The Bedford Inquirer.

A LOCAL AND GENERAL NEWSPAPER, DEVOTED TO POLITICS, EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND MORALS.

B. F. McNEIL, Editor and Proprietor, BEDFORD, PA. FRIDAY, APRIL 15, 1864, Vol. 37, No. 16.

The Bedford Inquirer

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Every Friday Morning on Juliana Street,

OPPOSITE THE MENGEL HOUSE,

BEDFORD, BEDFORD COUNTY, PA.

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apr. 15, 1864—10 m.

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apr. 15, 1864—tf.

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Permanently located in Woodberry, will carefully and punctually attend to all operations entrusted to his care.—Teeth inserted from one to an entire sett, in the latest and most approved style, and at rates more reasonable than ever before offered in this section of country. *Call and see specimens of work. All operations warranted.*

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Respectfully tenders his professional services to the citizens of Bedford and vicinity. Office and residence on Pitt Street, in the building formerly occupied by Dr. J. H. Hofius.

April 1, 1864—tf.

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Having permanently located respectfully tenders his professional services to the citizens of Bedford and vicinity. Office on Juliana Street, opposite the Bank, one door north of Hall & Palmer's office.

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FIFTH STREET, TWO DOORS WEST OF THE BEDFORD HOTEL,

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Watchmaker & Dealer in Jewelry, Spectacles, &c

HE KEEPS ON HAND A STOCK OF FINE GOLD AND SILVER WATCHES, SPECTACLES OF Brilliant Double Refined Glasses, also Scotch Pebble Glasses. Gold Watch Chains, Breast Pins, Finger Rings, best quality of Gold Pens.

He will supply to order any thing in his line not on hand.

apr. 8, 1864—1z.

HOTELS.

THE MENGEL HOUSE.

THREE DOORS NORTH OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE, JULIANA ST.

Bedford, Pa.

THIS HOUSE so well known to the traveling public, continues under the charge of Isaac Mengel. He spares no pains to supply the wants and comfort of all who favor him with their patronage. His table is spread with the best the market affords. His chambers are handsomely furnished. A convenient stable is attached to the House, attended by careful hostlers.

apr. 8, 1864—1z.

Educational.

THE TRIUMPHS OF SCIENCE.

"Knowledge is Power."

propose, in a few articles, to consider what Education has accomplished for the world, and its relation to the progress of individuals and society.

Intellectual powers ennoble man, distinguish him from lower order of creation, and are his chief glory. The cultivation of these is his duty and conduces to his happiness. Talents are given to be improved, not to be buried. The search which secures knowledge is richly repaid in the acquisition. The educated man has eyes to see the beautiful things of earth; ears to hear the sweet harmonies of Nature; hands to gather up the priceless gems, which Heaven scatters along his way. Education translates us, as it were, into a world. Nay, more; it extends the curtains of habitations, and we, who once burrowed in the earth, may walk among the stars.

Who can estimate our indebtedness, as civilized nations, to Education, and the general diffusion of knowledge? Machinery, set in motion and regulated by a few, does the work of contriving to one man the hands of the fabled Briareus. Golden harvests gathered and garnered in a day; spindles and looms converting wool, cotton and silk into fabrics of the finest texture and richest beauty, with astonishing rapidity; the rich ore dug from the bowels of the earth, then smelted and moulded and polished, transferred to our door service or ornament, all these tell of the triumphs of science.

The lumbering coach and sluggish bark, which carried our fathers, is exchanged for the commodious locomotive, which flies through valleys, darts through tunnels and sweeps across the plain, conveying men and merchandise from the seaport to the cities of the West, or the wilderness beyond, in many days, the long journey, which it once required months to accomplish.

It was, when it was thought a wonderful achievement for fleet-footed couriers to carry intelligence a hundred miles, between the rising and setting of the sun. Now, the telegraph flashes a message across a continent, in the twinkling of an eye; and the merchants in St. Louis, is apprised of the prices of exchange in N. Y. before the metropolitan has read his morning papers.—The commander-in-chief of a nation's forces, seated in secluded appartment, is informed of the result of a contest, before the booming of cannon in the hallway, and the smoke of battle disappeared. The remotest hamlet in the land, rejoices with a crowded city, in the restoration of peace, because ink is dry on the parchment, which pledges his and fealty.

