BEDFORD INQUIRER.

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BEDFORD, Pa. Friday Morning, July 12, 1861. "FEARLESS AND FREE." p. over-Editor and Proprietor.

THE MESSAGE.

The message of Fresident Lincoln will be found in our columns to-day. We presume is will be read more generally than any' other message of any President since the founday tion of our Government- It is ably written, and its arguments against secession, &c., are unanswerable. There is no doubt that every sentence of the document is from the pen of the President, as every line bears upon its face the nervous and peculiar style of its author. The call for 400,000 men and \$400,000,000 will be promptly, we believe, voted by Congress.

nance had been adopted in each of inose States declairing the States respectively to be seperated from the National Union. A formula for the in-stituting a combined Sovernment of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organiza-tion in the character of Confederate States was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from forein Powers The Gazette says that we take "great pains to prove that Democrats are Union men," and Finding this condition of thirds, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Exe-cutive 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 In-augural Address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to one tengent ones. It is each to hold the that "to this end we publish the letters and speeches of eminent Democrats," and "that Democrats have always been for the Union." Now, we plead guilty. We Do publish the letters and speeches of "eminent Democrats" to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold, the public places and property not 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 "to prove that Democrats" and the Democratic party is for the Union. The course of the Bedford Gazette is an exception. It is a secession, disunion paper, and publishes the people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, of any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and treasonable messages of Jeff Davis, &c .-As a party, that party is loyal to the Constitution and the Union, and to prove to Democrats who see no other paper than the Gazette, that this is the fact, we publish these articles. first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was, by that Department, placed in his kands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforce-ments could not be thrown into that fort, within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the

from foreign Powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it

justifiably do in such a case everything was for-borne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, 'he present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson

the time for his relief rendered necessary by th limited supply of provisions, and with a view of hoiding posession 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

THE TREASURY AND WAR REPORTS .-- The Report of the Secretary of the Treasury shows that for the fisical year just closed he requires, in addition to the appropriations already made, \$217,168,850, nearly all of which is for the Army and Navy. For the year ending July 1, 1862, the probable demands upon the Treas

1, 1862, the probable demands upon the Treas sury are estimated at \$318,519,581. From the Secretary of War's Report we learn that under the call of the fifteenth of April last, 75,000 men from the militia for three months, there are now in the service of the United states 80,000 men. Under the procelamation of the 4th of May, for volunteers to 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 reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that to so abandon that pointing much the circumstances would be lamation of the 4th of May, for volunteers to serve for the war, there have been accepted and are now in the service, Regiments equal to 155,000 men; making the total volunteer force now in service, 235,000 men. Add to this fifty-five Regiments, accepted but nct yet in service, 50,000 meu, and new Regiments of the regular army, 25,000 men, makes the ag-gregate force now at command, 310,000 men. Deduct three months, men after their time expires, 80,000, leaves a force still at com-mand of the Government of 230, 000 men. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere mand of the Government of 230, 000 men. THE WAR CONGRESS .- The extraordinary session of Congress assembled on Thursday. Thirty-nine Senators were present, including Messers. Pearce and Kennedy of Maryland, Johnson of Tennessee, Breekinridge of Kentucky, and Polk of Missouri, Hon, Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker of the House, be receiving 99 votes, Mr. Crittenden 12, Col . Blair 11, and the ballance scattering. Mr. Etheridge, of Tennessee was elected Clerk. The vote stood, Ethreidge 92, Forney 41, Dietrich (ill.) 21, Florence 2. Col. Charles J. Biddle, in command of one of the Regiments recently in this place, but | now in Cumberland, has been elected to Congress in Philadelphia, in place of E. J. Morris, resigned. The District is Republican, and only about balf the votes were polled. His majority is a little above 200 over Chas. O. Neill. Biddle was a Breckinridge Democrat and his election is to be attributed to the mistake of a few Republican leaders attempting to force a party nomination on the people at a time when party ism ought to be dropped.

tion whether a Constitutional Republic or Democ. racy-a government of the people by the same people-can or cannot maintain its territorial in-tegrity against its own domestic focs. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control the Administration ac cord-ing 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 inherent 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? PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES - Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion as authorized by the Con-stitution, your attention is not called to any ordi-REFRISTATATIVES -- Having been convented of an ettraordinary occasion as authorized by the Con-stitution, your attention is not called to any ordi-nary subject of legislation. At the beginning of the present term, four mon the ago, the functions of the Federai Government were found to be gen-erally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Of-fice Department. Within these States all the forts, arsenala, dock yards, custom houses and the like, had been seized and were held in open hotility to this Government, excepting only forts Pickens, Taylor, and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumier in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. The Ferts thus seized bad been put in improved condition. New ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organiz-ing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose -The forts remaining in the possession of the Fed-eral Government in and near those States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sunter, which was nearly sur-rounded by well protected hostile batteries with guna equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A dispropertionate size of the Fed-enal Government. Accumulations of the public reve-nue, lying within them, had been seized for the same object. The mary was cattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Si-multaneously, and in connexion with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Tion was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose an ordi-nance had been adopted in each of those States declaring the States respectively to be seperated from the National Union. A formula for the in-

