The Clearfield Republican.

CLEARFIELD, PA.

Wednesday Morning July 10, 1861.

THE MESSAGE.—A large portion of our paper is taken up with the President's message to the Extra Session of Congress.

It is claimed as the production of Mr. Lincoln himself, and that he did not permit any member of his Cabinet to assist him in any part of it.—After perusing it, many of our readers will doubtless think that "self-respect" will prompt these gentlemen to take special pains to have this fact universally circulated.

It is fair to state, however, that we copy from the Pittsburg *Post*, to which paper it was transmitted by telegraph, and in the hurry of despatching and putting in type, many errors may have thus occurred. But this would not account for many of its defects as a State paper emanating from the Executive of the United States.

We are far from wishing to find fault with it. Would that we could endorse its every sentence. But we feel inclined to forgive all his errors, even that of claiming for the Executive the right to do any thing that Congress is required to do, and for failing, in this message, to denounce in advance, any measure of Compromise that may be proposed; but on the contrary, and as if he had a lingering hope that our sore troubles might possibly be terminated by compromise—as if he could not close this document otherwise—or as if for fear that *others might forget it*, he mentions the good word.

With our heart of hearts, we thank him for it.

WHAT A PITY.—One of the writers for the *Journal*, in its last issue—one we presume who had recently been east of the mountains—says, "It is annoying for any of our loyal citizens, travelling abroad, to have a copy of the *Clearfield Republican* stuck under their nose," &c.

We pity the poor creature, and suggest that he had better not venture abroad again.

But the writer speaks of "our loyal citizens." The inference is plain that there are citizens who are not "loyal." Now we have only to say, that the editors, publishers and writers connected with the *Journal*, if they possess the spirit of men, will either POINT OUT, NAME and PROVE TO BE GUILTY, those of our citizens who are not loyal; or else, by their silence, confess that they are the PUBLIC SLANDERERS of the community from whom they get their bread.

The Sinews of War.

The Secretary of the Treasury, in order to raise the means for the prosecution of the war recommends that a duty of 2½ c. per pound be laid upon brown sugar, 3c. per pound on clayed sugar, 4c. per pound on loaf, and other refined sugars,—2½ c. per pound on the syrup of sugar cane, 6 c. per pound on candy, 6 c. per gallon on molasses, and 4 c. per gallon on sour molasses, 5 c. per pound on coffee, 15 c. per pound on black tea, and 20 c. per pound on green tea. In addition to which a *direct tax* is recommended, which, a friend who has been making some figures on the subject, would require Clearfield county to fork over the snug little sum of about $35,000.

Correspondence.

A subscriber sends us the following interogatory, which, being couched in respectful language, we answer in the same spirit:

NEW WASHINGTON,

MESSRS. EDITORS: Will you please inform your numerous readers what would have been the political aspect of next winter's Congress, if there would have been no dissolution of the Union? Would it have been Democratic or Republican? By allowing the whole South to have been Democratic? By answering the above you will oblige inquirers after truth.

Yours truly, * * *

If there had been no "Dissolution of the Union" the House of Representatives, next winter would have embraced 237 members, and "allowing the whole South to have been Democratic," the Democrats would have had a decided majority; and the Senate would have stood 36 Democrats to 32 Republicans.

The Republicans proper only number 104 or 105, omitting *all* the Slaveholding States. But it must be remembered that Maryland, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee and Virginia have each been represented by members voting and acting generally with the Republican party; and upon all other questions than that of slavery those calling themselves *Americans* or *Union* men—some 12 or 13 in all—acted against the Democrats.

Upon the single question, however, of Congressional intervention with the institution of slavery, had there been no secession, the Democrats would have had a majority in both branches of Congress, and in the House of Representatives over all shades of opposition.

THE NEWS.—A brilliant exploit was performed by Gen. Patterson's Division, which crossed the Potomac at Williamsport, Md., early on the morning of the 2nd instant, and attacked a large detachment of Confederates under command of General Jackson, who after a brief contest broke and fled, the federal troops taking possession of their camping-ground. The loss of the Union forces is reported to be three killed and ten wound, and the Confederate loss is estimated by some accounts as high as sixty killed and wounded. The next day then Patterson pursued them as far as Martinsburg, where he was at last accounts.

A running fight also occurred on the same day (2nd inst.) further west in Virginia, at a place called Buchannon, in which several Virginians are reported killed, wounded and taken prisoners.—Ex Gov. Wise was reported in the vicinity with a force 10,000 strong, and it was expected that General McClellan would attack him at Laurel Hill on the 4th with a force of 19,000 men.

There is nothing of importance to report from any other quarter, except that every thing in the vicinity of Washington indicated a forward movement.

