

WEEN DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES CEASE TO LEAD, WE CEASE WM. M. BRESLIN, Editor and Proprietor.

> LEBANON, PA. WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1861.

The Democracy have already the Constitution, and the enforcement former, as they are doing daily. Because men differ as to the means that General's great toddy making. should be employed in accomplishing the desired object, is no reason that PERILOUS BALLOON ADVENTURE. either is lacking in loyalty or patri-

Gen. Patterson has been superseded in the command of the Department of Virginia by Gen. Banks .-General Dix has been ordered to Baltimore in place of Gen. Banks.

It is reported that Governor Sprague was killed in the battle of Bull's Run, on Thursday.

The Republicans are determined to take care of Forney and his crowd. He was no sooner defeated in the House, but they elected him Secretary of the Senate. It would be very ungrateful in them if they were to ignore him after the important services he has rendered them:

The Southern papers are as papers are informed that the Union on Thursday, was 2300 killed and for safety. 4000 wounded. It says that its authority is reliable.

The Rebel Congress met in Riehmond on Saturday.

It is said that the election of Forney, as Secretary of the Senate, marks the triumph of the Presidenthe nests of his friends a long way in advance.

OF Among the killed at the battle of Bull Run, on Thursday, Col. Cameron, brother of Secretary Cameron, is reported.

J. Madison Cutts, father of Senator Douglas' widow publishes a eard, by desire of that lady, requesting the friends of the departed statesvide for them.

THE TARIFF.—As we understand the Washington dispatches, the new Tariff bill has passed the House substantially as reported by Mr. Stevens, leaving the duties on Iron, Steel, and most Textile Fabrics, as they now stand, largely increasing those on Su gar, Salt, Wines, and Distilled Liqthe bill as it goes to the Senate.

The Committee of Ways and Means have prepared a bill providing for a direct tax and internal duties, which will at once be submitted to Congress. This bill imposes a tax of \$30,000,000 on real estate and slaves. distributed through the States and Territories, the proportion of Penn sylvania being \$2,920,079. The necessary Assessors and Collectors are provided for. The bill also proposes to tax stills, boilers, and other utensits used in distilling spiritnous liquors, 15 cents on every gallon of capacity. Fermented and malt liquors are to be taxed 5 cents on a gallon, and spirituous liquors 10 cents on a gallon. Vehicles used exclusively for transportation of merchandise are to be free, but carriages are to be taxed, those valued at \$50 are to be taxed \$1; those over \$1,000 will be taxed 850, with intermediate rates in proportion to the value of the vehicle,

A REMINISCENCE OF THE DAYS OF NULLIFICATION .- A prominent gen tleman of Pennsylvania, of unquestionable authority, relates the follow ing reminiscence of the days of Nul. lification:

"It seems that Governor Letcher, of Kentucky, who sympathized with the Nullifiers in 1832, called upon General Jackson to learn, if possible, what the General intended to do to wards crushing Calhoun's conspiracy against the Union. The Governor opened the subject mildly, and Jack. son only answered by telling Letcher to read a certain instrument of writing on the table before them. Letcher read it, and found it to be a warrant for the execution of John C. Cal houn. But, my dear General, you don't intend to carry out what this paner calls for? Governor Letcher, reconnoising purposes. is my name signed to that paper?'—
'Yes, General, it is.' 'Very well, Gov ernor Letcher, it is very seldom that a long slope intervening and is the dis. road. Our troops were then formed Governor, look on the left corner of my could be seen. the paper; is the sent of the United Gen. Tyler sent for an artillery force, for States to it? It is General. Gov. the purpose of dislodging them. When ernor Letcher visited Mr. Culhoun af the guns arrived, they were rapidly served ter he left General Jackson and awak! by Lieutenants Babbitt and Benjamin.

Governor Letcher alleged that Mr. other of our batteries soon came up, and Rebanon Advertizer. Governor Letcher alleged that Mr. other of our bat Calhoun assumed the appearance of aided our fire. a ghost when he heard what General that he had only one thing to regret, and that was that he did not hang John C. Calhoun."

ter from Martinsburg that General Wil- the first fire. liams, recently made what the boys called vindicated their love for the Union, the Confederate forces, and pouring most New York Twelfth deploying to the exwas at first put over it to protect it, but from the slope in beautiful style. of the laws, as fully, freely, and sin- the smell of the whiskey was so strong corely as any Republican can, hence, that it overpowered them and they slept it comes with a bad grace from the on their posts. Then came the thirsty- but in a few minutes a terrific volley of latter to question the sincerity of the ones, and their name was legion, and drank of the liquor with evil consequences to themselves and the public. Hence the our troops appeared on the edge of the