Thanks of the Press, books are indefinately cheap, and as cheaply furnished, that a laborer into-day may purchase what was beyond the reach of kings; and orators, who once spoke to thousands, now address a nation, in "words that breathe and words that burn."

To whom we owe it, that the condition of man has been ameliorated, his comforts increased, his means of enjoyment augmented; the dim twilight of Civilization is declining towards the meridian of a better and more glorious day. Let it receive due credit what it has accomplished, whilst we point to those who gave these faculties of mind, by which he has soared like a bird of dawn, into other regions of thought and action.

We are reminded that progression is the law of nature. We have at first in the seed, a principle of life burning through its covering, then the blade then the ear, and at the last, the full grain in the ear. Day by day, and year by year the tender child passes on to maturity, then closes itself with the attributes of noble manhood. In like manner, the development of the individual, and knowledge is acquired by slow degrees. Sir. Isaac Newton began with the alphabet, the common school, Daniel Webster laid the foundation of his intellectual greatness.

Whether who trains the youthful mind, assumes a responsable trust, and undertakes a noble work, he who clears away the rubbish of ignorance, error, and lays the corner-stone of an immortal edifice. If his work be imperfectly done, its future will reveal it. If the first principles of knowledge be not clearly imparted, and not impressed, the mind will never attain to power, and freedom of thought- A distinguished statesman acknowledge his indebtedness to a man who, in the low-thatched schoolhouse taught him the rudiments of an English education and cherished his memory with even more grace and affection than that of a learned Professor who conducted him through the abstruse study of metapysical truth. A clergyman of gifted natural gifts, who might have filled the highest position in the gift of the churches an unimportant place, his influence by reason of the defectiveness of his education. If the foundation is imperfect, the structure will be also.

General intelligence is necessary to the development of the gifted few. Unappreciated genius runs to decay. The public speaker sees an audience, which can perceive the truth and be moved by his eloquence to noble deeds. The author must have a people to read and be benefited by his writings.

Men orators who addresssed the people, and the reporters, drew inspiration from the multitudes, which listened in breathless silence to their impassioned eloquence, or rent the air with applause. The intelligence, of the people went far to secure them the immortality which is theirs. Educated American people estimated, and longed for freedom from the oppressive yoke, and hence they caught the spirit of the noble Henry, and shouted it to the land—"Give us liberty or give us Death."

The common school then, receive the encouragement and support its important demands. There all we secure the wide diffusion of knowledge and raise up academies, colleges and universities which shall be an honor to our land, and from obscurity a nations pride and glory. Extinguished few. Let us go back to the times, open the fountain, and remove the obstructions that the rill may flow forth, the brook become a river, and the broad ocean send up its offerings to the sun, thence to be borne backward by the winds of Heaven, pouring down a fruitful baptism on the Earth.

SIGNA.

THE PERPETUITY OF THE UNION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. J. K. MOORHEAD,

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Delivered in the House of Representatives,

March 26, 1864.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. MOORHEAD said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: My colleague from the 21st district [Mr. DAWSON] has made confessedly the ablest speech on the other side of the House, and has stated with great frankness and clearness the grounds of his opposition to the war. Although it was well answered by my colleague from the 17th district, [Mr. SCOFIELD,] I feel it incumbent upon me to give it some attention, as our districts adjoin, have like interests and feelings, and as special efforts have been made, by the circulation of his speech, to affect the political sentiment of Western Pennsylvania. We both live at the head of the great channels of trade formed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and their tributaries, down which the coal, lumber, and agricultural products, and the manufactures of glass, steel, iron copper, wood, &c., of our people, were accustomed before the rebellion to float safely and without let or hindrance, to the inhabitants of thirty States, and on through the Gulf to foreign markets.—Valuable as the Federal Union is to the people of other States, it is beyond all price to Pennsylvania, and especially to his constituents and me, who alike love their country, are proud of its history, believe in free government, hate slavery, are ready to die rather than see their national flag dishonored at home or abroad, and will not permit the destruction of their government by aristocratic slaveholders, who treat and speak of northern people—Democrats as well as Republicans—with more scorn, than they feel for the slaves on their plantations. The blow of the traitors who made this war, fell first and heaviest on our constituencies, when they closed the navigation of the Mississippi, seized and confiscated property and destroyed trade more than sixty years enjoyed, and for restoration of the right to which our people have been vigorously fighting for nearly three years. I do this, Mr. Chairman, the more readily, because the doctrines he announces are the very same which brought on the war, and if not condemned by the people, would make the southern rebels our masters forever.

