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NEW SERIES—VOL. I.—NO 42.

WHEN I MEAN TO MARRY.

BY JOHN G. FARR.

When do I mean to marry?—Well—
To idle to dispute with fate;
But if you choose to here me tell,
They listen, while I fix the date,—

When daughters bustle with eager feet,
A mother's daily tell to share;
Can make the pudding which they eat,
And mend the stockings which they wear.

When maidens look upon a man
As in himself what they would marry,
And not as army soldiers seen
A sutler or a commissary.

When gentle ladies who have forgot
The offer of a lover's hand,
Consent to share his "charity lot,"
And do not mean his lot of land.

When young mechanics are allowed
To find and wed the farmers' girls
Who don't expect to be endowed
With rubies, diamonds and pearls.

When wives, in shirt, shall freely give
Their hearts and hands to suitors,
And live as they were wont to live,
Within their sires' one story houses.

Aha, madam—if I'm not too old—
Rejoice to quit this lonely life,
I'll brush my beaver, cease to scold,
And look about me for a wife!

OUR COUNTRY: ITS PERIL: ITS DELIVERANCE.

By REV. ROBERT J. BURKKNIDGE, D. D.,
Danville, Kentucky.

(Continued.)

IV. In attempting to develop the topic which remains, we are fully aware of the difficulties of the task. Both at the North and at the South, there are great parties thoroughly organized and acting in precisely opposite directions as to opinion, but one direction as effective as the other toward the common object of their labors—namely, the tearing of the nation to pieces. They who agree in nothing else, agree in the common desire for that result, which involves our national ruin. In the meantime, the immense popular masses at the North which have only partially co-operated with the organized parts bent on destruction, or have fallen into minorities openly resisting that party—are neither organized in part, nor on an accord amongst themselves, except upon the single point, that they are suddenly awakened to the extreme peril of the situation, and are rapidly settling into a resolute purpose to avert the danger, if it is still possible. In the whole South, the condition of affairs is similar, but more perilous. The disruption of the Democratic party at Charleston and at Baltimore, is susceptible of but three possible interpretations: it was an act of mere passion—or it was an act of deep intention, designed to produce exactly what has followed—or it was an act looking to the reconstruction of that party and to new endeavors for its permanent triumph as a national party. Recent events tend to show, that the disruption was made in the fixed sense of the second of these three possible interpretations; or at any rate, in the contemplation, and perfect preparation of many leading men to take that alternative, even if they are not chargeable with having intentionally procured it. What occurred was, that the cotton growing South suddenly awoke to a consciousness, that a great and perfectly organized party in her bosom, was precipitating State after State into secession; while in every seceding State—even in S. Carolina—masses of the people, stunned by the suddenness and vehemence and thorough organization of the movement, were borne along by it, or made resistance only collateral to it, or remained in dissatisfied silence as the storm swept over them. And in all the remaining slave States, State after State became suddenly the theatre of a concerted agitation propagated originally from South Carolina, and tending everywhere to the same violent result, by the same seditious proceeding, in the venerable names of State sovereignty and constitutional power. In these latter States, the resistance on the part of the community to this revolutionary fanaticism, was more in accordance with what became a free people; and whatever the issue may be, the most of them, possibly every one of them, will reach it with a decorum, a gravity, and a public decency inseparable even in death itself from all true greatness, on all great occasions. But these great popular masses throughout the fifteen slave States—embracing all men who were not ready to rush into immediate secession, and embracing, therefore, in that half of the nation—were taken by surprise—cut up into three mutually hostile political parties—disorganized by a infinite diversity of opinion—and destitute for the moment of opinion—and destitute whom they could turn with a common consent. Rapidly, and by a movement almost spontaneous, public opinion, overborne for the moment in the seceding States, and trembling in the balance in several other States, appears to us to be consolidating in the greater number and the most powerful of those States, in a determinate manner, and upon fixed points. In them there is none of that frantic hostility to the Union which has been ostentatiously manifested in other places; but on the contrary, an avowed attachment to the Union, and a declared purpose to maintain it, if it can be done consistently with their security, their honor, and their rights. In them, there is no disposition to contend for extreme rights, or to demand conditions which in changed circumstances they would not grant themselves, much less to fly to arms by way of preliminary menace, or to look for foreign nations for aid in the execution

