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BY DAVID OVER.

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SPEECH OF

HON. JOSEPH HOLT, At Louisville, Ky., July 13th.

We have never witnessed a popular ovation to a public man that could have proved more gratifying to the recipient than the demonstration at Masonic Temple, on Saturday evening last, on the occasion of the reception of the Hon. Joseph Holt. The Temple was crowded with citizens of both sexes, who met spontaneously to do honor to the gallant Kentuckian, who, as the citizen and Statesman, had the manliness, the courage and the patriotism to resist the iniquitous influence brought to bear upon him during the late administration, bringing all his great ability and the mighty weight of his influence to the support of the government whose existence he had sworn to maintain.

Mr. Holt was introduced to the audience by the Hon. Henry Little, in the following eloquent terms:

Mr. Holt: You are welcome to Kentucky, your native State, you are welcome to Louisville. We are proud to shake the hand of a man who has done so faithfully to his public trust—who has done honor to his State and honor to the nation.

Out of Congress (there were two Kentuckians in the service of the great public, in the trying times of last winter and spring; Holt at Washington (where fraud and treachery reigned all around) alone, with a firmness, a capability, and a patriotism that challenged the attention and the judgment of Christendom; and Anderson, left by himself, surrounded by enemies in the Bay of Charleston, whose fame shall live when the waves of ages shall have worn away the granite of Sumner and it shall fall undisturbed in the sea. I know you feel yourself honored to have his name mentioned now. It was you who would have relieved him, and helped him to maintain the banner of the Union.

When you came to the relief of the country you infused life into the almost dead State; treason commenced scattering from Washington, and the people of this country began to have confidence that the Executive branch of the Government was again true to them and the Constitution. Your administration of the most important division of the Executive Department, was under the most embarrassing circumstances ever seen in this country. Your ministry was short, and after harm irretrievable had come; States were marched out as if they were not States, but a helpless hand under the domination of a more powerful and more treacherous power; but history will place your name in honor when she writes of this epoch of demoralization, of war, and the woes of war.—O may she soon be able to write for you a page of peace and Union!

Mr. Holt then took the stand amid prolonged and deafening cheers, and spoke as follows:

JOSEPH HOLT: I beg you to be assured that I am most thankful for this distinguished and flattering welcome, for every one of the kind words which have fallen from your lips, as an answer to the hearty response they have received.—Spoken by anybody and anywhere, these words would have been cherished by me, but spoken by yourself in the presence and on behalf of those who were in the midst of the battle of life, whose friendship I have ever labored to deserve, and in whose fortunes I have ever felt the liveliest sympathy, they are doubly grateful to my feelings. I take no credit to myself for loving and being faithful to my country, for every one of us, as I do, with every throbbing artery, and every prayer for its preservation. In regard to my official conduct, to which you have alluded with such earnest and generous commendation, I must say that no merit can be accorded to me beyond that of having humbly and sincerely endeavored to perform a public duty, amid embarrassments which the world can never fully know. In reviewing what is past, I have and shall ever have a bitter sorrow, that, while I was enabled to accomplish so much in behalf of a most noble and suffering country, others were enabled to accomplish so much against it. You do me exceeding honor in associating me in your remembrance with the hero of Fort Sumter. There is about his name an atmosphere of light that can never grow dim. Surrounded with his life and by his questions and treatment, and by infuriated thousands of traitors, and by the after of patriotism at which he ministered, only waxed the brighter for the gloom that enveloped him, and history will never forget that it was from the fire that was kindled that confidence in the affections and confidence of the people of the land. Brave amongst the bravest, incorruptible and unchangeable in his loyalty, amid all the perplexities and trials and sore humiliations that beset him, he well deserves that exalted position in the affections and confidence of the people that he now enjoys; and while none have had better opportunities of knowing this than myself, so I am sure that none could have a prouder joy in bearing testimony to it than I have to-night.