My colleague began his speech by reminding us in glowing terms of the happy and prosperous state of the country "about eight years since," when he left these halls. He left two years *before* Mr. Buchanan became President. What was its condition when Mr. Buchanan handed the Government to Mr. Lincoln? Why is my colleague silent as to the pregnant fact, that when Mr. Buchanan retired, the gloom of that awful period was such that its mere remembrance comes like an evil shadow over the heart of every patriot

It has been suggested he has been a deep sleeper during the eight years he was absent from political life. His speech furnishes strong evidence of it. Let me then inform him what he should know, and what many of his constituents do know, that not merely are we not "in the midst of a revolution," but the country was in the midst of a revolution when Mr. Buchanan retired, and has been on the brink of revolution at different times, for thirty years.

Jackson suppressed treason in 32. Jeff. Davis and his fellow-conspirators made some signs of beginning a revolution, under old Zh. Taylor in 1850, when California was admitted as a free State, but the hero of Buena Vista skelched it by announcing that he would hang the first rebel who dared to lift a hand against the Union, and Jeff. Davis knew well he would do it. They prepared for it, while Pierce lived in the White House, and Davis governed the country. They persevered while Buchanan was President, and Floyd controlled the army, until, between the 4th November. 1860, the day Lincoln was elected, and the 4th March, 1861, the day he was inaugurated, every southern fort except Pickens a Sumter, every armory and arsenal, all the ordnce, arms, and ammunition, all the custom-house, post offices, and mints, in a word all the property of the Federal Government in every seceded state were seized by slaveholding traitors, without a blow being struck or a shot being fired in the defense; and thirty days before Buchanan's term expired, eight slaveholding States had open rebelled against the Government, cast off allegiance to it and excluded its authority, hauled down its flag, captured its troops, arms, forts, ship munitions of war, assembled a congress at Montgomery, Alabama, adopted a constitution, elected a President, prepared to raise armies, and organized a confederacy as a foreign and hostile government, all under that Democratic rule which my colleague is so anxious to restore, and all done by Democratic leaders! What did Mr. Buchanan do to prevent these great crimes? Nothing What did the Democratic party do to prevent them? Nothing! What did they propose to do Nothing! On the other hand, they resisted everything that looked like protecting the public property, and preserving the nation's honor.

Sir, so widespread was treason, so faithless the President, that all hope was exhausted except the single one that his term would expire before all was lost. Thank God! Abraham Lincoln became President before the cause of the Union was totally ruined, and then the work of ruin began.

My colleague, in a speech of twenty nine pages, says not a word in denunciation of these rebel insults and outrages, nor does he show any sympathy with those of his neighbors whose blood has enriched every battle-field in defence of their country, and whose bones are bleaching at Richmond and Charleston, Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and whose heroic valor has protected his home and mine from threatened invasion by his late political friends. Nor has he a word of charges to make against anybody except of "madness and folly" against the people, and rail against the Government, the Quakers and Abolitionists. The rebellion is tenderly mentioned as "*ill-judged rebellion*"—no crime in it—no blood on the rebels' hands; only a mistake of judgment, a bad guess as to time and result! Sir, I do not think my colleague has allowed his good feeling to find expression in his speech; but as it was meant to aid in restoring the Democratic rule, its errors and fallacies should be pointed out.