of any designs present or future; but on the contrary, there is an upright and an outspoken desire to adjust all existing troubles, and if possible to secure the future, upon terms of perfect equity and equality, such as ought to satisfy true men, and as such true men ought to grant. Now it is not to be confirmed Abolitionists of the North, nor is it to be confirmed Secessionists of the South, that any suggestions of peace need be made, nor any terms of honorable composition need be propounded, which look to the preservation of a country which they do not profess to love, and the salvation of institutions which they own they abhor. But it is to the great, true, and faithful people of the glorious American Nation that must not be destroyed, no matter of what sovereign State they may be citizens, and no matter how much they may now appear to be scattered and disorganized, that suggestions of peace, and justice, and fraternity, looking to endless and boundless glory and prosperity, may be offered, with a good hope through God, that they may enter into the mass of human thought, and be felt according to the wisdom that may be in them.

2. Let it be observed, that the free States and the slave States occupy in some respects totally different positions, relatively to the difficulties about slavery, and to the ground on which those difficulties are to be adjusted. With the North, the whole affair is a sentiment—an opinion. With the South, it is an affair of life and death. The North has not one dollar of estate at stake—the South has four thousand millions of dollars invested in slaves. The North has not one dollar of income directly dependent on slavery—the South has an annual income of two hundred and fifty millions dependent directly on slave labor. Moreover, there are no negro slaves among the nineteen millions of people in the eighteen free States—so that all questions of a national aspect tending to influence slavery, are perfectly void of force as to the interior peace, quiet, and security, of all these eighteen; whereas the fifteen slave States have four millions of slaves dispersed throughout their eight millions of white people, and every national question that can, in any of its bearings, either agitate or quiet this vast slave population, is of itself a question, between different nations, of war or peace. Still further, the institution of slavery has no necessary bearing whatever, upon the social, economical, personal or political condition of any State or individual at the North; whereas it is thoroughly interwoven with every fibre of society at the South—and as an institution is so pervading in its effects wherever it exists, that a community long trained in the forms of life connected with it, does not incur the change involved in its destruction, except under some most powerful impulse. And again, this nation was once a nation composed exclusively of slave States—and if in the progress of events the greater part of the States become free States—every consideration of decency and good faith obliges those thus changing their condition to be more and more, instead of less and less, observant of the duties and even the proprieties they owe to those who remain in the condition once common to all. And, to suggest nothing more, the preponderating power of the free States in the Union, added to the unscrupulous and disloyal principles avowed and propagated, to a greater or less extent, in every one of them during the last thirty years, obliges the North, by every consideration of prudence, of equity, and of magnanimity, to concede to the South all that the spirit of their mutual engagements require, instead of striving to rob her of every security which is not expressed in the narrowest letter of the law. So clear is this controlling aspect of the subject, and so deeply does it enter into the convictions of all just men, that, on the one hand, the whole feeling of loyalty to the Union in the South, is connected with an abiding confidence that the North will act as becomes her in this emergency; and on the other hand, with an unshaken purpose, in the Union or out of it, to vindicate the security, the equality, and the rights, of slave States. It is upon these two points—can the South rely upon the North—and can the South maintain her vital interests in union—that public opinion in the slave States which have not seceded, is struggling at this moment. For our own part, thoroughly convinced that both of these questions ought to be answered in the affirmative, we must not disguise that the thousands of loyal and patriotic men who have reached an opposite conclusion, and under it have been precipitated, by the force of a trained and long organized conspiracy, into fatal proceedings, are able to render reasons for their want of confidence, to which coming ages will say, the North ought to have given earlier and more considerate heed. It is idle to attempt here, a statement of particular aggressions, upon a case so large, so long continued, so aggravating, and so palpable. If there is one sentiment perfectly cordial, and unanimous throughout the fifteen slave States, it is that they have just cause of complaint; a sentiment in which it is extremely probable, that the actual majority of the entire North would to some extent concur. Nay, the very form of any amicable settlement that can ever be made, reveals the true nature of the case—as every possible statement of it must show.

