The Bedford Inquirer.

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

B. F. McNEIL, Editor and Proprietor. BEDFORD, Pa., FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1864. Vol. 37: No. 39

in this paper, reach a thousand readers more, that they would, published in any other paper that circulates in this county. tf.

FREEMEN AROUSE!

Bedford County to the Rescue.

GRAND UNION MASS MEETING!

The Union Men of Bedford county will assemble in Mass Meeting in Bedford on Saturday Oct. 1st at 1 o'clock P. M. Let there be a full turn out of all true Union Men from every township and borough of the county. Hon. John Cessna and several prominent speakers from abroad will address the meeting.

JNO. LUTZ, *Sec'y.* G. W. RUPP, *Chairman Union Co. Com.*

Professor Wickersham's Lecture.

PROFESSOR WICKERSHAM delivered a lecture in the Presbyterian Church last Friday evening, on the "Characteristics of an American Education." The

PROFESSIONAL AND BUSINESS CARDS.

U. H. AKERS,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA.

Will attend promptly to all business entrusted to his care. Military claims speedily collected. Office on Juliana Street, two doors north of the Inquirer Office.
April 1, 1864—tf.

ESPY M. ALSIP,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA.,

Will faithfully and promptly attend to all business entrusted to his care in Bedford and adjoining counties.
Military claims, Pensions, back pay, Bounty, &c. speedily collected.
Office with Mann & Spang, on Juliana street, 2 doors south of the Mengel House.
April 1, 1864.—tf.

J. R. DURBORROW,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA.

Office one door south of the "Mengel House,"

Will attend promptly to all business intrusted to his care Collections made on the shortest notice.
Having, also, been regularly licensed to prosecute Claims against the Government, particular attention will be given to the collection of Military claims of all kinds; Pensions, Back Pay, Bounty, Bounty Loans, &c.
Bedford, apr. 8, 1864—tf.

ALEX. KING,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.

And agent for procuring arrears of Pay and Bounty money. Office on Juliana Street, Bedford, Pa.
April 1, 1864—tf.

KIMMELL & LINGENFELTER,
ATTORNEYS AT LAW, BEDFORD, PA.

Have formed a partnership in the practice of the Law. Office on Juliana Street, two doors South of the Mengel House.
April 1, 1864—tf.

JOHN MAJOR,
JUSTICE OF THE PEACE, HOPEWELL, BEDFORD COUNTY.

Collections and all business pertaining to his office will be attended to promptly. Will also attend to the sale or renting of real estate. Instruments of writing carefully prepared. Also settling up partnerships and other accounts.
April 1, 1864—tf.

JNO. MOWER,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
BEDFORD, PA.,
April 1, 1864.—tf.

JOSEPH W. TATE,
ATTORNEY AT LAW, BEDFORD PA.

WILL promptly attend to collections and all business entrusted to his care in Bedford and adjoining counties. Money advanced on Judgments, Notes and other Claims. Has for sale Town Lots, in Tatesville, and St. Joseph's on Bedford Railroad. Farms and unimproved land in quantities to suit purchasers.
Office opposite the Banking House of Reed & Schell.
apr. 15, 1864—10 m.

JOHN LUTZ,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
AND

Regularly licensed agent for the collection of Government claims, bounties, back pay, pensions, &c., will give prompt attention to all business entrusted to his care.
Office with J. R. Durborrow, Esq., on Juliana Street, Bedford Pa.
August 19th, 1864.—tf.

RUPP, SHANNON, & CO., BANKERS,
Bedford, Pa.,
BANK OF DISCOUNT AND DEPOSIT.

COLLECTIONS made for the East, West, North and South, and the general business of Exchange, transacted. Notes and Accounts Collected, and Remittances promptly made. REAL ESTATE bought and sold.
G. W. RUPP, O. E. SHANNON, F. BENEDICT.
apr. 15, 1864—tf.

DANIEL BORDER.
PITT STREET, TWO DOORS WEST OF THE BEDFORD HOTEL,
Bedford, Pa.
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—zz.

PHYSICIANS, &C.

DENTISTRY.
I. N. BOWSER, Resident Dentist of Woodbury.

WILL spend the second Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, of each month at Hopewell, the remaining three days at Bloody Run, attending to the duties of his profession. At all other times he can be found in his office at Woodbury, excepting the last Monday and Tuesday of the same month, which he will spend in Martinsburg, Blair county, Penna. Persons desiring operations should call early, as time is limited. All operations warranted.
Aug. 5, 1864.—tf.