Narrow Escape of the Acronaut. Several balloon ascensions took place in Boston on the 4th inst., in honor of the ter, were near being drowned. One of horses having been killed. these incidents is thus described in the Boston Transcript:

ward Nahant. Ballast was thrown out, disorder. and the balloon ascended higher, but the current of air, which baffled a few points stunces it was thought best by Mr. Sim- by mistake. mons to try the lower strata of the atmosphere again, and a sufficient quantity of but General Tyler, on the hill, covered the remained firm from a western direction, Michigan 2d and New York 12th suffered egregiously deceived by reporters as and seeing some small vessels in the wawe of the North are. The Leesburg ter below, it was determined-rather than run the risk of descending involunta-| cach side was tremendous. The enemy rily on the broader surface of the Atlantic loss in the Bulls Head engagement, -to come down and trust to Providence

> Just as the balloon was about to touch the water, it encountered the light breeze It is impossible to forward the names of playing along the crest of the little waves, those killed and wounded. (for the ocean was unusually calm.) and The civilians had a busy great swiftness, dragged along the surface. and no water could be obtained; nor were

both thrown down at the moment the bas men who came out of the battle. ket touched the water, and the latter was Washington, July 19 .- Colonel Richtial aspiration of Gen. Cameron, on the hoop, and, more than half immersed in rived here at 2 o'clock to-day from the the Republican side, who is training the water, was dragged along. Mr. Has- seat of war. Up to the time he left Bull for the race of 1864, by feathering kell caught one of the lanyards pendant Run, (3 this morning.) there had been no t with most tenacious grasp.

He was assisted by Mr. Simmons, and mishers on both sides. was thus dragged through the water for a | 'Gen. McDowell informed Mr. Richardby the parties who were instrumental in etc., before again engaging the foe. their rescue—in the space of ten minutes.

cept it in its career over the ocean; and who could be there concentrated. specially providential was it that the man not to raise contributions for balloon as it came along, which drove up tion was announced in Congress to-day is der command of Beaurgard, while balloon as it came along, which drove up to was announced in Congress to-day is der command of Beaurgard, while the insult shown the the support of herself and children. against her stem. At the moment of con- simply untrue. Mr. Cutts is able and willing to pro- tact, Mr. Simmons let go the basket, and succeeded in getting on board the schoon er. Mr. Haskell was forced by the concussion to relinquish his grasp of the halyard of the balloon, and he drifted astern. But, being a good swimmer, and, above all, having good heart in his great extremity, he threw himself on his back, and allowed himself to float on the tide, without making any effort to swim back to the schooner. He felt confident that nothing hours. At half past 2 this morning the earliest possible moment—and it was uors, and imposing pretty heavy rates well; for had he struggled during half the on Tea, Coffee, Cocoa, and Chocolate. time he was subsequently fated to be in Such are the principal features of the water, he would have exhausted himself and been drowned.

The schooner's crew lowered a boat to go to the rescue of Haskell, but in the sent ahead to batter the masked bathaste of doing so it was swamped, and one man who was on board pitched out. He unfortunately drifted in an opposite direction from that in which Mr. Haskell was floating, and the crew of the Atlantic had to bail out their boat and save their own companion before going to the rescue of of troops passed through Centreville Mr. Haskell.

By the time preparation was made to been nearly three-quarters of an hour in the water. But the yacht Mist, which and success, after a severe loss of life. happened to be cruising in the neighborwhat tired, but not over-exhausted. The companion voyager in air and water, and with joy. carried them to Nahanta

GREAT BATTLES!

Fight at Bull Run.

WASHINGTON, July 19. The first engagement of any character n Eastern Virginia during this campaign took place at Bull's Run, four miles south of Centreville, yesterday....

Previous to the approach of our army to Centreville, the nemy had retreated to Bull Run, a few miles further south, and had taken a very strong position, not a great distance from Manassas Junction. The Fourth Brigade of Gen. Tyler's Division, under command of Col. J. B, Richardson, of the Michigan Volunteers, consisting of the Second and Third Michigan, the First Massachusetts, and the

our occupation of that place. They were escorted by two hundred cavalry, under Capt. A. G. Brackett, for town Heights.

march in advane of Centreville, just after

On arriving at the height opposite Bull Run, in the rear of centreville, they found the enemy's battery commanding the sign papers merely for effect tance, on the edge of the woods, the ene-

ening him out of his sleep, related to The first shell dislodged a body of cavalry rear. The first range gun was fired if his interview with Juckson .- from a grove, a mile and a half distant; an- by Sherman's battery at ten minutes | these first reports.

The action commenced at half-past Jackson intended to do, and Nullifica- twelve o'clock, but the enemy did not retion lost all its venom from that hour. ply for half an hour, though they could be General Jackson said on his death bed | seen concentrating their forces from Ma-

At 1 p.m., their battery of four guns opened, and shell and grape shot fell thick and hot among us. Two privates of WASTE OF WHISKEY.—We learn by let- | Brackett's Cavalry were dismounted by

Col. Richardson's Brigade then began to a monster toddy by knocking out the reconnoitre the woods, with a view to heads of two hundred and fifty barrels of taking the enemy's guns in the rear if posnew "old rye," alias corn whiskey, at the sible. Massachusetts Regiment led the still owned by Lieutenant Col. Stuart, of van, followed by the Michigan Second, the of it into a neighboring brook. A guard treme right and dashing into the woods

For a short time all was still, and Gen. Tyler thought the enemy was retreating, musketry opened upon us.