3. There are two points upon which the South has made up its mind, and which are decisive, one way or the other, of the whole matter; and upon which will either arrest the farther spread of the secession pestilence and under firm and temperate treatment, as we have before shown, will probably bring back the seceding States; or will probably throw the whole nation into a state of political con-

vulsion, the end of which no man can conjecture, and no living man will see. These two points relate, 1. The fair and complete execution of the provisions of the Federal Constitution, made expressly in favor of property in slaves—and most especially the provision for the rendition of fugitive slaves; 2. To the recognition of the perfect equality of slave States with the free States, under the Federal Constitution, in all things—and most especially in the matter of Federal Territories. We will briefly treat each of these points separately. And as it appears to us very clear that adequate power exists under the Federal Constitution to settle both points in a fair, complete and satisfactory manner—we will not enter upon the discussion of any of the proposed changes in that instrument. There are also several incidental questions, such as slavery in the District of Columbia, the migration of slaves from one slave State to another, and the like, which we shall not discuss; since, as we doubt not, the settlement of the real question will draw after it the settlement of the rest; and a refusal to settle them renders all discussion of the others idle.

4. If any one will compare the unquestionable right of the owners of slaves, secured by the Federal Constitution, to have them delivered to them in the States to which they may escape, with what has occurred during many past years with reference to the fair and sincere enforcement of this right, in any Northern State where its enforcement has been attempted,—or with the average aggregate conduct of the whole North upon the subject; he will be struck with astonishment, in proportion as he gets a complete idea of what the border slave States have suffered, and of the demoralized condition of opinion at the North on the whole subject, and of the utter wickedness of the organized robbery which has been systematically carried on. Mark—the Constitution of the nation expressly requires the rendition of slaves when they escape. Then observe, that along the border common to Ohio and Kentucky, slaves have been systematically enticed from their owners, by organized societies in Ohio, and carried off by arrangements so extensive, so complete, and so effectual, that along the entire border between those States, two or three counties deep, slavery is totally insecure in Kentucky. Along the frontier of all the other border slave States, a similar system of organized plunder has been in active operation. To what extent the system penetrates the interior regions of the slave States, it is difficult to say; but it is known that emissaries from the North have systematically pervaded the entire South, in every imaginable disguise, schoolmaster, pedlar, agent, quack, preacher, laborer—every thing—making known to the slaves the routes and methods of escape, and instilling into their minds principles that result in house-burning, poisoning, murder and rape, if escape is impossible. What success has attended these diabolical proceedings, with regard to the whole number of slaves stolen, we have no better means of knowing than the published statement of journals that advocate the robbery; and after allowing for much boasting on their part, prompted by very obvious reasons, the number can hardly be set lower than a yearly average of ten thousand slaves—worth little short of ten millions of dollars—for some years past, nor must it be forgotten, that although large sums of money are contributed by fanatics throughout the North, to the yearly support of these operations, yet the immediate agents of the work make it very profitable. We, and many hundred persons, have personal knowledge of a case which occurred a few years ago in Kentucky, in which between fifty and sixty negro men were attempted to be ran off at one time, from Lexington and the surrounding region; in which the fee of the white organizer and leader of the company varied, according to the success of the negroes in stealing, from twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars each. In that case the party was surprised when near the Ohio River, and the slaves recovered; and the white man is now in the Kentucky Penitentiary—instead of being lynched, as he would have been anywhere but in one of the finest communities in the world. Now let it be further observed, that this state of horrible perfidy, though notorious at the North, instead of awaking the universal horror of the community, finds the fundamental principles which underlie it, gradually penetrating in all directions; widely influential journals advocating them; supporters of them sitting in many State Legislatures, and in both Houses of Congress; political parties impregnated with them; the laws of many States changed so as to give them security; the current literature deeply imbued with them; and to crown all, the ministers of religion, to the extent almost of whole sects and denominations, making them the chief themes of their instruction from the pulpit. We do not enumerate the election of Mr. Lincoln as the climax, and final triumph of these principles; for on the contrary, it is clear to us that his nomination for the Presidency is to be accounted evidence of a reaction against them; and we know of little in the modern history of parties, braver, or more manly, than his unflinching and reiterated declarations, that the South is entitled to an effective law for the rendition of fugitive slaves, and to its effective execution.