C. N. HICKOK
DENTIST.
OFFICE IN BANK BUILDING;
BEDFORD, PA.
April 1, 1864.—tf.

DR. B. F. HARRY,
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.

J. L. MARBOURG, M. D.
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.
April 1, 1864—tf.

HOTELS.

EXCHANGE HOTEL,
HUNTINGDON, PA.
JOHN S. MILLER, Proprietor.
April 29th, 1864.—tf.

UNION HOTEL.
VALENTINE STECKMAN, PROPRIETOR,
West Pitt Street, Bedford, Pa.,
(Formerly the Globe Hotel.)

THE public are assured that he has made ample arrangements to accommodate all that may favor him with their patronage.
A splendid **Livery Stable** attached. (apr'64.

Select Poetry.

THE CHICAGO SURRENDER.

What! hoist the white flag when our triumph is nigh?
What! crouch before Treason! make Freedom a lie?
What! spike all our guns when the foe is at bay
And the rags of his black banner dropping away?
Tear down the strong name that our nation has won,
And strike her brave bird from his home in the sun?

He's a coward who shrinks from the lift of the sword;
He's a traitor who mocks at the sacrifice poured;
Nameless and homeless the doom that should blast
The knave who stands idly till peril is past,
But he who submits when the thunders have burst
And victory dawns, is of cowards the worst!

Is the old spirit dead? Are we broken and weak,
That cravens so shamefully lift the white cheek
To court the swift insult, nor blush at the blow,
The tools of the Treason and friends of the foe!
See! Anarchy smiles at the Peace which they ask,
And the eyes of Disunion flash out through the mask!

Give thanks, ye brave boys, who by valc and by crag
Bear onward, unfaltering our noble old flag,
Strong arms of the Union, heroes living and dead,
For the blood of your valor is uselessly shed!
No soldier's green laural is promised you here,
But the white rag of "*sympathy*" softly shall cheer!

And you, ye war martyrs, who preach from your graves
How captives are nursed by the masters of slaves,
Or, living, still linger in shadows of Death,—
Puff out the starved muscle, recall the faint breath,
And shout, till those cowards rejoice at the cry:
"By the hands of the Union we fought for, we die!"

By the God of our Fathers! this shame we must share,
But it glows too debasing for freeman to bear,
And Washington, Jackson, will turn in their graves
When the Union shall rest on two races of slaves,
Or, spurning the spirit which bound it of yore,
And sundered, exist as a nation no more!

BAYARD TAYLOR.

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN CESSNA.

Delivered in Philadelphia, Saturday Sept. 10th 1864.

Mr. President and fellow-citizens: Since the polls were closed on the first Tuesday of November, 1860, I have very rarely appeared before my fellow-citizens as a political speaker. Nor do I expect to change that habit to-night, because, although this is to a great extent a political meeting, yet in what little I shall say to my fellow-citizens, no matter what others may say on the subject, I do not wish to be understood as making a strictly political address. So far, however, as what I have to say here to-night may partake of a political character, I shall ask the indulgence of those who may hear me, to believe me when I say that it will in no degree vary in principle from the political addresses which I have delivered within the last four years, or at any former time. I am fully sensible, however, of the fact that to-night I appear before many of my fellow-citizens with whom I have never heretofore politically acted in harmony. My position in appearing before you, so far as relates to the attachments of friends, is one of a somewhat painful character; yet I hold that these are times when no man is justified in yielding to the selfish considerations of political position or personal feeling. It is but natural to desire the good opinion of all our fellow-citizens, and to regret when we are compelled to differ with those with whom we have long acted; but, as I have already said, there are duties devolving upon us which are of far more weight and influence than the mere considerations of personal comfort, and it is the influence of those duties upon my mind, upon my conscience, and upon my judgement which has brought me here to-night. [Applause.] Although there many painful considerations in connection with my appearence before you, there are those of a different nature. In the first place, those men and those political journalists with whom I formerly acted, and who, if they notice our proceeding to-night, will doubtless most rudely and extensively denounce me, are those who, for the last four years, have been the loudest, most eloquent, and most persistent in advocacy of the right of free speech and the enunciation of individual opinion. In the next place, these men and these papers who will perhaps denounce me as a renegade and a traitor for what I may say to you, may be improved thereby, for I know that I have not, and I believe that you have not, heard many of them say anything about the renegades and traitors that live in another part of the country. [Applause.] If, when they get their hand in, they should tire of abusing and denouncing me and others who have been Democrats all our lives, but have been unable to swallow the platform lately erected at Chicago, and will then turn their attention for a short time to Jeff Davis and his fellow rebels, I think we will have accomplished something in the interests of our common cause. And if any of them, whether he be a public speaker or a public writer, should be bold enough and patriotic enough to speak out against the enemies of our country, I think that Barnum will be able to make a fortune by transporting him around the country as a kind of curiosity.—[Laughter and applause.]