This continued but a few minutes, when woods bringing out the dead and wounded o ambulances in the field.

Captain Brackett says the firing of the nusketry exceeded anything he ever saw in Mexico.

After the mistake was discovered, the day. The wind being seaward, the air- howitzers were served until the ammuniships were carried out in that direction; tion was exhausted. The artillery was and their passengers, alighting in the wa- dragged out of the field by hand, all the

Our main column then advanced, firing on the enemy with artillery of great disad-"The Queen of the Air, conveying Mr. vantage, while the shots told on us with Seth Simmons, Jr., who was in charge of fearful effect. Four companies of the the balloon, Mr. E. B. Haskell, one of the Massachnsetts Fifth Regiment, were exreporters for the Herald, arose almost in posed to the fire of the enemy from three a straight fine for some distance, when an positions. They stood their ground unupper stratum of air caught it, and it was til they got into the cross fire of the Michwalted to East Boston, and seaward to- igan Second, when they retired in much

Two of our howitzers came on the enemy, but did not fire, supposing them to off and on, still tended eastward and sea- be friends. Our men suffered terribly from ward. Under such discouraging circum- the fire of our own masketry upon them

our forces were fired on in retreating, gas let off for that purpose. But the wind retreat somewhat with artillery fire. The

> For an hour the final cannonading on had eight guns in their batteries. Our loss is estimated at one hundred

and fifty killed and wounded. The rebel loss is believed to be severe.

The civilians had a busy time dodging it was first slowly, and afterwards with the balls and shells. The day was hot, Messrs Simmons and Haskell were there rations on hand for the half-dead

hove out. Mr. Simmons seiz d hold of ardson, Representative from Illinois, arfrom the top of the balloon, and held on to general fight since yesterday at 6. There were, however, occasional shots by skir-

couple of miles, which distance was accom- son that he should first examine the locaplished—according to the account given tion of the enemy's batteries, their extent,

It is Col. McClernand's belief from what Providentially the crew of the schooner he ascertained while at the seat of war, Atlantic, bound to Bangor, saw the acci- that the Confederates had yesterday updent to the balloon, and put about to inter- wards of 50 00) men at the Junction, or The report of certain special correspon-

> N. B. -We have information from a gentleman direct from the field of battle of

Thursday, who states that our loss of killed is at least 500.

ANOTHER BATTLE. WASHINGTON, July 21. A most severe battle was fought tothe various regiments about Centreville were formed for march. At three they were in motion in the direction of Perryville, leaving Bull Run to the left. At six o'clock the first gun was fired by a 30 pound rifled cannon teries that might be encountered on the road. There was no reply from the enemy, and the advance moved on to Gen. M'Dowell's headquarters, 3

miles beyond Centreville. For five hours one steady column The programme, as stated above was carried out, until the troops met go after him with a boat, Mr. Haskell had with a succession of masked batteries, which were attacked with vigor

The Secretary of War has received hood, and whose crew saw the accident a dispatch that fighting was renewed and Mr. Haskell's extremity, come up be- at Bull Run this morning. Our fore the boat from the Atlantic reached troops engaged the enemy with a ries, and drove the Secessionists to Mist also took off from the schooner his Manassus Junction. The city is wild

Firing was heard in this city to. day from the direction of Bull Run, from 11 till about 3 o'clock: There' was then a cessation till nearly 5, and at I this evening the reverberation of cannon was still audible.

A gentleman, arrived to night, says it three o'clock this afternoon the econd and third New Jersey Regiments were ordered to march forward from Vienna, first sending back their baggage to Camp Trenton. Other troops were hurrying, forward to the scene of hostilities, and there is much military excitement and bustle in the direction of all the camps.

EATER. A report, not official, but from an apparently reliable source, says that he column under Heintzelman has followed the rebels to Manassas June-Rion, and has opened fire upon their Twelfth New York regiments, led the entrenched camp, and was then shell ing them.

The cannonading can occasionally be heard in Washington from George-

Information was received by Ty. er's command of the existence of in battle array, the Second New York and Second Ohio on the left; the Sec. ond Ohio and Second Wisconsin and Seventy Ninth, Thirteenth, and Six. ty Ninth New York on the right .-Col. Miles' division followed in the

of seven. The rebels did not return his shot until an hour and a half afterwards, when Hunter's division came up, and the battle became gen-

The enemy's position was opened on by several of Carlisle's howitzers, followed by slight skirmishing. The rebels rapidly received reinforcements from Manassas Junction

after the attack was opened. The battle consisted in a succession of fires from masked batteries, which opened in every direction. When one was silenced its place was supplied by two. Daring charges were made by our infantry in unmasking them.

The Second Ohio and Second New York militia were marched by the flank through the woods by a new made road, when they came on a battery of 8 guns, with four regiments

upon us.

Our troops were kept for fifteen or the enemy, although within a stone's States, varied only to suit circumstances.

They suc
In January last our Legislature passed a Conceeded in retiring in regular order, and with their battery.