The second seco The call was made, and the response of the

country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectations. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delsware, gave a regiment through regular State organizations. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise, and received into the Government 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, Teunessee and Arkausas, the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A convention elected by the people of the's State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union was in session at the capi-tal of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large ma-jority of professed Union men. Almost immefiately after the fall of Sumter, many members of that majority went over to the original disunton minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or the great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not defi-nitely known. Although they submited 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 also in session at the same time and place, with leading members of the State not members of either, 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, called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and co-operation with the so called Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery, and finally, they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest with-in 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 citizeus 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 a policy which they call armed neutrality; that is, an arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way or the Ditunion the other, over their soil. This would be disanion completed, figuratively speaking. It would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of seperation, and yet not quite an impassable one, for under the guise of neu-trality it would the the hands of the Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it coul not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the Disunionints that which, of all things, they most dasire-feed them well, and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union; and, while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal, it is nevertheless 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 closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts, by proceedings in the nature of a block-So far, all this was believed to be strict ade. ly legal. At this point, the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privatcering. Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting, then, as now that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress. Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the Commanding General in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or, in other words, to arrest or detain, without resort to the erdinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem daugerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevetheless, 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 himself 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 to be faithfully executed were being resisted, and failing of execution in nearly one third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that, by the use of the means sary to their execution, some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizens liberty that, practically, it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should, to . very limited extent, be violated?

be violated? Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown, when it was believed that 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 habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when, in case of rebellion or equivalent to a provision that such privilege sense of the term? Would it be far 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 which or who is to exercise the power, and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous mergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called tegether, 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 opicion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General. Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subjeet, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary and so long continued 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 practically respected by for-eign Powers, and a general sympathy with the ountry is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War, and the 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 a decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government, for the work, at least 400,000 men, and \$400,000,000. That num. ber of men is about onestenth of those of propwith their warlike appointments from the so er ages 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 devote the whole.

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 each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them. A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Execu-tive to give it practical shape and efficiency.-One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than providing for them. In a word, the people will save the Government if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement

To state the question more directly, arc all before, at the time, and afterwords, abundantthe laws but one to go unexecuted, and the ly show. The express plighting of faith, by Government itself go to pieces lest that one each and all the original thirteen, in the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that "the Union shall be perpetual," is most conclusive. Having never been States, either in substance or neme out side of the Union, whence this magical omnipotence of State Rights asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itsell? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States, but the word, even, is not in the National Constitution. nor as is believed in any of the State Constitus tions. What is a sovereignty, in the political may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion to define it sa political community without or invasion, the public safety does require it. 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 Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States, made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status .--If they break from this, they can only do so against law, and by revolution. The Union, and not themselves seperated, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest and in fact it created them is States. Origionally, some dependent colonies made Union, and, in turn, the Union threw off their the people? old dependence for them and made them Seates. such as they are. Not one of them ever had

a State Constitution independent of the Union. Of course, it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their Constitutions before hey enterced the Union; nevertheless dependent upon, and preparatory to coming into the Union.

Unquestionably, the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution, but among these surely. are not included all conceivable powers, howaver mischievous or destructive, but, at most, such only as are known in the world, at the time as governmental powers, and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never known as governmental a merely administrative nower.

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 con fided 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 exact accuracy, is not to be ques-We are 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 or absurd consequences. The pation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were tormed. Is it just that they shall go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums-in the aggregate, 1 believe, of a bundred millions-to relieve Florida of tue aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she shall now go off without consent or without making any return? The nation is ow in debt for money applied for the benefit of these so-called second States in common with the rest. It is just either that creditors shall go uppaid, or the remaining States pay the whole? Part of the present national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it ust that she shall leave and pay no part of this berself?

Again, if one State may sesede, so may another, and when all shall have seceded, none is at the South be called secession or rebellion. left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to ore-

fore known, without a soldier in it hat who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But, more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, posess full practical knowledge of all the arts, eciences, professions, and whatever else, wheth-er useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a court abundantly competent to administer the Government itself. Nor do 1 say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest. But if it is, so much better the reason why the Government which has confers red such benefits on both them and us should not he broken up. Whoever, in any section. proposes to abandou such a Government, would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it. What better he ja likely to get in its stead? Whether the subs stitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people? These are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversar ries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, uslike the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, "All men are created equal." Why? They have and not themselves seperated, procured their independence and their liberty. By conquest or purchase, the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. the people," and substitute "We, the deputies The Union is older than any of the States, of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men; to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all; to efford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance in the race of life.

Yielding to partial and temporary departures from necessity, this is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend.