Now my fellow-citizens, I have said that what little I may say to you to-night will not differ in its political character from anything I have ever said before the people of my native State. I am not here to-night as the portisan of any man, or the advocate of any party. I am here in no such capacity. I have for two three, or four years past earnestly desired to stand by the Democratic party, and while it was possible, have done so to the best of my judgement and ability. I am not here to denounce that party nor any of my friends who differ with me on the present issue, but I am here because I believe that the best men of that party, and the best men of all parties, are called upon by the condition of our country, by the exigencies of the times, and the probability of the overthrow of civil and religious liberty in this land and throughout all the nations of the earth, to rise above party and to stand by the country, the country's cause, and the country's flag. [Cheers.] I have always been taught to believe it to be a part of the creed of the great party to which I have always been proud to belong to and to stand by the Union, to stand by the Constitution, and to uphold that flag. But at the National Convention of that party, held at Charlestown, there were men who came there determined to divide and distract the party. They came there, and with the aid of men in the Pensylvania delegation, and in many other Northern delegations, they succeeded too well in their nefarious purposes.—If the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, was a national calamity, I charge it home that they are the men who did it. We stood there patiently for days and for weeks. We went to Baltimore. They followed us, some of them went to Richmond, where they established their own platform. We came home; and those of us, although in a majority in our own party, who stood by the regular national nominees, were ridiculed, abused, denounced, insulted, and driven into the rear ranks of the Democratic party. This merely because we would not follow the beck of such leaders.—We stood it then in 1861, when the Democratic party took ground in favor of a prosecution of the war. In 1862 they did the same, and I stood by them. I was with them in the campaign, and supported their ticket because I believed them to be honest in their professions. In 1863 they ignored the war policy of the country. I entreated them to reflect upon the consequences of their unwise position, and to adhere to their former policy in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war, as sustained by them in 1861 and 1862. I told them, and others of us told them, that so sure as they repudiated that policy and adopted the doctrine of Vallandigham and his colaborers of the Northwest, just so sure the people would rise in their might, and the party would be overwhelmed at the ballot-box. [Great cheering.] For this reason, I went home from the convention at Harrisburg in sadness and in silence, and remainen silent during the campaign. The people of Ohio, by more than 90,000 majority, verified and fulfilled the prediction that I had made to the Democratic leaders at the convention of 1863.—Still we remained silent, hoping almost against hope, that our Democratic leaders at Chicago would return to the faith of our fathers, and to the true doctrines of the Democratic party, as proclaimed by Jefferson, Jackson, and all the best men of that party from that day to this.