FAREWELL GREETINGS: A few weeks since, in another form, I ventured to express my views upon those tragic events which have brought sorrow in every heartstone and to every heart in our distracted country, and it is not my purpose on this occasion to repeat these views, or to engage in any extended discussion of the questions then examined. It is not necessary that I should do so, since the argument is exhausted, and the popular mind is perfectly familiar with it in all its bearings. I will, however, with your permission, submit a few brief observations upon the absorbing topics of the day, and if I do so with an earnestness, and emphasis, and alacrity to the sincerity of my convictions, and to the magnitude of the interests involved, it is trusted that none will be offended, not even those who may most widely differ from me.

Could one, an entire stranger to our history, now look down upon the South and see there a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand men marching in hostile array, threatening the capture of the Capital, and the dismemberment of the territory of the Republic; and could he look again and see that this army is marshalled and directed by officers recently occupying distinguished places in the civil and military service of the country, and further, that the States from which this army has been drawn appear to be one vast, seething cauldron of ferocious passion, he would very naturally conclude that the Government of the United States had committed some great crime against its people, and that this uprising was in resistance to wrong and outrages which had been borne until their endurance was no longer possible. And yet, no conclusion could be further from the truth than this. The Government of the United States has been faithful to all its constitutional obligations. For eighty years it has maintained the national honor at home and abroad, and by its prowess, its wisdom and its justice has given to the title of an American citizen an elevation among the nations of the earth which the citizens of no republic have enjoyed since Rome was mistress of the world. Under its administration the

national domain has stretched away to the Pacific, and that constellation which announced our birth as a people has expanded from thirteen to thirty four stars, all, until recently, moving, undisturbed and undimmed in their orbits of light and grandeur. The rights of no State have been invaded; no man's property has been despoiled, no man's liberty abridged, no man's life oppressively jeopardized by the action of this Government. Under its benign influence the rights of public and private property have swelled into rivulets, and from rivulets into rivers ever brimming in their fullness, and everywhere, and at all periods of its history, its ministrations have fallen as gently on the people of the United States as do the dews of a summer's night on the flowers and grass of the gardens of the fields.

Whence, then, this revolutionary outbreak? Whence the secret spring of this gigantic conspiracy, which like some huge boa, had completely coiled itself around the limbs and body of the Republic, before a single hand was lifted to resist it? Strange and indeed startling as the announcement must appear when it falls upon the ears of the next generation, the national tragedy in whose shadows we stand to-night, has come upon us because, in November last, John C. Breckinridge was not elected President of the United States, and Abraham Lincoln was. This is the whole story. And I would pray now to know on what was John C. Breckinridge fed that he has grown so great, that a republic founded by Washington and cemented by the best blood that has ever coursed in human veins, is to be overturned because forsooth he cannot be its President? Had he been chosen, we will know that we should not have heard of this rebellion, for the lever with which it is being moved would have been wanting to the hands of the conspirators. Even after his defeat, could it have been guaranteed, beyond all precedent, that Jefferson Davis or some other kindred spirit would be the successor of Mr. Lincoln, I presume we hazard nothing in assuming that this atrocious movement against the Government would not have been set on foot. So much for the principle involved in it.

So much for the principle involved in it. This great crime, then, with which we are grappling, sprang from that "sin by which the angels fell"—an unmastered and profligate ambition—an ambition that would rather reign in hell than serve in heaven—that would rather rule supremely over a shattered fragment of the Republic than run the chance of sharing with others in the honors of the whole.