5. That is precisely what the whole South demands. Planned on the Constitution—loyal to it and to the country—the evidence of the wrong she has endured written on the whole face of society North and South, Mr. Lincoln himself has long ago spoken the brave and true word; and the South is entitled to an effective law, and to its effective execution, whereby these outrages shall be put down forever. The time to discuss the propriety of putting

such a clause in the Federal Constitution, terminated seventy years ago. The time to plead conscientious scruples for breach of faith founded on the alleged immortality of property in slaves, will come after it is shown that a nation can exist—much less that a free people can tranquilly sustain a common government, for the sake of enabling one half to plunder and degrade the other half. One of the worst symptoms of the case is manifested in the indirect manner in which many Northern States have endeavored to defeat the execution of public law by unfriendly legislation, directed in some instances against their own citizens, in some against citizens of the South, and in some against both; and in not only an apparently popular approval of such laws, and the most stolid indifference to the matter on the part of those who did not approve them, but even in their careful and well considered defense by some of the ablest and best men in the North, as being without serious objection in principle. That is, all the people in Massachusetts being both citizens of that State and of the United States, and there being nobody there to act in either capacity, except those who must act in both; what follows under this new political morality, and what is attempted under the pretext of religious scruples—is that the people of Massachusetts as citizens of the United States acknowledge the obligation resting on them under the Federal Constitution for the rendition of fugitive slaves in Massachusetts; and at the same moment as citizens of the State, they pass laws refusing the use of their prisons and make it criminal for their officers or even their citizens to assist, and positive remedies whereby the owner who seeks to recover his slave may be arrested as a trespasser, or even imprisoned as a felon. It is an exceedingly palpable instance, on a large scale, of what resources were possessed by those fortunate and unscrupulous gentlemen of a past age, who were princes and bishops at the same time. In point of morals, such pretexts are simply scandalous. In private life, no man who resorts to them can be held to be a gentleman—or in pecuniary transactions, can be considered honest. In public life, such attempts are chargeable with the folly and wickedness of begetting conflicts of civil and political duties in mere wantonness—or with being, as we have before shown, they are, the organized results of that seditious spirit of anarchy which is destroying our country, and which a better public sentiment must crush wherever it exists, before society can be safe in any part of it. The people of the free States, wherever and in so far as they have been seduced into such legislation, owe to public morality, to their own character, and to their highest interests, not less than to their constitutional obligations as citizens of the United States, and the mutual relations of the States to each other under our noble institutions; to cease at once all State enactments that cast obliquity on their own national obligations, or look toward the dishonor or the obstruction of the just and unquestionable claims of others upon them. And we rejoice with all our heart at the indication in so many portions of the North, that what is right will be promptly done in this matter; and by this means, one of the steps indispensable to the permanent maintenance of our institutions be firmly taken, and the friends of the Union everywhere, and especially in the South, have a noble vindication of their resolute confidence that the nation was yet sound at heart.

6. The other point of the two which the whole nation perceives to be fundamental, relates to the equality of the States in the Union, and especially as that bears upon the question of slavery in the Federal Territories as we have already stated. The great idea of all our institutions, though complex, is perfectly clear. We constitute one nation, whose people, however, are divided into many sovereign States. We have no nation but as we have these States; and we have no States but as they make this nation; and our people are citizens both of the nation and of some particular State—and strictly speaking to be one involves the other.—The fundamental principles of our liberty, the sovereignty, not of governments, but of society itself—the people; and the deepest foundation of this sovereignty of the people, is their right to change, to order, and to interpret, their political and civil institutions by voting; to do this as separate States where the matter relates exclusively to the particular State—to do it in concert where it relates to the nation. In the exercise of this sovereign power the people of this nation have made all their constitutions—the very oldest of which now existing is the Federal Constitution. And the broad distinction between that Constitution made for the nation, which by its nature and its terms is supreme over all in its proper sphere, and the Constitutions made for the States respectively, is simply this: that by the former no powers are conferred on the General Government created by it except such as are expressly enumerated and such as are incidental and necessary thereto; and that by the latter all powers residing in society are conferred on the State Governments created by them, except such as are expressly withheld by Bills of Right, or some similar device. We do not mean that these results are inherent and inevitable; but we mean that these are the facts—the great and wise things actually accomplished by our ancestors. In the balancing of the powers of the Federal and State Government, and in defining and ordering their mutual spheres and extent, lies that wide debatable ground over which statesmen have fought their battles, and organized parties. Amongst these battles none have been more hotly fought, or more perilous to the country, than the one which has been waged over this question of slavery

in the Federal Territories. What we propose is, not to enter into a history of these difficulties—nor to discuss the soundness of any of the conflicting interpretations of the Constitution, upon which the extreme claims of hostile parties or sections rest; but to accept the actual and notorious posture of the whole affair—and having pointed out in the nature of our system of government, the ground and character of the real difficulty, to state the principles on which alone, as it appears to us, the integrity of the Union between slave States and free States can be preserved.