My fellow-citizens, no man in Pennsylvania more anxiously or more earnestly hoped, even against hope, that he might be able to sustain the nominees of the Chicago Convention than did the individual who now stands before you. I waited even until the Convention had concluded its labors, and the proceedings were officially proclaimed and sent forth to the world, and I stand here to-night to say to you that if that Convention had endorsed the true doctrine of the Democratic party, and had declared for the Union, the Constitution, the prosecution of the war—against secession and in favor of suppressing the rebellion—and had placed before the people national candidates, in whom we might have confidence, I would have supported the nominees of the Convention. But the same men that went to Charleston, and broke up the Convention there, the same men that went to Baltimore to continue the business, the same men that have been trying to break up the Union and the party, both together, went to Chicago, and unfortunately obtained a controlling influence of that Convention. They have sent forth a platform that I shall not describe, for I have not got time, and, besides, you all understand its contents, but I will say here, before the world, I would rather that my right arm should fall from my shoulder, that any calamity should befall me, the loss of friends, party associations, property, all that I am, and all that I hope to be in this life—that all these may perish before I will support the Chicago platform or any man that stands upon it. [Long and continued cheering] I take this stand because I believe my country demands that sacrifice. My fellow-citizens sacrifice their lives upon the battle-field, and why should I not sacrifice my political position, my personal standing, my prospects before the country, and with my friends' rather than flag should go down, as I believe it will, if the nominations and platform at chicago are sustained by the American people. [Great cheering] I believe that the only safe remedy for all true Democrats is to unite in defeating the nominees of the Chicago Convention, in rebuking those who destroyed the party in 1860. and who continue to keep it in a false position before the nation and before the world in 1864. If they will not listen to our advice. nor held our entreaties, we must, in self defence, and in the discharge of our duties, assist in teaching them that they cannot, and shall not, use us as instruments for the accomplishment of their unworthy purposes. If we succeed in convincing them that they cannot be successful in foisting false doctrines on the American people they will, perhaps, in the future listen to our appeals. For the present they have taken from us every hope and every remedy but this one—to openly oppose them in their endeavors. The American people have solemnly determined that this nation shall not be divided. They have resolved this upon their knees and in their closets, and if the rebels in arms will not submit to their decision the military power of the rebellion must and will be overthrown. The Chicago platform contains no such declaration—not one word against the doctrine of Secession, or against the rebellion, and nothing in favor of its suppression. For this reason the American people will not endorse it. Pretended peace commissioners from the South may suggest at Niagara theories for a Democratic platform—members of Congress who openly advocated the heresy of Secession, and hoped the rebel armies might be victorious and the Union armies defeated, and other members of Congress who assisted in retaining those members in their seats may go to Chicago and submit to the dictation of such peace commissioners—the proceedings of the Convention may be endorsed in Nova Scotia and Richmond traitors may long for the triumph of theories thus expounded—foreign enemies of the American Republic may re-echo the hope—Lindsey, Roebuck, and their friends in England; Louis Napoleon and John Slidell in France, and the enemies of civil and religious liberty everywhere may join in the issue, but the American people will rise in their might and overwhelm them in one common ruin. The friends of this platform cannot reasonably hope for its success. The candidate nominated upon it for the highest office in the gift of the people has been unable to stand upon or endorse it without material alterations, corrections and additions. This being the fact, it is asking too much to expect that the American people should do that which the candidate cannot do himself. We sincerely believe that the people will not throw it at the ballot-box. It has already received several heavy loads. The first was a large supply of shot and shell from the army of General Sherman. The next was a cargo of earth from the Green Mountains of Vermont. The next will be a layer of timber from maine. And so it will continue until the second Tuesday of October, when Pennsylvania will tumble upon it such a large cargo of iron and coal as will sink it so deep that the hand of resurrection will never be able to reach it. The people of the nation will reinforce the victorious armies of Grant and Sherman. They will continue the fight until the rebel horde of Lee and the flying remnant of hood shall be overthrown. The unity and integrity of the nation shall be preserved, and peace shall be restored throughout her borders. [Renewed cheers]

My fellow-citizens, allow me to call your attention to the issues of the present crisis. They are most momentous. None greater have ever stood forth in the progress of history. Is man capable of self-government? To establish this proposition was the great object of the American Revolution. It found few advocates before that period. At that time there were many unbelievers in the doctrine. Notwithstanding the result of that Revolution, and the remarkable and unexampled success and prosperity of the nation born of it, there have always been among us men who have no faith in the doctrine. They are still quite numerous, and constantly predict the success of the present rebellion. In this they are heartily joined by the tyrants and aristocracy of the Old World.

The success of our nation thus far has created an intense interest throughout the world. If we can survive the present shock, suppress the rebellion, and return to our path of progress, the example can not, and will not, be long resisted by the other nations of the earth. The success—or, rather, the continuance—of civil and religious liberty, not only in our own country but throughout the world depends upon the result of our present conflict. Our failure now would rejoice the enemies of liberty and make glad the hearts of tyrants in every land; and bring additional grief and sorrow to the down-trodden and oppressed of every clime. The destruction of our republic would do more to perpetuate despotism and to roll back the tide of progress and check the advance of civilization than any event which has ever occurred in the history of the human race. Words cannot describe, nor can language measure, the magnitude and importance of the present struggle. It becomes, therefore, the paramount duty of every patriot to use his utmost exertions to secure its favorable termination.