My colleague sees no prospect of the end. He says "nearly three years of civil war have now discharged their relentless fury upon our unhappy country, and we are yet apparently remote from any satisfactory adjustment of our differences as when we first flew to arms." Sir, I broadly deny this extraordinary statement. It is the policy of the rebels, and those who sympathize with them to undervalue the results already accomplished, and to discourage the public feeling of the North. Jeff. Davis says the South cannot be conquered, and my colleague deliberately shuts his eyes to the astonishing results already attained. The rebellion is in its last agonies; immense regions have been reclaimed, several states are returning to their allegiance, and on every hand there is but one indication, and that of the increasing power of the Union and the increasing weakness of the rebellion. My colleague should see this but there is none so blind as he who will not see. His doctrine as to the true character of our Government is a specimen brick of the genuine Calhoun mould. He "finds no difficulty in a divided allegiance," and he "holds *that* allegiance to be to the citizen in equal degree to the government of the State and to that of the nation, both proceeding from the same source—the people of the several States." This doctrine has deluded multitudes into treason, has undermined the Federal Government, brought on this war, and sacrificed the lives of thousands of our people. General Jackson in his day denounced it, and warned the country against it; and even Mr. Buchanan, in his last Annual Message, declared it "to be inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution." It means that we have no national Government; that under the Constitution there is no Union, but only a knot of States that may be tied or untied at pleasure; that there is no such thing as a citizen of the United States, and no national flag to shelter him.

But, Mr. Chairman, the most cruel feature of my colleague's speech is that which, *openly* proclaiming his approval of Mr. Buchanan's course, *impliedly* censures that of the great old patriot whom he and I, once and again, but vainly, labored to make President of the United States—General Lewis Cass; whose patriotism and statesmanship revolted at the truckling policy of Mr. Buchanan, and who, when his proposition to garrison the southern forts and maintain possession of the public property was refused, promptly tendered his resignation and withdrew from the Cabinet. If Mr. Buchanan's policy was wise, General Cass's was unwise; if Mr. Buchanan was faithful in his high position, General Cass was mistaken in judgment; if Mr. Buchanan properly met the great duties of the hour, then General Cass utterly failed to appreciate the difficulties. But not so. I can never subscribe to such a sentence of condemnation against an old friend whom I have long admired; whom I now revere as among the worthiest statesmen the country has ever had, and whose claim to the love and gratitude of posterity rest, in my judgment, more firmly upon his unshaken fidelity when treason was so general, than even upon his brilliant records of both civil and military service. About the time he retired from the Cabinet he was filled with gloom and anguish at the threatening aspect of public affairs, as he fully comprehended the great and growing dangers which threatened the ship of state. His impressive exclamation at the time, in my presence, was: "We are lost, we are destroyed; our great and glorious country will be ruined. It might be saved—it might be saved.—I have tried to save it, but can do no more."—Glorious words! betokening the great heart of a brave, clear, patriotic statesman, who would have saved the country, the public property, and subdued the rebellion had he been President in place of Mr. Buchanan. As he was not, and the President would do nothing, he left the Cabinet.—Yet my colleague indorses Mr. Buchanan and his policy; thus implicitly casting censure and blame upon General Cass. I resent the imputation, and appeal with confidence from his words to the judgment of a free people, who *will be saved* despite the open treachery of Buchanan, or the covert treachery of his allies and friends.

I have alluded to the fact that rebellion is not a new thing in American history; all remember how promptly Jackson put down one, and Taylor nipped another in the bud. Lincoln has aroused the loyalty and patriotism of the country to subdue the last and worst; and we who are this day engaged, are but following the teachings of those departed patriots around whom a united country threw its protecting arms, and upon whose memories it continues to lavish its praise. "The Union: it must and shall be preserved," was the motto of Jackson; it is the heart-work of Lincoln. The rebellion of 1832 was invoked against existing legislation; this, much less justifiable, and more wicked, was inaugurated in the absence of offensive legislation, in fact at the moment when all legislation was not only harmless, but harmonious on the late disputed territorial question, when by the confession of the ablest of their leaders, the slaveholders of the South had no cause to justify secession, and when by the truth of history, there was no actual grievance whatever. This is most vigorously and clearly presented by the following extract from a speech of Alexander H. Stevens, delivered in the secession convention of Georgia, in January, 1861:

"This step (of secession) once taken can never be recalled; and all the baleful and withering consequences that must follow will rest on the convention for all coming time. When we and our posterity shall see our lovely South desolated by the demon of war, *which this act of yours will inevitably invite and call forth*, when our green fields of waving harvest shall be trodden down by the murderous soldiery and fiery car of war sweeping over our land, our temples of justice laid in ashes, all the horrors and desolations of war upon us, *who but this convention will be held responsible for it?* and who but him who shall have given his vote for this unwise and illtimed measure, as I honestly think and believe, *shall be held to strict account for this suicidal act by the present generation, and probably cursed and execrated by posterity for all coming time*, for the wide and desolating ruin that will inevitably follow this act you now propose to perpetrate. Pause, I entreat you. * * * *What right has the North assailed?* What interest of the South has been invaded? What justice has been denied, and what claim founded in justice and right has been withheld? Can either of you to-day name one governmental act of wrong, deliberately and purposely done by the Government at Washington, of which the South has a right to complain? I challenge the answer. * * * *

"We have always had the control of the General Government, and can yet if we remain in it, and are as united as we have been. We have had a majority of the Presidents chosen from the South, as well as the control and management of most of those chosen from the North.—We have had sixty years of southern Presidents to their twenty-four, thus controlling the Executive Department. So of the judges of the Supreme Court, we have had eighteen from the South, and but eleven from the North; although nearly four-fifths of the judicial business has arisen in the free States, yet a majority of the Court has always been from the South. This we have required, so as to guard against any interpretation of the Constitution unfavorable to us. In like manner we have been equally watchful to guard our interests in the legislative branch of Government. In choosing the presiding presidents (*pro tem.*) of the Senate, we have had twenty-four to their eleven. Speakers of the House, we have had twenty-three and they twelve. While the majority of the representatives, from their greater population, have always been from the North, yet we have so generally secured the Speaker, because he, to a greater extent, shapes and controls the legislation of the country. * * * Attorney Generals, we had fourteen, while the North have had but five. Foreign ministers, we have had eighty-six, and they but fifty-four. * * * We have had the principal embassies, so as to secure the world markets for our cotton, tobacco, and sugar, on the best possible terms. We have had a vast majority of the higher offices of both army and navy, while a large proportion of the soldiers and sailors were drawn from the North.—Equally so of clerks, auditors, and comptrollers, filling the Executive Departments. The records show for the last fifty years that of three thousand thus employed, we have had more than two thirds of the same, while we have but one-third of the white population of the Republic. * * * A fraction over three-fourths of the revenue collected for the support of the Government has uniformly been raised from the North. Pause now while you can, gentlemen, and contemplate carefully and candidly these important items. * * *

"For you to attempt to overthrow such a Government as this, under which we have lived for more than three quarters of a century, in which we have gained our wealth, our standing as a nation, our domestic safety, while the elements of peril are around us, with peace and tranquillity accompanied with unbounded prosperity, and rights unassailed, is the height of *madness, folly*, and *wickedness*, to which I can neither lend my sanction nor my vote."

Sir, this rebellion was a cold-blooded, premeditated, infamous, attempt of ambitious, desperate, and wicked conspirators to destroy the Union, overthrow free Government, establish a sectional one over the southern portion of it, and thus prepare the way by European intrigues for an aristocratic or monarchic form on this land of freedom. The man who in the loyal States tolerates, sympathizes with, or fails to check this movement, would, in revolutionary times, have been denominated a traitor. The man who halts in his fidelity, who quibbles about this technicality or that, who aids the rebels by decrying the power of the Government to suppress the rebellion, and by decrying its finances, should be ranked and despised as an Arnold who would sell his country.