The conspirators of the South read in the election of Mr. Lincoln a declaration that the Democratic party had been prostrated, if not finally destroyed, by the selfish intrigues and corruptions of its leaders; they read, too, that the vicious, emaciated and spavined hobby of the slavery agitation, on which they had so often rode into power, could no longer carry beyond a given geographical line of our territory, and that in truth this factions and treasonable agitation, on which so many of them had grown great by debauching and denationalizing the mind of the people, naturally generous and patriotic, had run its course, and hence, that from the national disgust for this demagoguing and from the inexorable law of population, that the time had come when all those who had no other political capital than this would have to prepare for retirement to private life, so far at least as the highest offices of the country were concerned. Under the influence of these grim discouragements they resolved to consummate at once—what our political history shows to have been with them a long cherished purpose—the dismemberment of the Government. They said to themselves, "Since we can no longer monopolize the great offices of the Republic as we have been accustomed to do, we will destroy it and build upon its ruins an empire that shall be all our own, and whose spots, neither the North nor the East nor the West shall share with us." Deporable and humiliating as this certainly is, it is but a rehearsal of the sad and sorry story of the past. We had, indeed, supposed that under our Christian civilization we had reached a point in human progress, when a republic could exist without having its life sought by its own offspring, but the Catalines of the South have proved that we were mistaken. Let no man imagine that because this rebellion has been made by men renowned in our civil and military history, that it is therefore the less guilty or the less outrageously to be resisted. It is precisely this class of men who have subverted the best governments that have ever existed. The present spirits that have lived in the tide of times, the noblest institutions that have arisen to bless our race, have found those in whom they had most confidence and whom they had most honored, men wicked enough, either secretly to betray them unto death, or openly to seek their overthrow by lawless violence. The Republic of England had its Monk; the Republic of France had its Bonaparte; the Republic of Rome had its Caesar and its Cataline, and the Saviour of the world had His Judas Iscariot. It cannot be necessary that I should declare to you, for you know them well, who they are whose parabolic swords are now unsheathed against the Republic of the United States. Their names are inscribed upon a scroll of infamy that can never perish. The most distinguished of them were educated by the obsequy of the Government on which they are now making war.—For long years they were fed from its table, and clothed from its wardrobe, and had their ungrateful sons of a fond mother who dandled them upon her knee, who lavished upon them the glowing love of her noble and devoted nature, and who nurtured them from the very bosom of her life; and now, in the frenzied excesses of a licentious and baffled ambition, they are stabbing at that bosom with the ferocity with which the tiger springs upon his prey.

The President of the United States is heroically and patriotically struggling to baffle the machinations of these most wicked men. I have unbounded gratification in knowing that he has the courage to look traitors in the face, and that, in discharging the duties of his great office, he takes no counsel of his fears. He is entitled to the zealous support of the whole country, and may I not add without offence, that he will receive the support of all who justly appreciate the boundless blessings of our free institutions?

If this rebellion succeeds it will involve necessarily the destruction of our nationality, the division of our territory, the permanent disruption of the Republic. It must rapidly dry up the sources of our material prosperity, and year by year we shall grow more and more impoverished, more and more revolutionary, enfeebled and debased. Each returning election will bring with it grounds for new civil commotions, and traitors, prepared to strike at the country that has rejected their claims to power, will spring up on every side. Disunion once begun will go on and on indefinitely, and under the influence of the fatal doctrine of secession, not only will States secede from States, but counties will secede from States also, and towns and cities from counties, until universal anarchy will be consummated in each individual who can make good his position by force of arms, claiming the right to defy the power of the Government. Thus we should have brought back to us the days of the robber Barons with their moated castles and marauding retainers. This doctrine which analyzed is simply a declaration that no physical force shall ever be employed in executing the laws or upholding the government into whose practical administration such a principle has been introduced, could no more continue to exist than a man could live with an angled cobra in his bosom.

If you would know what are the legitimate fruits of secession, look at Virginia and Tennessee, which have so lately given themselves up to the embrace of this monster. There the schools are deserted; the courts of justice closed; public and private credit destroyed, commerce annihilated; debts repudiated; confiscations and spoliation everywhere prevailing; every cheek blanched with fear, and every heart throbbing with despair; and all over that desolate land the hand of infuriated passion and crime is waving, with a vulture's scream for blood, the sword of civil war. And this is the Pandemonium which some would have transferred to Kentucky.