The most gallant charge of the day was made by the New York Sixty Ninth, Seventy-Ninth and Thirteenth, who rushed up upon one of the batteries, firing as they proceeded, with perfect celat, and attacking it with the bayonet's point. The yell of triumph seemed to carry all before it.-They found that the rebels had abandoned the battery, only taking one gun, but this success was acquired only after a severe loss of life, in which the Sixty-ninth most severely sufferties. No Secession Ordinance was passed, the Light Convention of Convention o ed, and it was reported that the Lieutenant Colonel was amongst the first billed. Georgia Commissioner, who was sent there to show them "how" to secede, was hastily sent home with a "reply" that utterly bewildered bim.

themselves by their spirited assaults on the batteries at the point of the Georgia Commissioner, conclude by submitting five resolutions, from which I copy: bayonet, but it is feared that their oss is immense.

had hemmed in the enemy entirely, and that they were gradually retiring; that Hunter had driven them back in the rear, and that Heintzel. Intionary measures commenced by them, and man's command was meeting with every success, and that it required but the reserves of Tyler's division to push on to Manassas Junction.

A Mississippian was taken prisoner by Hasbrouck, of the Wisconsin Second. He turned out to be Brigadier Quarter Master Pryor, cousin of Roger A. Pryor. He was captured with his horse as he by accident rode into our lines. He discovered himself by remarking to Hasbrouck :- "We are getting badly cut to pieces," "What regiment do you belong to,"

asked Hasbrouck. "The 19th Mississippi," was the

of whom there are from thirty thouthey have a reserve of seventy five thousand at the Junction.

He describes an officer most promnent in the fight, distinguished from the rest by his white horse, as Jeff.

He confirms the previous report of regiment of negro troops in the rebel forces, but says it is difficult to get them in proper discipline in

The position of the enemy extended in three lines in the form of a triangle, the apex fronting the centre of our column. The area seems to have been filled by masked batteries.



The whole country was thrown nto an intense state of excitement the above oath and in case of refusal a fine of

Our army was gradually but steadily driving the enemy towards Man-assas, when the enemy seemed to be of this scheme? On the 10th of May the nestreinforced by Gen. Johnston, and imSt. Louis, was captured by Lyon and Blair, eight mediately commenced driving our troops back. A panie then took place it is said among the teamsters policy on the part of the Government to crush him, and picked him up. He was somelarge force, and silenced their batteof the army, who happened to be out. The rebels beaten at every move, now saw that of their place, who communicated their fright to the soldiers, and a reg. ney to quiet the suspicions of the Union forces that in the interval he might secretly prepare for ular stampede took place. General a final and desperate struggle. The correspondence at Booneville and Jefferson City, show the dirty work that our dignified and cowardly Government and state of the control of the co to rally the troops successively at Centreville and at Fairfax Court House.

dirty work that our aignmen and cowning output the resident of the State Bank of Missouri, who with the other Banks holds \$500,000, which which the banks holds \$500,000, which They threw away their guns, knapsack, and everything and kept up the | holders as interest; and who writes to Gov. Jackson that he has been warned not to appropriate refreat to Alexandria. When the bat-tle commenced the enemy's effective to the Governor: force was 30,000, but by reinforce. ments from Richmond and other places they had 90,000 effective men.—
Our army was about 50,000 strong. Our loss is reported at from 2,500 to 3,000, but the stragglers are coming

in rapidly and it is thought that the loss is not so great.

It is also reported that Sherman's Battery, and others were taken by the enemy, but this report is contradicted. The retreat of the army to Alexandria is also contradicted, a successful stand and rally having how the successful at Contraville.

In rapidly and it is thought that the (May 9th).

"Under the existing state of things it occurs to the that the \$500,000' which the Baaks have agreed to advance to the State should be sent at once by them, to this place, (Jefferson City) and put in the Treasury," &c., &c.

"There is no telling how soon Martial Law will be proclaimed in St. Louis, and in such an event our money would be cut off from us at once. I have written to Barnes on the subject," &c.—

I beg you my dear sir, to see them (the Bank Precidents) all, at once, and urge them to not instanter. Let, no one know anything about it until peen effected at Centreville.

There is great exci tement and meloncholy in Washington, but no danger is apprehended, as the fortifications are in good order and effectively manned. Gen. Mc.Clellen has been appointed to the command of

the army of the Potomac. we have no doubt when the facts are. received they will not be as bad as

LETTER FROM MISSOURI.

For the Advertiser. Sincerity and Ronesty of the Rebels-Plans to Accomplish their Purposes as Exempli-fied in Missouri.---How Gov. Jackson was "Going to take the State out, or take her to Hell."