7. There are three possible results to the matter, namely: all the Territories may become free States, or all may become slave States, or some may become one and some may become the other.—No one who has a grain of common sense, can suppose it to be possible for either of the first two results to occur, by any peaceful means, or that the general government can throw its influence systematically in favor of either, without breaking up the confederacy—or that extensive combinations of States on either side to secure either result, can terminate otherwise than in war. It follows, therefore, that the practical enforcement of the doctrine on which Mr. Lincoln comes into power, namely, that there shall be no more slavery in the territories, is impossible otherwise than by a dissolution of the Union, and the subsequent conquest of one portion of the country by the other. But Mr. Lincoln and his party, if they are insane enough to push their dogma to that terrible issue, will—to say nothing of their other perils—probably find themselves arrested, as soon as they show that they are in earnest, by a counter revolution at the North, which will crush the diabolical conspiracy. Admitting that the Congress of the United States has absolute power over the National Territories—admitting that the Northern States had the permanent control of both Houses of Congress; we have not the least idea, that a congress and a national administration in this, or any other free country, would encounter the peril, and heap on themselves the degradation of attempting to rob numerous States and many millions of people, all subject to the same government, and all portions of the same nation with themselves, of their total share in an imperial inheritance. Such ideas may be made effectual in the organization of parties, and may assume prominence in popular movements; but when it becomes necessary to give them legal form and validity, to enforce them at the point of the bayonet, to risk counter revolution in support of them, to establish them upon the ruins of society, and cover either the triumph or the failure of the attempt with the detestation of mankind, their evasion, in some way or other, is one of those uncontrollable necessities of responsible power, before which human passions bow in reverent awe. In like manner, the opposite extreme opinion and claim, is in its nature equally incapable of being realized. Admitting it to be true, that by the Constitution of the United States, every Federal Territory is dedicated to slavery, until on becoming a State, the people abolish it by a sovereign act; and admitting that the Supreme Court has the power to establish, beyond reversion, this sense of the Constitution, and that it has done so in a case regularly before it, and demanding for its decision the settlement of this point; still the practical enforcement of the thing, is both morally and politically impossible. We have not the least idea, that a congress composed exclusively of Southern men, could be gathered by popular election, that would entertain a proposition to rob free States weaker than themselves, of their share of a common inheritance, upon any plea that can be imagined; we do not believe the minority of any slave State would enforce such a proposition; we do not believe that any Southern gentleman would execute such a scheme. Moreover, the political impossibility is complete; and the actual state of the country as presented by the relative number and power of the free and slave States, and as exhibited by the state of opinion everywhere—the notion of establishing slavery in all the national Territories as of constitutional right, has about the same practical value as the notion of securing all those Territories for slavery, by secession. Now, let it be borne in mind, that we have taken these claims and the demands on the one side and the other, as being founded on truths that are undeniable, and rights that are unquestionable; and have pointed out the impossibility of any just, practical, or peaceful result, in the direction indicated on either side. How immeasurably is that conclusion strengthened, when it is considered that there is not a truth asserted, a principle laid down, or a claim advanced on either side, that is not vehemently repudiated by about half the population of the nation! Well may we assert the complete impossibility both of excluding slavery from all the Territories, and of establishing it in them all; and denounce the wickedness of all parties who persist in such endeavors. Those Territories, if the nation survives, must necessarily be, and ought to be, partly slave and partly free. Political necessity demands it, public justice requires it, all true statesmanship points to that result, the undisturbed force of events would terminate in that issue, and all attempts to prevent it are founded in considerations forbidden alike by wisdom, by equity, and by patriotism; and will end in crime, and misery, and dishonor, precisely in the degree that they are successful. If the country shall be destroyed, the chief importance of the questions on which our ruin is wrought about, will afterwards be, that all men may see how scandalous were the pretexts upon which the noblest product of human civilization was made desolate.