But it said by these sympathizers with treason, that it is the fault of this Administration and its friends that this war exists; that it is an unholy war and should be stopped, and that Mr. Buchanan's policy was one of peace and conciliation, whilst that of Mr. Lincoln's has been one of usurpation and tyranny.

Whilst the answer to these allegations, full and ample as it is, may be important to the future historian, I will not stop to make it here as the war is upon us, and our present duties are to suppress it and its cause. It is waged for the purpose of dissolving the Government. It is enforced by vast armies, which are kept in the field by military despotism of the most relentless character.—The great question of the day is, not by what process this condition of things has been reached, but how to suppress the rebellion, how to beat back our rebel foes, how to save our people from spoliation and slaughter, our country from division, our Government from overthrow—duties in whose presence every other political duty bides its diminished head." I have, Mr. Chairman, uniformly observed that the men who waste their energies in discussing the past, are the least willing to meet the responsibilities of the present, and rise to the stature which it demands of all loyal citizens.

Still, sir, I am not willing to let so much of that part of the charge remain unanswered, as fixes upon the loyal North the responsibility for this war. The imputation is wholly false. The slaveholders were the aggressors. They were stimulated to the heinous crime by hatred of the progress of free communities, by jealousies of their rising power, by envy of their great superiority in every art and pursuit of life, and of the higher civilization which paid, intelligent and free labor has conferred upon the free States of the Union. Does any one doubt this? If so, let him read the debates in Congress of the last ten years, but especially during the sessions of 1859-60 and 1860-61—debates to which I was compelled to listen, and which abounded in the most malignant expressions of hatred, scorn, contempt, and disloyalty, plainly foreshadowing the base revolutionary schemes then fairly entered upon, and hurling defiantly at Northern Representatives the vile and untenable doctrine of the right of secession. One class of northern members, I regret to say, encouraged these declarations, sympathized with their authors, and abetted their designs, believing that they saw in them the material of successful political influence. But for this, there would have been no secession. Another class boldly denounced the falsehoods, resented the insults, and hurled back the threats of secession, declaring that under no circumstances would they consent to a separation of these States, or permit the mere result of an election to be made the pretext for revolution. Sir, I firmly believe that had all the northern members joined in these clear declarations of fidelity to the constitution and the Union, and announced their determination to maintain the existing Government at all hazards, the secession movement would never have risen to formidable proportions, or cause for serious alarm. But everywhere over the South secession was proclaimed to be a peaceful remedy for alleged grievances, and it was publicly and constantly proclaimed that any attempt to coerce the South, would be followed by a division in the North, that blood would flow in northern streets and a civil war among ourselves would render secession safe, certain, and complete. It is too true that many northern Representatives in that critical period, misrepresented their constituencies, fearfully deceived the rebel leaders, and thus covered themselves with a guilt scarcely less deep and infamous than belongs to Jeff Davis himself and his traitorous cabinet.—While this was the position of members on this floor, what was the attitude of Mr. Buchanan and his Administration? He cowered before the storm. Floyd shared his confidence until he had transferred a large portion of the arms to southern arsenals, without interference, until arrested in his treasonable attempt to remove the cannon from Allegheny arsenal to pretended forts in Louisiana, by the determined patriotism and courage of my constituents at Pittsburg, and then resigned because Mr. Buchanan refused to order Major Anderson back from Fort Sumter to Moultrie, and thereby maintain the promise previously given to South Carolina by Floyd, with Mr. Buchanan's consent, "that the status of affairs should not be disturbed in the harbor of Charleston." Cobb remained in the cabinet until by his financial management the credit of the Government was so low that money could scarcely be borrowed at any rate even to pay the necessary expenses of the Government, and in that time of peace, temporary loans could not be made except at most exorbitant rates of interest. Thompson, whilst holding a seat in the cabinet, journeyed to North Carolina to aid in switching the old North State out of the Union, and continued to possess himself of cabinet secrets to be transmitted south for the benefit of the rebels, until his sensitive honor could not endure the alleged concealment from him of Mr. Buchanan's tardy effort to provision Fort Sumter. Meanwhile the President, trembling with fear and overcome by the threats of rebels, was dragooned first into a modification of his last annual message so as openly to abandon the doctrine of coercion, which greatly corrupted northern opinion and contributed vastly to southern acceptance of the rebel programme; and then for weeks, as if struck with paralysis, when it was proposed to do anything in assertion to the rightful and inherent power of the Government to preserve itself—this weak and timid old man performed a role which has covered his name with infamy, and will forever load it with the nation's contempt. Such is my estimate of the reputation of James Buchanan," (once, I regret to say, known as "Pennsylvania's favorite son,") as finally left for the judgment of posterity.