Louisiana, Missouri, July 10, 1861. WM. M. BRESLIN, Esq.:—While, at last, we have rest from the fearful and alarming excitement to which we have been subjected during the last six weeks, I will give you a few ideas concerning this rebellion as deduced from facts and

While I assured you, a few weeks ago, that Missouri would remain in the Union we expected the ordeal through which we knew she must pass to be a severe one, but felt confident in our hope: that she would rise from the fathomless chasm in hich secession would seek to damn her, cleans ed of her dross, stripped of her traitors and their treason, and in her regenerated purity haste to the shrine of Columbia to renew her vow of al legiance, her burning tears of penitence indelli-bly marking the record, and with the folds of the stars and stripes entwining her, conscious of her strength under their protection, and resuming her position upon an immovable rock, calmly de-

twenty minutes under a galling fire, not being able to exchange shots with

vention bill and authorized an election of Delegates to meet at Jefferson City on the 28th of

This Convention was to constitute the last link in the grand scheme of secession. Simultaneously with the passages the Convention Bill a cabal of Legislative traitors selected the candidates to run in the several Districts, nearly every man a Secessionist under a Union guise which the first toward breeze was to blow away; such candidates issuing addresses to their several pre-cincts, bearing in their composition a determination to be elected at all hazards. The conven tion met according to programme, but lo! only thirty two of their men appeared, to meet the The Zouaves also distinguished After reading a wholesome lecture to the afore-said commissioner, the committee of the Conven-

"Resolved by the people of Missouri in Conven-ion assembled: Ist. That the communication made to this Con Up to the hour of 3 o'clock, p. m., it was generally understood that we missioner from the State of Georgia, so far as it

unite their voice with ours in restoring peace and cementing the Union of our Fathers. A great squirming among the Secessionists followed the reading of these resolutions, and seeing no hopes for them in this Convention they sought its speedy termination, that they might try a new game. This they preluded by the cre-ation of a State Serpent, (or Journal, as it was otherwise called) which was to sting and poison the people, to whose firesides it was to find its way in a variety of shapes and pretexts. Ministers of the Gospel had only to furnish their

gations. All legal and State advertisements, and all local legal netices in St. Louis city and county were required to be inserted in this State Journal by Legislative enactment. By law mon had to feed this viper that was intended for their Prior to President Lincoln's first Proclamation answer.

"Then you are my prisoner," said Hasbrouck.

From the statements of this prisoner it appears that our artillery has caused great havoc among the rebels, of whom there are from thirty thouspecially providential was it that the report of certain special correspon-schooner was directly in the way of the dents, that the capture of Manassas Junc-dents, that the capture of Manassas Junc-dents are captured to the Government, a special capture of Manassas Junc-dents are captured to the Government of Manassas All Contents are captured to the Government of Manassas All Contents are captured to the Government of Manassas All Contents are captured to the Contents are captured to the Contents are captured t me remark that the insult shown the President our dastardly Governor, in refusing to claim to the people of this State the fact of the requisition upon them for 4,000 troops is repelled nd disclaimed by five sixths of the inhabitants

of Missouri, as the next requisition; made will show.) The extra session of the State Assembly showed clearly that the rebels, ever since the adjournment of the Convention, had been shap ing things consistently with the prospective Military Bill that was passed at the extra sessing. An encampment of troops, here and there throughout the State was to constitute the nucleus around which Secession was to gather its forces, and when properly armed and drilled, the Military Law was to be served out to them and at the word Missouri was to glide out into Paradise.— Never was a measure more effective in kindling with burning intensity and fierceness the honest anger of a nation of freemen. In its bollowness and repulsive wickedness it is the reflection of the cowardly fiends who devised it. It commands all troops retusing the eath to be disbanded and their arms returned to the State. The assessors throughout the State were required to enrol all men between 18 and 45 years of age, administer on Monday by the receipt of intelligence that cur army had received a terrible repulse at or near Mannas-sas Junction.

One of one hundred and fifty dollars was to be imposed, an obstinate refusal to pay which brought the offender within the mercies of eighteen clauses in the Bill, defining the offender, and proclaiming him a deserter, with the penalty of "being shot," attached. Thus you see all the arms in the State were to be held by the State, and all the troops in the State were to be bound to give bundred men taken to the arsenal, as prisoners and a number of cannon, ammunition, &c.; and now was inaugurated a vigorous and effective their existence lay in desperation. The Governor sought by a treacherous agreement with Harrightfully should be paid over to the State bond holders as interest; and who writes to Gov. Jack-

> "New, while I wish to farnish you with the money, I wish so to do it as to be able to show that we have merely complied with the law, &c."

> > ROBERT A. BARNES."

Now I give you a little note from the Gover-nor to Gen. Price of the same date as the above,

the army of the Potomac.

In the impulse of the moment many things are greatly exaggerated and we have no doubt when the facts are

a short time ago were our warm friends menaced us with bowie-knife and revolver. Old men, who sung the anthems of our glorious Union long be-fore some of these rebel villains were unfortanately born, went not beyond their own doors af-ter nightfall unaccompanied by their loaded guns. Members of churches refused to shake hands with, or to recognize their Union fellow-worshippers. The business places of loyal men were shunned as vipers' dens, and such a spirit of intense animosity was manifested as would soon have exhausted the forbearance of Union men, and in their just despetation, they would men, and in their just desperation, they would have arisen in their might, and exterminated every rabel in our midst. The energy of Lyon, however, has slain the screent, and the Convention to meet at Jefferson City on the 22d inst., is to provide us a Government, and we will then speedily have peace within our borders, and the destiny of Missouri fixed.