8. The national domain not embraced

by the boundaries of any existing State, amounts to one and a half, or two millions of square miles; an area much greater than that covered by all States lying between the Atlantic ocean and the Mississippi River; not much less, perhaps, than the area covered by all the present States. That the people of the larger and more numerous free States should combine to exclude those of the weaker and less numerous slave States, from the enjoyment of the whole of this immense inheritance, is an outrage so preposterous, that one is the less astonished that it should react in a counter combination to establish slavery in the whole of it; and while the pretext of conscientious scruples for seizing all was the natural, because the only one, however ignoble, which the strong could use—the counter resort of the weaker party—was also natural, and the only one they could make but war, namely, extreme constitutional right, countenanced by their construction of a political judgment of the Supreme Court. In effect as there are but three possible relations of the cause, as has just been shown, there are but three possible methods, in which the case can be solved. On is by an equitable partition of the common inheritance, founded on the mutual recognition by the parties of the undeniable fact that it is a common property; a second is, for the owners of the inheritance determining to fight out their opposite claims in each particular Territory—somewhat after the manner of the Kansas affair; the third is, to dissolve the Union, and fight out the opposing claims afterwards, leaving the Territories like every other else, in a state of anarchy, useless to either party. It is indeed conceivable that after dissolving the Union, men might recover their senses, and be capable, as alien enemies to each other, of acting with a degree of mutual forbearance and justice, which if practiced when they were united by the most sacred bonds, would have kept them friends forever. The probability of such a miracle, every one will determine for himself; as well as the probability that the future inhabitants of the vast region thrown away by the nation in its disgraceful proxy wars, will put faith enough in such miracles to respect any partition of them among the fragments of a disbanded confederacy. It is in vain that we would evade the sacred duties which press us, and from whose performance there is no escape that does not at the same moment brand us with infamy and hurry us to wards destruction. There is but one possible result that is just and right—and there is but one possible way of reaching that result: that is either sure, fair or peaceful; but that result, and that way of reaching it, are perfectly obvious—and when once recognized and pursued, they remove whatever difficulty the fair and complete execution of the duty to restore fugitive slaves leaves to be removed. It is upon these two points, as we have tried in all fairness to show, that the nation is found and obliged to set herself right—that the people are required to make their majestic voice audible above the clamor of factions, and that all good men are called of God, by word and by deed, to rebuke on every side the frenzy of the hour.

9. The particular mode in which the recognition of the common right of the States in the national Territories, should be made; and the particular way and extent to which practical efficacy shall, at the moment, be given to that recognition; do not appear to us to be matters of very high importance in themselves, or matters which it is necessary that we should discuss here. An effectual law, and its effectual execution, concerning the rendition of fugitive slaves; a sincere recognition of the common right of all the States in the national domain, and the mutual abandonment by the North and the South of all claim and attempt to make all the Territories either free or slave; it is upon these points that a good understanding will settle all the rest—and that the refusal to come to such an understanding, will throw upon those so acting, the whole responsibility of all that may follow. The foregoing conclusions of political parties, and the previous commitments of public men, are utterly insignificant in any true appreciation of the interests now at stake. The propounding of particular theories, or of special lines of policy, or of lists of propositions, or anything of the sort—by State Legislatures, by resolutions in Congress, by Conventions of the people, or in any other way—where the design or the effect is to embarrass or to obstruct the indispensable settlement, is either a great weakness, or a covert attempt to prevent any settlement. The demand of either party to have a division of the Territories that is grossly unequal, is that far unjust and a manifestation of the same spirit of claiming all, which has already wrought so much mischief. And with a million or two of square miles of national domain, not yet embraced in any State, with a country large enough to contain fifty or a hundred times its present population—and with instant difficulties which have already produced the most terrible calamities, and whose early settlement may be indispensable to the prevention of universal revolution; the purpose to make that settlement depend upon an explicit agreement concerning the disposition we will hereafter make of foreign States, which we may possibly conquer or purchase at some future day; can be considered nothing else than a purpose of preventing the possibility of any settlement. Beyond all doubt, if the free States consider that the main use of our Constitutional Union and our continued national existence, is the extinction of negro slavery on this continent; or if the slave States consider that the chief value of those incalculable advantages, lies in the use of them for the indefinite extension of slavery, the knell of our destiny is struck—and our glory, our felicity, and our triumph are as a tale that has been told.