General Cass, in his expressions referred to before, erred in one point. He miscalculated the extent of the evil done by Mr. Buchannan, and overestimated the influence of his imbecility and treachery upon the loyal masses. Yet at the time, so dark and portentous were the clouds, so general was public suspicion, so wide-spread and powerful the conspiracy, that it seemed to be hoping against hope to have any cheerful anticipations when looking into the dark and gloomy future; and it is not surprising that his patriotic heart was overwhelmed with grief. On every hand the enemy was busy, the Government silent and indifferent, bound hand and foot by its Attorney General, who narrowly paring down the power of the Government *to protect itself*, advised the President: "That the Union must utterly perish at the moment when Congress shall arm one part of the people against another for any purpose beyond that of merely protecting the General Government in the exercise of its proper constitutional functions." Such was the chosen and deliberated phraseology within which lurked the fallacious and destructive error that our fathers had constructed a Government without power to preserve itself or inforce its laws, to assert its unquestioned and inherit rights, to suppress insurrection, and save its own existence from active and armed treason; and in my opinion, Mr. Chairman, to the enunciation of this legal opinion, more than any other cause, are we indebted for the open outbreak of war. When, however, the over act was committed, the long impending blow struck, the dignity of the Government insulted, its rights invaded, its power defied, and the stars and stripes fired upon in Charleston harbor, the patriotism of the people, long dormant, and by some supposed to be extinct, was electrified into life with the power of a giant, their instincts stripped off the wretched sophistries of the ex-Attorney General, the heart of the people burst into life, burning with the sense of shame, injustice, and wrong which timid and faithless councils had too long invited, and the cry of stern judgment upon the traitors rang throughout the land. The Union, plotted against, and deemed not worth preserving, or not capable of preservation, at once asserted its supremacy over the national heart, and, safe from the intrigues of the plaint, and the expedients of the cowardly, it became a national divinity, which from that day to this has called forth the willing sacrifices of every true American heart, and will continue to do so until its enemies are exterpated, and its false friends consigned to a just sentence of scorn and contempt.

The progress of events has been steadily onward. The military power of the rebels greatly weakened, the territory once held by them vastly reduced and cut in twain by our rescue of the Mississippi river from their grasp, gradually they are being beaten back, their supplies being exhausted, their available forces constantly reducing, and the disaffected elements rapidly increasing. Upon the ruins of their original structure of government, a merciless military despotism has been erected, which vigorously strikes down every opposing right and privilege, which has broken every contract made with the people, has practically repudiated the entire currency, has conscripted the entire arms-bearing population, and their officers shoot down all who will not willingly obey their summons; broken up courts, and, in a word, has erected a military organization, the most concentrated and vigorous the world has ever seen. Such are, as I believe our enemies, while our administration has ever been scrupulous of public and private rights, and has never unjustifiably invaded either. No man ever exercised summary power more cautiously than Mr. Lincoln, none more honestly, none exercised it more gladly than he will, when the public interest may justify. They who denounce him as a usurper, know little of his high conscientiousness, and regard but little that public interest which is with him the pole-star of duty, and which now calls so loudly for his re-election. Meanwhile, the unparalleled financial management of the Secretary of the Treasury, our Government loans are taken with eagerness, the taxes are paid with promptness and cheerfulness, the army is being filled by re-enlistments, the heart and voice of the nation is rallying more closely and bravely around the Administration—insuring us against triumphs of our foes in the field, or our political foes at home. Sir, amongst the people of my district there are few, very few, who are not faithful to the nation in this great crisis of its need. The defection there as elsewhere is confined to extreme pro-slavery men, who uphold it not only for its own sake, but as a means of acheiving partizan success, in shameless disregard of their solemn duties to the country. Why should slavery be upheld? It deserves no such fate. It has long divided, distracted, and troubled us, It was from the beginning, and has gone on ever-increasingly to distract and embroil us.—It has been, and is the great bone of contention, over which at last, we have come to blows. To save it, is to perpetuate this discord. To destroy it is to secure the present, and make peaceful and glorious the future. But it cannot be destroyed by proclamations alone; the power of law should be invoked to make the destruction complete in character, and perfect in extent. It must be written in the constitution *that slavery shall no more exist in any American State.* Then and only then, may we sing the requiem of slavery. At present it is wounded, deeply wounded, by the blows that were given by its own friends, It bleeds, but its wounds may be staunched, unless by a staggering blow the people utterly destroy it, by force of public and unchangeable law.