Why don't they Arrest Him?

From the Clearfield Journal of June 5th, '61.

J. C. BRECKINRIDGE.—The news from Kentucky again encourages those who yet believe in an extensive Union movement in the Border States. Kentuckians now in Washington say the State will remain loyal. It is not believed that Senator Breckinridge will dare show his head at the extra session of Congress. There is evidence in the hands of the Union men of Kentucky which would hang him if the government were to think it best to make an example of him. He has been in correspondence with the rebel camp, having made offers of help from Kentucky. He is most clearly guilty of treason against the government, and under such circumstances will hardly have the effrontery to take his seat in the Senate to make laws for the country he is plotting against.

From the Philadelphia Press, July 5th, '61.

SENATE.—The Senate was called to order by the Vice President at 12 o'clock.

The following Senators were present: Messrs. Anthony, Bayard, Bingham, BRECKINRIDGE, Bright, Chandler, Clark, Collamer, Cowan, Dixon, Doolittle, Fessenden, Foot, Foster, Grimes, Hale, Harlan, Harris, Howe, Johnson (Tenn.), Kennedy, King, Lane (Ind.), Latham, Morrill, Nesmith, Pearce, Polk, Powell, Saulsbury, Sherman, Simmons, Sumner, Ten Eyck, Thomson, Trumbull, Wade, Wilkinson, and Wilson.

We hope the editors of the *Journal* will stir up the authorities at Washington, or call them to a strict account for neglect of duty. This will never do. Our country will be *as free as our fathers intended it should be* if the gag and the halter is not applied more vigorously.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

DELIVERED JULY 5th 1861, AT AN EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.

Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation. At the beginning of the present Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Office Department. Within these States, the forts, arsenals dockyards, custom house and the like, including the movable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and were held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in an improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing all avowedly with some hostile purpose. The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near those States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into those States, and has been seized to be used against the government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the government. Simultaneously and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States declaring the States respectively separated from the National Union. A formula instituting a combined government of those States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization in the character of the Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from foreign powers. Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty on the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempts to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustation of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the government and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails at government expense to the very people who were resisting the government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people, or any of their rights, of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case. Everything was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the government on foot.

On the fifth of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department, on the 4th of March was, by that department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions and with a view of holding possession of the same with a force of less than given good and well disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Maj. Anderson's letter. The whole was laid before Lieut. Gen. Scott, who at once concurred with Major Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took till time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and navy, and at the end of four days, came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated, at the same time, there was not sufficient force then at the control of the government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the Fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that so to abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous—that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood—that by many it would be construed as a part of voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to ensure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction. Consummated, this could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached, Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received but one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was, that the officers commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late administration, and of the existence of which the present administration up to the time the order was dispatched, had only two vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention—had refused to land the troops to now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter—was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustation of provision in the latter named fort in precaution against such a conjuncture, the government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be alternately used or not. According to circumstances the strongest anticipated case for using it was presented, and it was resolved to send it forward. As had been intended in this contingency it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort.

This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provision expedition.—It is thus seen that the assault upon and the reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggressions upon them.—They knew that they were expressly notified that the giving bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which on that occasion would be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that this government desired to keep the garrison in the fort; not to assail them, but to merely maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as heretofore stated, to time, discussion, and the ballot-box, for final adjustment, and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object: to drive out the authority of the Federal Union and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object the Executive well understood, and having said to them, in the inaugural address "you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it by the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances. That point was reached then, and thereby the assailants of the government begun the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort sent to that harbor years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, disregarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue—immediate dissolution or blood—and this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man, whether a constitutional Republic, or democracy—a government of the people by the same people—can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control the Administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case, or on any other pretences, or arbitrarily without any pretence, break up their government, and thus practically put an end to free government on earth. It forces us to ask: Is there in all Republics this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence? So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the power of the Government, and so to resist force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation. The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called Slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise and received into the Government service. Of course the seceded States, so called, to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration, gave no troops in the cause of the Union. The Border States were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost for the Union, while in others, as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A convention, elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union, was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them adapted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their approval of the assault upon Sumter, or the great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault is not yet definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place with leading men of the State, not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State; they seized the U. S. Armory at Harper's Ferry and the Navy Yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received, perhaps invited, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and co-operation with the so called Confederated States and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery, and finally they permitted the insurrectionary government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond. The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it, and it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to protect as being Virginia. As in the Border States so called—in fact the middle States—there are those who favor an armed neutrality, that is an arming of those states to prevent the Union forces passing one way or the disunion the other, over their soil—this would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building up of an impassable wall along the line of separation, and yet not quite an impassable one, for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which is could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it would take all the troubles off the hands of Secession except only what proceeds from the external blockade. It would do for the disunionists that which of all things they most desire:—feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union, and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal, it is nevertheless very injurious in effect. Recurring to the action of the government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts, by proceeding in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed strictly legal.