The present rebellion and civil war were inaguratad by those who maintain the right of secession. It requires no argument to show that the admission of this principle in any one case leads inevitably to dissolution, disintregation and final anarchy. Admit the possibility of a northern and southern confederacy, and you thereby concede the establishment of an eastern and western, or a New England and border State, or an Atlantic and Pacific, or a Mississippi valley, or any other confederacy, or any number of confederacies, which the discontent or ambition of individuals may require to suit their unworthy and wicked purposes. The history of our country during the period of the Revolution, and shortly after that time, or too well known to require repetition.—The adoption of the articles of confederation, and their inadequacy, after a short trial, to subserve the ends and purposes of the nation, are matters of history known to all. Our forefathers, those to whom we owed our existence as an independent nation and our continuance as a government, speedily superseded the articles of confederation by the present Constitution, for the express purpose of preventing, through all time to come, the petice of secession, and strengthening the arm of the central power.

This doctrine of secession is not only without warrant in the Constitution, but must lead to wild confusion in the working of our political system, a system established by the judgment and wisdom of our fathers, the ablest statesmen ever given to the world, and a system without a model in all the ages of the past—a perfect structure, which distributes all the powers of the government in such a way as to prove a perfect check upon each other and yet work in unity and harmony in promoting all the great objects of its creation. The several States may become great in population, great in territory, great in resources; but their true greatness at last consists in their being parts of a greater whole, members of one great family. Our nation can only live and accomplish the purposes of its creation, protect and uphold the cause of civil and religious liberty on this continent and throughout the world, with one constitution, one Union, one government, one set of laws, one destiny. One flag only, and that the "stars and stripes," can ever be permitted to float over any portion of our land; and silent be the wicked tongue that would ever utter a word against that flag, and palsied the traitor's arm that would ever dare to make an effort to haul down that flag or to put another in its stead. To preserve our unity as a nation, and to prevent dissolution, disintegration and final anarchy, may, and will no doubt, require many and fearful sacrifices in addition to those already made. Our fathers endured the sufferings and perils of a seven year's war to establish the nation. They were working for an experiment, moved by hope. The reality is before us.—We have all of their hopes, strengthened by years of fruition, of example, and of unequalled prosperity and success. We cannot, we dare not surrender the government they gave us, but must hand it down to the latest posterity unimpaired and untarnished as we received it. "True, we may now be sorely tried and grievously afflicted; the kings of the earth may shake the head, and shoot out the lip and laugh us to scorn, but we are only passing through those *constant and sharp antagonists* which are the law of all growing things. The eagle's mighty wing is nerved by the hurricane. Human progress is ever like that of a ship bearing to windward in the very eye of the tempest. Even Christianity, from its rude cradle, down through all its mighty triumphs in long antiquity, has fulfilled the same law and grown strong through *antagonisms;* so that the consummation of God's most stupendous purpose was achieved not by the ministry of singing angels but through human antagonisms, with treachery and a cross."

This Union, thice favored of Heaven's richest promises, must not die. It will survive even the gigantic conflicts now so fiercely raging, and unborn generations in our own land and throughout the world will celebrate its restored power and increasing splendor. "All empires have been cemented in blood." We cannot expect to escape, and although we had hoped that such cement would not be needed for our domestic and internal structure, it is now manifest that "blood must be mingled with the sacrifices" required to preserve our nation. But it must and will be preserved. Much has been done since the commencement of the present war to prove to the world that the settled judgement and purpose of the people are to preserve the unity of the nation. The minds of our people are made up that this great purpose must be accomplished. The cost may be great, the burden heavy, but it must be done. Every one of us must sooner or later bring himself to the conviction, and be ready to exemplify the truth of the theory in his own person and practice, that all must be made subservient to the great end of preserving the integrity and unity of the republic.—There is an implied contract between the government and every individual subject. The former owes protection to the latter. No man in our nation can say that it has been withheld. Nowhere else has the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness ever been so universal, so certain, and so secure.

In no other land have so many privileges and such large liberties been vouchsafed. In turn the citizen owes obedience to law, the payment of his taxes, a cheerful and earnest support of his government in times of difficulty, and if needs be his strong right arm to defend her from the assaults of foreign foes or domestic traitors. No matter what difficulties may come, or what dangers may threaten, the true patriot can never do less than to stand by the flag of his country, and will always be ready to exclaim: "Perish my own prosperity—perish property—perish party—perish all things that stand in the way of my nation's progress—perish all that I have, and all that I hope in this life—perish self, but live, still live, long live; oh! ever live, my country!"