Now, Mr. Editor, do you suppose there is any honesty of purpose with the leaders of this rebellion? Do you suppose they are sincere in the causes they set up to justify their rebellion? Do you suppose they would entertain any proposi-tions of compromise? Then would you suppose that we would make tenders of compromise to Our men were immediately ordered to lie down on either side of the road in order to allow two pieces of artillery to pass through and attack the work; when their battery opened upon us.

fying the surging billows of secession encompassing her, she would force her voice through the raging storm, and in her charity and kindness call to her sisters to return speedily to their interesting the raging storm amongst them the work; when their battery opened upon us.

fying the surging billows of secession encomposition. By our down as they would dogs? The South will just the Border States want none. No sir, the issue is upon us—this rebellion, this most unboly conspiracy instituted without a cause or plausible pretext, against tuted without a cause or plausible pretext, against a good government, must be put down, the Union and them unto destruction.

Twill the surging billows of secession encomposition. We of the Border States want none. No sir, the issue is upon us—this rebellion, this most unboly conspiracy instituted without a cause or plausible pretext, against a good government, must be maintained. Through the drended neases the state of the state of the state of the surging billows of secession encomposition.

The state of the Border States want none. No sir, the issue is upon us—this rebellion, this most unboly conspiracy instituted without a cause or plausible pretext, against tuted without a cause them unto destruction.

I will allow you and your host of intelligent readers to make their own deductions from a narration of facts which I shall give you regarding the plans for subverting the General Govern relinquishment of their purposes, endorsed by their speedy acknowledgment of the potoncy and permanency of the United States Government, and the indivisible oneness of this family of States, as cemented under the Constitution

Speech of Mr. Breckinridge.

In the U. S. Senate, on Tuesday, the 15th inst., the resolution affirming of the acts of the President being under consideration, Mr. Breckinridge, of Kentucky, proceeded to speak at length in opposition:

He said under ordinary circumstances he might the acts of the President approved. The resolution, in its face, seems to admit that the acts of the President were not performed in accordance with the Constitution and the laws. If that were the case, then he would be glad to have some reaon assigned showing the power of Congress to indemnify the President for a breach of the constitution. He denied that one branch of the government can indemnify public officers in another branch for violation of the constitution and laws. The powers conferred on the government by the people of the States are the measure of its authority. These powers are confided to different departments and their boundaries are determined. The President has rights and powers conferred and the Legislative Department its powers and Judicial Department its powers, and he denied that either can encroach on the other or indemnify the other for usurpations of the power conference of the content of the power conference of the power con fided by the constitution. Congress has no more right to make constitutional the unconstitutional acts of the President than the President to make valid the acts of the Supreme Court, encroaching on the executive power, or the Supreme Court to make valid an act of the executive encroaching on the judicial power. The resolution substantially declares that Congress may add to the constitution or take from it in a manner not provided by that instrument; that a bare majority can by resolution make that constitutional which is unconstitutional by the same authority; so in whatever view the power granted by this resolution is utterly subversive of the constitution. It might be well to ask if the President had assumed power not conferred. He should confine himself to the acts enumerated in the resolution, acts which he declared to be usurpations on the part of the Executive ; and so far from approving the acts he thought this high officer should be rebuked by both houses of Congress. The President has just established block-ades. Where is the clause in the Constitution which authorizes it? The last Congress refused water nuthorities at? The last Congress refused to confer authority, and by what authority did the President do it when they refused? The Constitution declares that Congress alone have power to declare war, yet the President has made. war. In the last session the Senator from Illi nois (Douglas) delivered a speech, on the 15th of March, which he would read. He then read an extract of Mr. Douglas' speech, declaring that the President had no right to make a blockade at

them. The resolution proceeds to approve the act of the President collisting men for three and five years. By what authority of the constitution and law has be done this? The power is not in the constitution nor granted by law. Therefore it must be illegal and unconstitutional, again the President by his own will has added imensely to the army, whereas the constitution suys Congress alone have the power to raise armies. He has also added to the navy against the warranto fue-constitution. These acts are not defended on constitutional or legal grounds, and he pronounced them usurpations. This resoluion goes to recite that the President has sus pended the writ of habeas corpus, and proposes to ratify and make that raild. We have a great deal of talk about rights—the rights of States, the rights of individuals, and some of them have hear and the rights. been said to be shadowy and imaginary, but the right of every citizen to be arrested only by warrant or law, and his right to have his body brought before a judicial authority, in order that the grounds of that arrest may be determined on, the grounds of that arrest may be determined on, is a real sight. There can be no dispute about that. It is the right of rights to all—high, low, rich or poor. It is especially the right of that class which his Excellency the President calls plain people. It is a right, the respect for which is a measure of progress and civilization. It is a right that has been struggled for, lought for, guarded by laws and heater as in constitution. guarded by laws, and backed up in constitutions. To have maintained it by arms, to have suffered for it, then to have it established on foundations so immutable that the authority of the sovereign could not shake it, is the chief glory of the British people, from whom we derive it. In Eng-land the Legislative power alone can suspend it. The monarch of England cannot suspend that