At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering. Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand, and a public necessity, trusting then, as now, that Congress could readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress. Soon after the first call for militia it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding General in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or in other words to arrest and detain without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted, and failing of execution in nearly one third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution, some single law made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that practically it relieves more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated. To state the question more directly: Are all the laws but one to go unexecuted and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated. Even in such a case would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it. But it was not believed that this question was presented—it was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution, that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it, is equivalent to a provision that such privilege may be suspended when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it. It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and, as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together—the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion. No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General.—Whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress. The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their actions as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world. The Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, War and the Navy, will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive, and all the Departments, will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know. It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one—that you place at the control of the Government for the work, at least four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of dollars. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where apparently all are willing to engage, and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of six hundred millions of dollars now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than provided for them. In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well. It might seem, at first thought, to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called secession or rebellion, the movers, however, well understood the difference at the beginning; they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies a violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of those strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents to the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may, consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union, or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for a just cause, because they themselves are to be sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the fancied presence of taking their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before. This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that received to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas, and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in, and by the Colonies were declared to be free and independent States. But even then the object plainly was, not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union; but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time and afterwards has abundantly shown the express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen. In the Articles of Confederation, two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive, having never been States, either in substance or in name, outside of the Union; whence this magical omnipotence of State rights, asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States, but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State constitutions. What is a sovereignty in the political sense of the term?—Would it be far wrong to define it a political community without a political superior? Tested by this, no one of our States, except Texas, ever was a sovereignty, and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law of the land.

The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this, they can only do so, against law, by revolution. The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty by conquest or purchase. The Union gave each of them whatever independence it had. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States formed their constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless, dependent upon propriety to come into the Union. Unquestionably the States have the power and rights reserved to them in and by the national constitution. But among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, much less mischievous or destructive, but at most such only as are known to the world as the usual governmental powers, and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as a governmental power. The relative matter of National power and State rights as a principle, is no more than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the whole general government, while whatever concerns only the State, should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of it. That principle about it. Whether the National Constitution, in defining boundaries between the two has applied the principle with exact accuracy is not to be questioned. We are bound by that defining without question. What is now combatted is the position that Secession is consistent with the Constitution; is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is an express law for it, and nothing should be or be implied as law which leads to absurd or absurd consequences.

The Nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were made. Is it just that they should go off without leave and without refunding? The nation paid very large sums in the aggregate, I believe of a hundred million to relieve Florida of the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she should now go off without consent, or without making any return. The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so called seceded States in common with the rest. Is it just, either, that creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the whole. Part of the present National debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself? Again, if one State may secede so may another, and when all shall have seceded none is left to pay the debts. Is it quite just to creditors? Did we not themselves this sage view of ours when we proved their money? If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go, or extract terms upon which they will promise to remain. The seceders insist that our Constitution admits of secession. They have assumed to make a National Constitution of their own, in which, of necessity, they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours. If they have retained it by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they find it the easiest way of settling their debts, or effecting any other selfish or unjustifiable object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no Government can possible endure.

If all the States save one should secede, the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power, and denounce the act as the greatest outrage upon State rights.

But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called driving the one out, should be called the seceding of the others from that one, it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless indeed, they make the point that the one because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the other, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtile and profound on the rights of minorities; they are not partial to that power which made the Constitution and speaks from the preamble calling itself "the People." It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State except perhaps South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one of the so called seceded States. As the contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them, it is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee, for the result of an election, held in military camps where the bayonets were all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as a demonstration of popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are not at once for the Union and against coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the power and improved the condition of our whole people beyond any example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known, without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice. But more than this. There are many single regiments whose members, one and another possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else, whether useful or elegant, is known in the world; and there is scarcely one from which there could not be elected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and, perhaps, a Court abundantly competent to administer the Government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries in this contest. But if it is, so much better the reason why the Government which has conferred such benefits on both them and us should not be broken up.

Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider in reference to what principle it is that he does it; what he is likely to get in its stead; whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people. There are some foreshadowings on this subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declarations of independence in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words "all men are created equal." Why? They have adopted a temporary National Constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one, signed by Washington they omit, "We, the people," and substitute, "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why? Is this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men and the authority of the people?

This is essentially a people's contest. On the side of the Union it is a struggle for maintaining, in the world, that