The *principle* of slavery is the inspiration of the rebellion, and it is yet so held and defended by the organs of public sentiment in the rebellious States. I quote one declaration: "So far from believing that slavery must die," says the Richmond *Whig*, "we have long held the opinion that it is the normal and only humane relation which labor can sustain towards capital. When the war is over, we shall urge that every Yankee who ventures to put foot on southern soil be made a slave for life and wear an iron collar as a badge of inferiority to the African, Slavery will stab itself to death about the time the Yankees learn to tell the truth, and no sooner."

Sir, there is no safety for liberty on this continent, or for free labor, without the suppression of the rebellion and the exterpation of the pestilent aristocracy of opinion which sustains it, and the complete conformation of our institutions to the principles of the Declaration of Independence. I pity, while I despise the man in the loyal North who sympathizes with this rebellion, for it is based upon the narrowest and most exclusive ideas; it is aimed as a blow at the doctrines which underlie our whole system of republican liberty, and if successful it is intended to be the lever by which European systems are to be introduced and established upon this free continent, and by which the whole current of events, which thus far has tended to the amelioration of human suffering and the extension of human rights, shall be reversed and become assimilated to the monarchial and aristocratic systems of Europe. The man who is engaged in this work is a public enemy; the man who is in this home of liberty aids and abets him, deserves the execration of mankind.

But the object of those struggling for political power, under this view of the case, can never be accomplished, because the Union cannot and will not be restored except through the successful prosecution of the war.

The rebels remain or pretend to be sanguine of success. They are bold, daring, and impracticable; they propose no terms of negotiation, and will listen to none except with the fundamental condition that this Government recognize their independence. This done, they will then treat concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, international trade, the return of fugitive slaves, and the thousand and one questions that would arise between citizens of the contiguous governments. Who is prepared for this? None, I trust, although the peace policy advocated by gentlemen on the other side of the House leads invariably to this result.—The amnesty proclamation of the President has gone forth; let the power of the army and the vigorous prosecution of the war follow, until the rebels are subdued and plead for terms. There is no other hope for any one of us, or for any interest outside of this. I have no special anxieties about the reconstruction and the questions which will arise out of it. I believe the President has skilfully escaped the difficulties surrounding the problem; and I believe that the people of the South, removed from the pressure of the military power of the rebels, and anxious to escape the tyrannical exactions which have been laid upon them will rally around the old flag, and under the inspiration of the great lessen that has been taught, will reconstruct their State Governments, resume their relations with the General Government, and make those relations stable and secure by abolishing slavery, the cause of all the evil. Already Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and Louisiana are treading in that direction. Alabama also shows signs of wheeling into line. The others of our "erring sisters," redeemed and disenthralled, will in due order of progression follow, until finally we have a union of reconstructed States, without a blemish or deformity, and every star restored to more than its former brightness and glory.

What is to prevent this result? and why should it not be attained speedily? While Southern conscription has dragooned into the army not only the able-bodied men of proper age, but old men and boys have not been spared, and they have thus

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