He also read from a speech of Daniel Websi

right. But the translantic freemen seem to be eager to approve and ratify acts which a Euro pean monarch dure not perform. It needs no legal argument to show that the President cannot suspend the writ of habeas corpus, I contend my suspend the writ of habeas corpus, a solutions saif with referring to the fact, that it is classed among the Legislative powers by the Constitutions, and that the article conferring powers on the Burdant analysis and the nuestion. I may the President touches not the question. I may add that upon no occasion has it ever been asserted in Congress, so far as I recollect that this the instrument itself, what part confers the pow-on the President? Surely not that clause which enjoins him to take care of the constitution and the laws, and faithfully to execute them. The most eminent commentators of the constitution declare it to be a legislative right. The opinion of the present Chief Justice, which has never been answered, makes all further argument idle and superfluous; and one of the worst signs of the times is the manner in which that opinion has been received. A subordinate military officer in Baltimore arrests a private citizens and confines him in a fortress. His friends got a confines him in a fortress. His friends got a writ of habeus corpus, but it cannot be executed of The Chief Justice then gives an opinion which is commended, not only by the profession of which he is so great an ornament, but by all thoughtful men in the country. The newspapers of the country, and the men excited by a violent passion have denounced the Chief Justice but have not answered his opinion. There it stands, one of those productions which will add to his renown. The abuse of the press, and the refit

value without making a detence of it, either on legal or constitutional grounds. What would be the effect? In thus approving what the President has done in the pastyou invite him to do the like in the future, and the law of the country will he in the tuture, and the law of the country will he prostrate at the feet of the Executive and in his discretion be may substitute the military power for judicial authority. Again Mr. President, although there are few of us here who take the view of the constitution by this right, which I am adverting to day I trust we will not a not a constitution to day I trust we will not a not a constitution. rocating to day, I trust we will not, under any circumstances, fail to protest in temperate but manly language against what we consider a usur-pation of the President. Let me call the atten-tion of the Senate briefly to other acts against which I protest in the name of the constitution and the people I represent. You have practical ly martial law all over this land. The house of private citizens are searched without warrant of law. The right of the citizen to bear arras is law. The right of the citizen to Dear arras is rendered nugatory by their being taken from them without judicial process, and upon mere suspicion. Individuals are seized without legal warrant, and imprisoned. The other day since Congress met a military officer in Baltimore appointed a marshal of that city. Will any man defend the set? Does it not override all other law? law? Is it not substituting the rule of a military commander for laws of the land? What more that we would make tenders of components.

fiends who lack only the opportunity, and the assurance of safety for their own carcasses, to shoot you down as they would dogs? The South will listen to no compromise. We of the Border pastor for one of their congregation or a President for one of their banks? The constitution gands the people against any seizure without a warrant of judicial authority. Has not the President of the United States, by one board, sweepessity, war, this rebellion must be wiped out and war we will have. We have wasted our forbearance on compromises and as we more perfectly understand the character of this revolt we despise and detest the very name of compromises. We must have speedy and energetic war, to a successful termination, or the unconditional surrender of the traitors, and the entire and absolute relinquishment of their purposes, endorsed by their records. cannot get out, and in some instances they have actually been forgotton. I was total of one instance where a man was put in jail here and forgetten. His friends made application at on the Departments, and they looked into the case and found forthing against him, and he was discharged. But in the risk of the experts the very charged. But in the rush of the events, the very existence of this man, and the cause of his im-prisonment, was forgotten. We may have then joint resolution to approve these acts and make them valid, but we cannot make them valid in fact. I know that Congress, in the exercise of its legislative functions may appropriate money, but it has been expended by the President without warrant of law. But whatever unconstitutional constitution. I enumerate what I regard as the usurpations of the Executive, and against which