But I am not here to discuss this proposition to-night. I wish solemnly to declare before you and the world, that I am for this Union without conditions, one and indivisible, now and forever. I am for its preservation at any and every cost of blood and treasure against all its assailants. I know no neutrality between my country and its foes, whether they be foreign or domestic; no neutrality between that glorious flag which now floats over us, and the ingrates and traitors who would trample it in the dust. My prayer is for victory, complete, enduring and overwhelming, to the armies of the Republic over all its enemies. I am against any and every compromise that may be proposed to be made under the guns of the rebels, while at the same time, I am decidedly in favor of affording every reasonable guarantee for the safety of Southern institutions, which the honest convictions of the people—not the conspirators—of the South may demand. *Whenever they shall lay down their arms, but not until then.* The arbitrament of the sword has been definitely thrust into the face of the Government and country, and there is no honorable escape from it. All guarantees and all attempts at adjustment by amendments to the Constitution are now scornfully rejected, and the leaders of the rebellion openly proclaim that they are fighting for independence. In this contemptuous rejection of guarantees, and in this avowal of the objects of the rebellion now so audaciously made, we have a complete exposure of that fraud which through the slavery agitation has been practiced upon the public credulity for the last fifty or twenty years. In the light of this revelation, we feel as one awakened from the suffocating torments of a nightmare, and realize what a baseless dream our oppressions have been, and of what a treacherous swindle we have been made the victims. They are fighting for their independence. Independence of what? Independence of those laws which they themselves have aided in enacting; independent of the Constitution which their fathers framed and to which they are parties and subject by inheritance; independent of that beneficent Government on whose treasury and honors they have grown strong and illustrious. When a man commits a robbery on the highway, or a murder in the dark, he thereby declares his independence of the laws under which he lives, and of the society of which he is a member. Should he when arraigned deny and justify the offence, he thereby becomes the advocate of the independence he has thus declared; and if he resists by force of arms the officer, when dragging him to the prison, the penitentiary, or the gallows, he is thereby fighting for the independence he has thus declared and advocated; and such is the condition of the conspirators of the South at this moment. It is no longer a question of Southern rights, which have never been violated, nor of security of Southern institutions, which we know perfectly well have never been interfered with by the General Government, but it is purely with us a question of national existence. In meeting with this terrible issue which rebellion has made up with the loyal men of the country, we stand upon ground infinitely above all party lines and party platforms—ground as sublime as that on which our fathers stood when they fought the battles of the Revolution. I am for throwing into the con-

test thus forced upon us all the material and moral resources and energies of the nation, in order that the struggle may be brief and as little sanguinary as possible. It is hoped that we shall soon see in the field half a million of patriotic volunteers, marching in columns which will be perfectly irresistible, and borne in their hands—for no purpose of conquest or subjugation, but of protection only—we may expect within nine months to see the stars and stripes floating in every Southern breeze and hear going up, wild as the storm the exultant shout of that emancipated people over their deliverance from the revolutionary terror and despotism, by which they are now tormented and oppressed.

The war conducted on such a scale will not cost exceeding four or five hundred millions of dollars; and none need be startled at the vastness of this expenditure. The debt thus created will press but slightly upon us; it will be paid and gladly paid by posterity, who will make the best bargain which has been made since the world began, if they can secure to themselves in its integrity and blessings such a government as this, at such a cost. But if in this anticipation we are doomed to disappointments, if the people of the United States have already become so degenerate—may I not say so craven—in the presence of their foes as to surrender up this Republic to be dismembered and subverted by the traitors who have reared the standard of revolt against it, then I trust the volume of American history will be closed and sealed up forever, and that those who shall survive this national humiliation will take up to themselves some other name—some name having no relation to the past no relation to our great ancestors, no relation to those monuments and battle-fields which commemorate alike their heroism their loyalty and their glory.