I am most happy to believe that the plan people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that, which in this, the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices bave resigned, and proved false to the hand which had propered them. not one common soldier or common sailor is known to have deserted his flag. Great honor is due to those officers who remained true despite the example of their treacherous associates. But the greatest honor and most important fact of all is the uncommon firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, so far as known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before they obeyed as absolute law. This is the patriotic instinct of plain people. They understand, without an argument, that the destroying of the Governa ment which was made by Washington means no good to them. Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled- the successful maintenance against a formidable inter. nal attempt to overthrow it. It is for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election can also suppress a rebellion-that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace teaching men what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take it by war; teaching all the folly of being the beginners of war.

Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose than, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and the duties of the Federal Govern= ment relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than expressed in the Inaugeral Address. He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered to all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens, everywhere, have the right to claim this of their Government, and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest or subjugation, in any just sense of the terms. The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that the United States shall guaranty to every State in this Union a republican form of Government. But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of Government, so that, to prevent its going out, it is all indispensable to use every means to the end of maintaining the guarantee. When an end is lawful and obligatory the indispensable means to obtain it are also lawful and obligatory. It was with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war, power, in defence of the Government forced upon him. He could but perform this duty or surrender the existence of the Government. No compromise by public servants could in this case be made. Not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular government can long survive a marked precedent, that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the peaple gave the election. The people themselves. and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions. As a private citizen the Executive could not have consented that these institutions shall perish; much less could he in betraval of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility, he bas, so far, done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, accorcording to your own judgement, perform yours, He sincerely hopes that your actions may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights of a certain and speedy restoration to them under the Constitution and the laws.

perhaps in good time, as a thorough knowledge of the border counties of our State is- indispensible in the prosecution of the present war, and can only be obtained from these county maps We believe that the author has done better iban was generally expected, and hope his work will be well received throughout the county. No author has ever yet succeeded. however, in giving full satisfaction to all, and it should not be expected in this case; but his

4TH JULY .- Our cir zons along with the then read by Hon. Alex. King, after which the Star Spangled Binner was sung, and the people returned to their homes, and spent the day in a patrictic manner. It presents to the whole family of man the ques-

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 ac-cept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military cept the evacuation of Fort Sunter as a minitary necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steam-ship *Broklyn* 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 received just one week before the fail of Fort Sunter. The news itself was that the officer com-manding the Schier to which were had manding the Sabine, to which vessel 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 Admin istration, up to the time the order was despatched had only too rague and uncertain rumors to fix at-tention, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible, rendered so by the rear exhaustion of provisions in the lat-ter named lott.

In precaution against such a conjuncture the Gov In predation against such a conjuncture the Gov erument had a few days before commenced prepair-ing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circum-stances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it for-ward, as had been intended in this continuence. ward, as had been intended in this contingency. It was also resolved to notify the Government of South Carelina that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no effort to throw in men, arms, or animunitics without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and ded to its fall, without even awaiting the time when party is nought to be dropped. The map of our county has finally made its appearance and we think in good style, and ibility 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, attempted, unless themselves by resisting so anucl should provoke more. They knew that this Gov ernment desired to keep the garrison in the fort

not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, trusting, as heretofore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot box, for final adjustment. And they assailed and reduced the fort for precis the reverse object—to drive out the visible autho of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immed That this was their object, the Executive well

That this was their object, the Executive well understood; and having said to them in the Inau-gural address, "you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with the surrounding cincumstrances that point was

The movers, however, well understand the ditors? Did we notify them of this sige view respectable magnitude by any name which imof 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 directinsiduous debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism which, if destruction of the Union.

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 because they themselves are to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.

With rebellion thus sugar coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to willing-ness to take up arms against the Government the day sfter some assemblage of men have enacted the fareical pretence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency, from the assumption that there is some ownipotent and sacred su-premacy 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 new ones each came 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 ou coming into the Union; while that name was first adopted far the old ones in and by the Peclaration of Independence. Therein the United Colupies

were declared to be free and independent States. declare their independence of one another. or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action,

difference. At the beginning they knew of ours when we borrowed their money? If they could never raise their treason to any we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the Seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see plies violation of law. They knew their peo-ple possessed as much of moral sense, as much terms upon which they will promise to remain.

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 inly in the teeth of these strong and noble sen- sist it exists in ours. If they have disear ded ments. Accordingly, they commenced by an it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retain ed by their own construction of ours, they conceded, was followed by perfectly logical show that to be consistent they must seced steps through all the incidents to the complete from one another whenever they shall find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effect

The sophism itself is that any State of the jung any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which noGovernment can possibly endure. If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Ucion, it presumed the whole class of seceder politiright is to be exercised only for a just cause, cians would at once deny the power, and dea nounce 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 what the other bes

cause they are a majority may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights 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 disunion ere is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one, of the so called seceded States. As the contrary has not 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 in military camps, where the bayonets were all en one side of the quess tion, voted upon, popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are not at once for the Union and against operation would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the power and improved the condition of But even then the object plainly was not to our whole people, beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and impressive illu-tration. So large an army as with maniy hearts. the Government has now on foot was never be-

And having thus chosen our course, without guile and with pure purpose, lot us renow out trust in God, and go forward without fear, and ABRAHAM LINCOLN. July 4, 1861.