valid without making a defence of it, either on

act he may have committed cannot be cured by a joint resolution. It stands there and it will stand forever. Nor can this Congress prevent a succeeding Congress from holding any officer of the government responsible for a violation of the I wishto record the protest of those who are un-willing to see the constitution subverted, under whatever pretext, necessity, or otherwise. Mr. B. then re-enumerating the several acts in the resolution, to which he had referred. These great-fundamental rights, Sir, the sanctity of which is the measure of progress and civilization, have been trampled under foot by the military and are being now trampled under foot every day in the presence of the two Houses of Congress, and yet so great on one side is the passion of the hour, and so astonishing the stupid amazement of the other that we take it as natural, as right and as of course. We are rushing, Sir, and with rapid strides from a constitutional government into a military despotism. The constitu-tion says the freedom of speech and of the press shall not be abridged yet three days ago, in the city of St. Louis, a military officer with four-hundred soldiers—that was his warrant—went into a ne espaper office in that city removed the types, and declared that the paper should be no longer published, and gave among other reasons that it was fabricating reports injuries to the United States soldiers in Missouri. Is there a Senator here, a citizens of this land, who will say that the slightest colon of authority exists on the part of the military officer for depriving a citizen of liberty or property without a warrant. of law, or to be suppress despatches that the proprietors of the paper submitted, and intended to make an appeal. To whom? To the judicial authorities? No sir, But to Major General Fre-mont, when he should reach St. Louis. The civil authorities of the country are paralyzed and practical martial law is being established all over the land. The like never happened in this country before and it would not be telerated this country in Eurore which pretends to the elements of civilization and liberty. George Washington carried the thirteen colonies through the war of the Revolution without martial law.— The President of the United States could not conduct the government three months without resorting to it. I presume every Senator has read the opinion of the Chief Justice to which I have referred. I shall content myself with reading a few extracts to present my opinions on the subject. [Mr. B. read from the closing part of Judge Taney's opinion.] Thus the President has assumed the legislative and judicial powers, and concentrated in his hands the executive, legisla-tive and judicial powers, which in every age has New Orleans or Charleston more than at Chicago. been the very evidence of despotism, and he ex ereises them to day, while we sit in the Sonate Chamber, and the other branch of the Legislature delivered in 1832, declaring that General Jackson had no right to blockade Charleston. He said he approved these sentiments uttered by these eminent statesman, who were formerly regarded at the other of the Capitol. Mr. President what the excuse - what is the justification, necessity? I answer, first there was no necessity. Was it necessary to preserve the visible emblems of fed-eral authority here that the Southern coast should as sound and thought the time would again come when it would not be thought treason to maintain have been blockaded? Did not the necessity exist when Congress, at the last session, refused to pass the Force bill? Was it necessary to the existence of the Union, till Congress should meet that powers not conferred by constitution should be assumed? Was there a necessity for overrun-ning the State of Missouri? Was there a neces sity for raising the largest army ever assembled on the American continent, for collecting the largest; fleet ever collected in an American har-bor? Congress may deem it was necessary in contemplation of a protracted struggle for the preservation of the constitution and the Union. What I mean to say is, that there was none of that o verruling necessity for present preservation which may apply to usurpations of the Consti-tution. In case of the man in Maryland who was confined so long in Et. McHenry, was there any necessity of confining him instead of turning him over to the civil authorities? The chief charge was that weeks before he had been concerned in treasonable acts. Was not the judicial

authority there to take charge of him, and if convicted, to punish him? If there was a necessity in the present state of affairs, and Congress in session here, then what a long necessity we have before us and impending over us. Let Congress approve and ratify these acts; and there may occur a necessity which will justify the President in superseding the law in every State in this Union, and there will not be a vestige of civil authority left to rise against this usurnation of military power. this usurpation of military power. But I deny this doctrine of necessity. I deny that the Pres-ident of the United States may violate the Constitution upon the ground of necessity. The doc-trine is utterly subversive of the Constitution. It substitutes the will of one man for a written constitution.

The government of the United States, which

draws its life from the constitution, does not rest upon an implied consent. It rests upon an express and written consent. It rests upon an express and written consent, and the government may exercise such powers and such only as are gievn in this written form of government. The people of these States conferred on this agent of theirs just such powers as they deemed necessary. All others were retained. The constitu-tion was made for all contingencies—for peace power exists on the part of the Executive. On one occasion Mr. Jefferson thought the time had arrived when the writ might be, suspended, but he did not undertake to do it himself, and did not occasion. If the powers be not sufficient, still none even recommend it. He submitted it to Conothers were granted, and none others can be ex-ercised. Will this be denied? Is the idea to be gress, and in the long debates, which followed, criedly Will this be denied? Is the idea to be there was not the least intimation that the power belonged to the Executive. I then point to the constitution, and ask Senutors from what clause they deduce the right, by any fair construction of to political unity? It has been held heretofore, and I thought it was axiomatic, and received by the world, that the terms of the constitution of the United States were the measure of power on the one side, and of obedience on the other. Let us take care how we establish a principle that, under any presumed stress of circumstances, powers not granted may be assumed. Take eare and do not furnish an argument to the world and and do not furnish an argument to the world and history that it shall not respect that authority which no longer respects its own limitations.— These are a few of the reasons that will control my vote against this resolution. I hope it will be voted upon and if it should receive a majority, as I fear it will, it will be an invitation to the President of the United States, in the absence of all legislation, to do the like acts whenever, in his animals. Presidents) all, at once, and urge them to act instanter. Let no one know anything about it until it is effected. Yours truly,

C. F. JACKSON."

Like highway robbers and murderers these men were secrelly, concecting and substantially maturing a plan for the ruin and destruction of their friends and foes and the blasting of the State, which an honest and betrayed community confided to their charge.

Arrangements were being made for the execution of the Military Law; Union men were threatened with fire and death and a reign of terror fairly inaugurated. We elept for the last, two months with loaded guns at our bedsides, and nowhere, at night-or in day, time could we be confident of our-safety. Neighbor tupned against neighbor, and brother against brother, and those who but