But with the curled lip of scorn we are told by the disunionists, that in thus supporting a Republican administration in its endeavors to uphold the constitution and laws, we are "secessionists," and when they have pronounced this, they suppose they have upped to us the sum of all human abasement. Well, let it be confessed; we are "secessionists," and weak and spiritless as it may be deemed by some, we glory in the position we occupy. For example, the law says "Thou shalt not steal," we submit to this law, and would not for the world's worth, rob our neighbor of his furs, his arsenals, his hospital stores, or anything that is his. Indeed, so impressed are we with the obligations of this law, that we would no more think of plundering from our neighbor half a million of dollars, because we found in his unprotected hands, than we would think of filching a purse from his pocket in a crowded thoroughfare. Write us down, therefore, "secessionists." Again, the law says "Thou shalt not swear falsely," we submit to this law, and while in the civil or military service of the country, with an oath to support the Constitution of the United States resting upon our consciences, we would not for any earthly consideration, engage in the formation or execution of a conspiracy to subvert that very constitution, and with it the government to which it has given birth. Write us down therefore again "secessionists." Yet again: When a President has been elected in strict accordance with the forms and spirit of the constitution, and has been regularly installed into office, and is honestly striving to discharge his duty by snatching the Republic from the jaws of a gigantic treason which threatens to crush it, we care not what his name may be or what the designation of his political party, or what the platform on which he stood during the Presidential canvass; we believe we fulfil in eight of earth and heaven our highest obligations to our country, in giving to him an earnest and loyal support in the struggle in which he is engaged.

Nor are we at all disturbed by the flippant taunt that in thus submitting to the authority of our government, we are necessarily cowards. We know whence this taunt comes, and we estimate it at its value. We hold that there is a higher courage in the performance of duty than in the commission of crime. The tiger of the jungle and the eagle of the South Sea Islands have that courage in which the revolutionists of the day make their especial boast; the angels of God and the spirits of just men made perfect have had, and have that courage which submits to the laws. Lucifer was a non-submissionist, and the first secessionist of whom history has given us any account, and the chains which he wears fitly express the fate due to all who openly defy the laws of their Creator and of their country. He rebelled because the Almighty would not yield to him the throne of Heaven; the principle of the Southern rebellion is the same. Indeed, in this submission to the laws is found the chief distinction between good men and devils. A good man obeys the laws of truth, of honesty, of morality, and all those laws which have been enacted by competent authority for the government and protection of the country in which he lives; a devil obeys only his own licentious and profligate passions. The principle on which this rebellion proceeds, that laws have in themselves no sanctions, no binding force upon the conscience, and that every man, under the prompting of interest or passion or caprice, may at will, and honorably, too, strike at the government that shelters him, is one of utter demoralization, and should be trodden out, as you would tread out a spark that has fallen on the roof of your dwelling. Its unchecked prevalence would resolve society into chaos, and leave you without the slightest guarantee for life, liberty, or property. It is time that in their majesty, the people of the United States should make known to the world that this government, its dignity and power, is something more than a moot court, and that the citizen who makes war upon it is a traitor,

not only theory but in fact, and should have meted out to him a traitor's doom. The country wants no bloody sacrifices, but it must and will have peace, cost what it may.

Before closing, I desire to say a few words on the relations of Kentucky to the pending rebellion; and, as we are all Kentuckians here together to-night, and as all this is purely a family matter, which concerns the honor of us all, I hope we may be permitted to speak to each other upon it with entire freedom. I shall not detain you with observations on the hostile and defiant position assumed by the Governor of your State. In his reply to the requisition made upon him for volunteers under the proclamation of the President, he has, in my judgment, written and finished his own history, his epitaph included, and it is probable that in future the world will little concern itself as to what he may propose to do or as to what he may propose not to do. That response has made for Kentucky a record that has already brought a blush to the cheek of many of her sons, and is destined to bring it to the cheek of many more in the years which are to come. It is a shame, indeed crying shame, that a State with so illustrious a past should have written for her by her own chief magistrate a page of history so utterly humiliating as this. But your Legislature have determined that during the present unhappy war, the attitude of the State shall be that of strict neutrality, and it is upon this determination that I wish respectfully, but frankly to comment.