The right and duty of self-preservation have at all times in the history of the nation been clearly maintained by our ablest statesmen. George Washington did not hesitate to enforce the law against these who attempted to resist it in the collection of taxes upon distilleries and whisky. In his message to Congress soon after the occurrence, he said:—"Thus the painful alternative could not be discarded. I ordered the militia to march, after once more admonishing the insurgents in my proclamation of the 25th of September last. While there is cause to lament that occurrences of this nature should have disgraced the name or interrupted the tranquilty of any part of our community, or should have diverted to a new application any portion of the public resources, there are not wanting real and substancial consolations for the misfortune. It has demonstrated that our prosperity rests on solid foundations, by furnishing an additional proof that my fellow-citizens understand the true principles of government and liberty that they feel their inseparable union; that, notwithstanding all the devices which have been used to sway them from their interest and duty, they are now as ready to maintain the authority of the laws against *licentious invasions* as they were to defend their rights against usurpations. It has been a spectacle displaying to the highest advantage the value of republican government, to behold the most and the least wealthy of our citizens standing in the same ranks as private soldiers, preeminently distinguished by being the army of the Constitution, undeterred by a march of three hundred miles over rugged mountains by the approach of an inclement season, or by any other discouragement. Nor ought I to omit to acknowledge the efficacious and patriotic co-operation which I have experienced from the Chief Magistrates of the States to which my requisitions have been addressed." These are the words of the first President of the republic—the father of his country. Had his penetrating eye scanned the future and placed before him the present condition of his native land, he could not have used language more completely and conclusively establishing the right and duty of self preservation.

As early as 1786, while the old Articles of Confederation were in force, and before the adoption of our present Constitution, which was adopted by the people in order to *form a more perfect Union*, and to perpetuate the blessings of liberty, and which, by express delegation, conferred the power and authority declared to exist by implication under the Articles of Confederation, Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr. Monroe, declared, "There never will be money in the Treasury till the confederey shows its teeth. The States must see the rod; perhaps it must be felt by some of them. I am persuaded all of them would rejoice to see every one obliged to furnish its contributions."

In another letter, written in 1787, Mr. Jefferson says: "But with all the imperfections of our present government, it is without comparison, the best existing, or that ever did exist. Its greatest defect is the imperfect manner in which matters of commerce have been provided for. It had been so often said, as to be generally believed, that Congress have no power by the confederation to enforce anything—for example, contributions of money. It was not necessary to give them that power expressly, they have it by the law of nature. When two parties make a compact, there results in each a power of *compelling the other to execute it.*" Thus spoke the author of the Declaration of Independence, and the father of Democracy. Had all of his pretended followers and admirers in the south obeyed his teachings and practiced his theories, the present crisis would not now be upon the nation.

In 1832, James Madison, in speaking of the Virginia resolutions written by himself, used the following language: "The essential difference between a free government and a government not free is, that the former is founded in compact, the parties to which are mutually and equally bound by it. Neither of them, therefore, can have a greater right to break off from the bargain than the other or others have to hold him to it, and certainly there is nothing in the Virginia resolutions of 1798 adverse to this principle, which is that of common sense and common justice." It is remarkable how closely the nullifiers, who make the name of Mr. Jefferson the pedestal for their *colossal secrecy*, shut their eyes and lips whenever his authority is ever so clearly and emphatically against them. You have noticed what he says in his letters to Monroe and Carrington with respect to the power of the old Congress to coerce delinquent States; and his reason for preferring for the purpose a naval to a military force and, moreover, his remark that it was not necessary to find a right to coerce in the Federal articles, that being inherent in the nature of a compact.

