman, I have deemed it proper thus to advert to the charge of encouragement to the Confederates so repeatedly made upon this floor, and I again recur to the consideration of the Union. Can the Union be restored by war? I answer most unhesitatingly and deliberately no, never; "war is final eternal separation" My first and highest ground of opposition to its further prosecution is that it is wrong; it is in violation of the Constitution and of the fundamental principles on which the Federal Union was founded. My second objection is that as a policy it is not reconstructive but destructive, and will, if continued, result speedily in the destruction of the Government and the loss of civil liberty to both North and South, and it ought therefore immediately to cease.

In order, Mr. Chairman, that we may know what views were entertaind upon the right as well as the expediency of coercing States into submission by some of the dedeparted as well as living statesmen of the country, previous to the commencement of the present war, I propose to call the attention of the House and the country to a few extracts which to my mind are worthy of consideration at this time.

In 1827, during the administration of John Quincy Adams, when the legislature of Georgia had passed an act setting aside the laws of Congress regulating intercourse with the Indian tribes within her limits, the messages of the President of the 5th and 8th of February, 1827, in relation thereto, were referred to a select committee of the Senate, of which Col. Benton was chairman, and of which Martin Van Buren and General William H. Harrison, both afterwards Presidents of the United States, were members. The committee, in their report, Senate documents, Second Session, Nineteenth Congress, Document No. 69, say:

"It is believed to be among those axioms, which in a government like ours, no man may be permitted to dispute, that the only security for the permanent union of these States, is to be found in the principle of common affection, resting on the basis of common interest. The sanctions of the Constitution would be impotent to retain, in concerted and harmonious action, twenty-four sovereignties, hostile in their feelings toward each other, and acting under the impulse of a real or imagined diversity of interest. The resort to force would be alike vain and nugatory. Its frequent use would subject it, with demonstrative certainty, to ultimate failure, while its temporary success would be valueless for all purposes of social happiness. In such contests, however unequal and however trancient, the seeds of disunion would be thickly sown, and those who may be destined to witness them will speedily thereafter be called to lament the destruction of the fairest prospect of civil liberty which Heaven in its mercy has vouchsafed to man." "The committee will not enlarge upon the frightful consequences of civil wars! They are known to be calamitous to single governments, and fatal to confederacies."

The prediction of the committee of the destruction of the fairest prospect of civil liberty which Heaven in its mercy has vouchsafed safe to man, is already in great danger of being realized, and every hour the war is continued only widens the separation and increases the danger. But, sir, I propose to introduce the opinion of another departed statesman of the school of politics to which the gentlemen on the opposite side of the chamber belonge, and for whose political opinions they entertain the highest regard. That profound statesman, after the experience of many years in the most exalted positions of the nation, and with a perfect knowledge of the subject upon which he spoke, said:

"Nations acknowledge no judge between them upon earth, and their Governments from necessity must in their intercourse with each other, decide when the failure of one party to a contract to perform its obligations absolves the other from the reciprocal fulfillment of its own. But this last of earthly powers is not necessary to the freedom or independence of States connected together by the immediate action of the people, of whom they consist. To the people alone is there reserved, as well the dissolving as the constituent power, and that power can be exercised by them only under the tie of conscience binding them to the retributive justice of heaven. With these qualifications we may admit the same right as vested in the people of every State in the Union, with reference to the General Government, which was exercised by the people of the United Colonies with reference to the supreme head of the British Empire, of which they formed a part, and under these limitations have the people of each State in the Union a right to recede from the confederate Union itself. Thus stands the right. But the indissoluble link of Union between the people of the several States of this confederated nation, is, after all, but in the heart. If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it!) when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other; when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference; or collisions of interest shall fester into hatred, the bands of political associations will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better it will be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship with each other than to be held together by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to the precedents which occurred at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more perfect Union, by dissolving that which could no longer bind, and to leave the separated parts to be re-united by the laws of political gravitation to the center."

Thus, Mr. Chairman, spoke John Quincy Adams in an address delivered before the New York Historical Society on the 30th of April, 1839, in comemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States. Mr. Adams was a believer in the doctrine therein set forth, and the leaders of the party to which he belonged shared in that belief, and continued to do so until the commencement of the present unnatural civil war. If it was sound doctrine before secession took place and the war begun, what is there in either to change the principle?

Andrew Jackson in his farewell address to the American people, has solemnly warned them that the citizens of one section of the country arrayed in arms against the other would be the end of the Union and an end of the hope of freedom. He says: That, "if such a struggle is once begun, and the citizens of one section of the country are arrayed in arms against those of the other, in doubtful conflict, let the battle result as it may, there will be an end of the Union and with it an end of the hope of freedom. The victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; it would avenge their wrongs, but they would themselves share in the common ruin. The Constitution cannot be maintained nor the Union preserved in opposition to public feeling, by the mere exertion of the coercive power of the government."

But this opinion, that the Union cannot be preserved by the coercive powers of the government, was not confined to the departed statesman of the country.

William H. Seward in his letter of April 11, 1861, to Mr. Adams, our Minister to England, said:

"For these reasons, the President would not be disposed to reject a cardinal doctrine of theirs (the rebels) namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, even though he were disposed to question that proposition. But in fact the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the States. This Federal Republican system of ours is of all forms of government the very one which is most unfitted for such labor."

Such was the language of the Secretary of State in April, 1861, three days before the Sunday on which the President wrote his proclamation calling out seventy-five thousand troops, but after seven States had seceded. The Secretary shared in the fears of the President, that the attempt to subjugate the South would destroy the Goverment. Three years of civil war in a vain and fruitless effort at subjugation attest and prove to day the correctness of the opinion then held by the President: "Only an imperial or despotic goverment could subjugate throughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State." Who does not believe it? If there is truth in the Declaration of Independence, and the gentleman on the opposite side of the House will certainly not dispute it, since they incorporated it in the Chicago platform, which became a law unto the President,—who, I ask, can deny the conclusion of the Secretary of State, having in view always, as he and the President, undoubtedly had, the great cardinal truth underlying all republican governments "deriving their just powers from the governed." If the President and his Secretary of State gave utterance to truth in 1861, is it any less a truth today? Has not rather the experience of three years of war confirmed it? I believed it then. I beleive it now. But, sir, I propose to call another witness to testify against this coercive policy, who also spoke in advance of that war. Edward Everett, in his letter of May, 1860, to Washington Hunt, accepting the nomination as Vice President of the Union party, of which I beleive the distinguished gentleman from Maryland, (Mr. Henry Winter Davis,) was a member, and for whom a number of gentlemen upon this floor voted, then said:

"The suggestion that the Union can be maintained by numerical preponderances and military prowess of one section exerted to coerce the other into submission is, in my judgment, as self contradictory as it is transcendently perilous. It cannot, I hold with the South Carolina friends of the Union, be maintained as the Union of the Constitution, if the States, as its basis, require the harmony of [illegible]