As the motives which governed the Legislature were doubtless patriotic and conservative, the conclusion arrived at cannot be condemned as dishonorable, still, in view of the manifest duty of the State and of possible results, I cannot but regard it as mistaken and false, and one which may have fatal consequences. Strictly and legally speaking, Kentucky must go out of the Union before she can be neutral. Within it she is necessarily either faithful to the government of the United States, or she is disloyal to it. If this scruple of neutrality upon which her well-meaning but ill-judging politicians are halting, can find any middle ground on which to rest, it has escaped my researches, though I have diligently sought it. Neutrality, in the sense of those who now use the term, however patriotically designed it is, in effect, but a snake in the grass of rebellion, and those who handle it, will sooner or later feel its fangs. Said one who spoke as man never spoke "he who is not with us is against us," and of none of the conflicts which have arisen between men or between nations, could this be more truthfully said, than of that in which we are now involved.—Neutrality necessarily implies indifference. Is Kentucky indifferent to the issues of this contest? Has she no compact with her sister States to keep, no pledged faith to uphold, no renown to sustain, no glory to win? Has she no honor of that crime of crimes now being committed against us, that that stupendous rebellion which has arisen like a tempest cloud in the South? We rejoice to know that she is still a member of this Union, and as such she has the same interest in resisting this rebellion, that each limb of the body has in resisting a poignard whose point is aimed at the heart.—It is her house that is on fire; has she no interest in extinguishing the conflagration? Will she stand aloof and announce herself neutral between the raging flames and the brave men who are periling their lives to subdue them? Hundreds of thousands of citizens of other States—men of culture and character, of thought and of toil; men who have a deep stake in life, and an intense appreciation of its duties and responsibilities; who know the worth of this blessed government of ours, and do not prize even their own blood above it—I say, hundreds of thousands of such men have left their homes, their work-shops, their offices, their counting houses, and their fields, and are now rallying about our flag, freely offering their all to sustain it, and, since the days that crusading England threw its hosts upon the embattled plains of Asia no deeper or more earnest or grander spirit has stirred the souls of men, than that which now sways those mighty masses whose gleaming banners are destined ere long to make bright again the earth and sky of the distracted South. Can Kentucky look upon this sublime spectacle of patriotism unmoved, and then say to herself: "I will spend neither blood nor treasure, but I will shrink away while the battle rages, and after it has been fought and won, I will return to the camp, well assured that if I cannot claim the laurels, I will at least enjoy the blessings of the victory?" Is that all that remains of her chivalry—the obituary of the land of the Shelleys, the Johnsons, the Alices, the Clays, the Adairs, and the Davises! Is there a Kentuckian within the sound of my voice to-night, who can hear the anguished cry of his country, as she wrestles and writhes in the folds of this gigantic treason, and then lay himself down upon his pillow with this thought of neutrality, without feeling that he has something in his bosom which stings him worse than would an adder? Have we, within the brief period of eighty years, descended so far from the mountain heights on which our fathers stood, that already in our degeneracy, we proclaim our blood too precious, our treasure too valuable to be devoted to the preservation of such a government as this? They fought through a seven years war with the greatest power on earth for the hope, the bare hope of being able to found this Republic, and now that it is no longer a hope nor an experiment, but a glorious reality, which has excited the admiration and the homage of the nations, and has covered us with blessings, as "the waters cover the channels of the sea," have we, their children, no years of toil, of sacrifice, and of battle, even, if need be, to give to save it from absolute destruction at the hands of men, who, steeped in guilt, are perpetrating against us and humani-

ty a crime, for which, I verily believe, the blackest page of the history of the world's darkest period furnishes no parallel. Can it be possible that in the history of the American people we have already reached a point of degeneracy so low, that the work of Washington and Franklin, of Adams and Jefferson, of Hancock and Henry, is to be overturned by the morally begrimed and piqued conspirators who are now tagging at its foundations? Would be the overturning of the Andes by the miserable reptiles that are crawling in the sands at their base?

But our neutral fellow-citizens in the tenderness of their hearts say, "This effusion of blood sickens us." Then do all in your power to bring it to an end. Let the whole strength of the Commonwealth be put forth in support of the Government, in order that the war may be terminated by a prompt suppression of the rebellion. The longer the struggle continues, the fiercer will be its spirit, and the more fearful the waste of life attending it. You therefore coolly aggravate the calamity you deplore, by standing aloof from the combat. But again they say, "we cannot fight our brethren." Indeed! But your brethren can fight you and with a good will too. Wickedly and wantonly have they commenced this war against you and your institutions, and ferociously are they prosecuting it. They take no account of the fact that the measure with which they hope their swords will ere long be clogged, must be the measure of their brethren's. However much we may bow our heads to the confession, it is nevertheless true that every free people that have existed have been obliged at one period or other of their history, to fight for their liberties against traitors within their own bosoms, and that people who have not the greatness of soul thus to fight, cannot long continue to be free, nor do they deserve to be so.