In 1832 the State of South Carolina attempted to practice the heresy of secession. At that time Andrew Jackson occupied the executive chair of the nation. His views and opinions are fully and clearly set forth in his proclamation of that date, as will appear from a few brief extracts: "And whereas, The said ordinance prescribes to the people of South Carolina a course of conduct in direct violation of their duty as citizens of the United States, contrary to the laws of their country, subversive of its Constitution, and having for its object the destruction of the Union, that Union which, coeval with our political existence, led our fathers, without any other ties to unite than those of patriotism and a common cause, through a sanguinary struggle to a glorious independence—that sacred Union, hitherto inviolate, which, perfected by our happy Constitution, has brought us, by the favor of Heaven, to a state of prosperity at home, and high consideration abroad, rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of nations. To preserve this bond of our political existence from destruction, to maintain inviolate this state of national honor and prosperity, and to justify the confidence my fellow-citizens have reposed in me, I, Andrew Jackson, President of the United States have thought proper to issue this, my proclamation, stating my views of the Constitution and laws applicable to the measures adopted by the convention of South Carolina, and to the reasons they have put forth to sustain them, declaring the course which duty will require me to pursue, and appealing to the understanding and patriotism of the people, warn them of the consequences that must inevitably result from an observance of the dictates of the convention.

"The Constitution of the United States forms a *government*, not a league, and whether it be formed by a compact between the States, or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly on the people individually, not upon the States; they retained all the power they did not grant. But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute jointly with the other States a single nation, cannot, from that period, possess any right to secede, because such secession does not break a league, but destroys the unity of a nation, and any injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result from the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States is not a nation; because it would be a solecism to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connections with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without committing any offence."

Thus spoke Andrew Jackson in 1832. His actions corresponded with his words. Troops were at once sent to resist the first outbreak, and the firm strong voice of the old hero, as he boldly declared that "the Federal Union must be preserved," struck terror to the hearts of the traitors, and the first rebellion was crushed without the shedding of blood. Fortunate for the nation and for mankind that General Jackson occupied the executive chair of the United States in 1832 Providence, always heretofore favoring our nation, never permitted us to suffer a greater calamity than that which befel the republic from the want of a Jackson in the same position at the inauguration of the present rebellion.

The views entertained and expressed by these statesmen have been fully endorsed and affirmed on repeated occasions by the Supreme Court of the United States. Chief Justice Marshall, whose great learning and legal ability, as well as his eminent position, were calculated to give confidence in his opinion and judgement everywhere throughout the nation, declared in Cohens vs. Virginia: "It is very true that whenever hostility to the existing system shall become universal it will be also irresistible. The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their will, and lives only by their will. But this supreme and irresistable power to make and unmake resides only in the whole body of the people, *not in any subdivision of them.* The attempt of any of the parts to exercise it is usurpation, and ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated their power of repelling it. The same voice comes to us from the tombs of Mount Vernon, Monticello and the Hermitage, as well as from the graves of Madison and the judicial learning and unspotted ermine of Marshall. Ashland and Marshfield poured forth their unsurpassed eloquence in defence of the same vital principles on many occasions. All the great men of our land, of all parties and at all times, in the Cabinet, in Congress and on the bench, have united and agreed upon this great question.

No man of national fame, either living or dead who had recieved or was entitled to the confidence of the American people, ever entertained or expressed an opposite opinion. The advocates of the doctrine of the right of secession are sustained and supported only by the address of Benedict Arnold, in the days of the Revolution, to the American people, after he had betrayed them; the platform of the Hartford Convention in 1815, and the resolutions of nullification by South Carolina in 1832. All the arguments of the unconditional peace men of the present day are drawn from or founded upon the ideas, sentiments and principles of these three documents. The patriot can console himself with the reflection that in the present struggle we have right on our side. Not only the glorious reccollections of the past, the proud realities of the present, and the bright hopes of the future, inspire us in our devotion to our cntry, but we are strengthened and encouraged with the full knowledge and firm conviction that reason and justice are on our side. The true patriot will always stand by his country in time of war, right or wrong. No wonder then that in this war when we have country, all the glorious memories of the past, the institutions and government as our fathers made them on the one hand, and only the tyranny, despotism and anarchy of traitors on the other, that so many have rallied to our support. More is the wonder that there should be one among us who is not ardently attached to our cause. But the highest and brightest intellects of the nation, its great power and force of argument and reasoning, its most educated and well disciplined minds, all its most eloquent tongues, as well as its most profound thinkers and most polished pens, are warmly and ardently enlisted in the cause of the Union. From the forests of Maine to the golden shores of California, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, countless hosts have solemnly sworn that the "Republic shall live" and now stand forth everywhere a mighty army, ready to seal their oaths with the blood of heroes and patriots.

(Concluded next week.)