There is not and there cannot be any neutral ground for a loyal people between their own government and those who at the head of armies are menacing its destruction. Your inaction is not neutrality, though you may delude yourselves with the belief that it is so.—With this rebellion confronting you, when you refuse to co-operate actively with your government in subduing it, you thereby condemn the government and assume towards it an attitude of antagonism. Your inaction is a virtual endorsement of the rebellion, and if you do not thereby give to the rebels precisely that "aid and comfort" spoken of in the Constitution you certainly afford them a most powerful encouragement and support. That they regard your present position as friendly to them, is proved by the fact, that in a recent enactment of the Confederate Congress confiscating the debts due from their own citizens to those of loyal States, the debts due to the people of Kentucky are expressly excepted. Is this not significant? Does it leave any room for doubt that the Confederate Congress suppose they have discovered in your neutrality a lurking sympathy for their cause which entitles you to be treated as friends if not as active allies? Patriotism as was the purpose of her apprehensive statesmen in placing her in the anomalous position she now occupies, it cannot be denied that Kentucky by her present attitude is exerting a potent influence in strengthening the rebellion, and is therefore false alike to her loyalty and to her fame. You may rest assured that this estimate of your neutrality is entertained by the true men of the country in all the States which are now sustaining the Government. Within the last few weeks how many of those gallant volunteers, who have left home and kindred and all that is dear to them, and are now under a Southern sun, exposing themselves to death from disease, and to death from battle, and are accounting their lives as nothing in the effort they are making for the deliverance of your Government and theirs; how many of them have said to me in sadness and in longing, "Will not Kentucky help me?" How my soul would have leaped could I have answered promptly, confidently, exultingly, "yes, she will." But when I thought of this neutrality, my heart sank within me, and I did not, and I could not look those brave men in the face. And yet I could not answer "no." I could not not cast myself to the earth under the self-abasement of such a reply. I therefore said—and may my country sustain me—I hope, I trust, I pray, may, I believe, Kentucky will yet do her duty.

If this Government is to be destroyed, ask yourselves: are you willing it shall be recorded in history that Kentucky stood by in the greatness of her strength and lifted not a hand to stay the catastrophic slide that is to be saved—ask yourselves: is it—are you willing it shall be written that in the immeasurable glory which must attend the achievements, Kentucky had no part?

I will only add, if Kentucky wishes the waters of her beautiful Ohio to be dyed in blood; if she wishes her harvest fields, now waiting in their abundance, to be trampled beneath the thrashings of the tempest; if she wishes the homes where her loved ones are now gathered in peace, invaded by the proscriptive fury of a military despotism, sparing neither life nor property; if she wishes the streets of her towns and cities grown with grass and the steamboats of her rivers to lie rotting at her wharves, then let her join the Southern Confederacy. But if she would have the bright waters of that river flow on in their gladness; if she would have her harvest peacefully gathered to her garner; if she would have the hillsides of her cradles and the songs of her homes untroubled by the cries and terrors of battle; if she would have the streets of towns and cities again filled with the hum and throng of busy trade, and her rivers and their shores once more vocal with the steamer's whistle—that anthem of a free and prosperous commerce—then let her stand by the stars and stripes, and do her duty and her whole duty as a member of this Union. Let her brave people say to the President of the United States, "You are our Chief Magistrate; the government you have in charge and are striving to save from dishonor and dismemberment is our government; your cause is indeed our cause; your battles are our battles; make room for us therefore in the ranks of your armies, that your triumph may be our triumph also."

Even as with the Father of us all I would plead for salvation, so my countrymen, as upon my very knees, would I plead with you for the life, of our great and beneficent institutions. But if the tr