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THE LANCASTER INTELLIGENCER
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BY G. SANDERSON.

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MY HOME.
I have a beautiful home
Beside the freshest sea,
And angels are wont to come
On neighborhood to me.
They walk with me by day,
And at night find my bed,
I've an orchard smoothly lined,
And cattle sleek and clean—
A garden neatly trimmed,
And a lawn forever green.
And the house within is sweet
As milk you warm in the pail;
The morning earliest rises for me,
But never of children's wail.
And the chamber where I sleep
Is a perfect eastward room;
There the morning earliest rises,
With an odor of clover-bloom.
My study the daintiest nook—
On the wall no idle mark;
I can find it in the dark.
When neighbors of heart complain,
I have a ready tongue to aid;
And I know how to have the rain,
A sunbeam on my wall.
I've nothing to do but enjoy;
Work doesn't find its place;
I live like a heedless boy,
And dream to be a man.
I see the night draw on,
But the sweetest sleep on their eyes;
I see the morning dawn,
Without a thought of surprise.
I see my cattle feed
In the pastures dewy green;
I see men mowing the mead,
And believe that I have seen.
Such is my beautiful home,
Where angels are wont to come
On daily visits to me.

AN APPEAL.

The following brief but touching beautiful lines occur in the poem "The Union," and are peculiarly appropriate to the present crisis.

See ye the poor that walk,
At the fair city's gate,
Hungry for bread, and cold,
Hear ye the wailing cry
From those who starve and die
When hope is all they have?
Know ye those thousand hearts
That break when life departs
Frighted with grief, and
Terror, doubt, and fears,
And human anguish tears,
With no relief?
The children who can tell
Of their little children's dwell
Who have no home?
Who weep and sigh
And think of death's day
Beneath the dome?
This is our work to do,
As life we journey through,
All bruised and
To bid, all hearts to cheer,
By the morning's dawn,
Plant flowers for weeds.

Speech of Hon. William Bigler,
IN THE SENATE, DEC. 11, 1860,
ON THE SENATE RESOLUTION,
RELATIVE TO THE UNION.

I took the floor, Mr. President, yesterday afternoon, for the purpose of making a few remarks on the present unhappy condition of the country. I intended then only to say what was necessary to indicate my own position on the great question which is agitating the people of this country. That is my only purpose this morning. I shall reserve for some subsequent occasion, when perhaps this whole subject will be more fully before us, the discussion of the man question which it necessarily presents.

Sir, it was too truly remarked by the Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) yesterday, that we have fallen on evil times. It is too sadly apparent that this great Republic of ours is in imminent danger of dissolution. The whole political, social, and commercial system is seriously disturbed, and shows unmistakable evidences of depression and distress. Commerce, trade, and finances, are disturbed. The banks have ceased to redeem their notes in specie, and the Treasury of the United States is unable to meet the current demands upon it. Indeed, sir, a general gloom seems to have spread over the entire country. Why is all this? Have the great elements of prosperity, progress and general thrift in the country, become suddenly exhausted? No, sir, these were never more abundant than now. What is it, then? Why, sir, dispute as you may, this is the result of a political crisis. I almost shrink from enunciating the precise cause, obvious as I think it is to every Senator, and to every intelligent man in the land. The startling cause, sir, men are beginning to doubt the integrity and future existence of this Union. State after State has taken steps on the subject of withdrawing from this Confederacy. We hear of Legislatures being assembled, conventions being called, and all consider the great question whether our relations are to continue or not. It is not singular, then, that we have seen manifestations of deep concern and distress in the land.

Sir, this is a startling picture; but it seems to me it is the part of patriotism and duty to look it fully in the face. My own impressions at first were, that the less that was said here the better; but I have changed that impression. I believe that the times require that the public men, the selected men of the nation here, should come up to this great question. Let the people understand what view is taken of it here. For one, I am prepared to separate myself as far as possible from pre-judice and party allegiance, and consider the condition of the country in a spirit of devotion to its interest. I most heartily commend the noble position of the Senator from Connecticut, (Mr. Dixon.) Without understanding the desires of the men of my own party, as he has told us, regardless of his connection with them, of his party prejudices—I believe he is a friend of the President elect—he has come boldly forward and taken his position for the Constitution, for the equality of the States, and for justice among the citizens of the States. Sir, I extend to him the hand of fellowship, and I meet him in the same spirit, and under the same circumstances, for I have no idea how my views will be received on this side of the Chamber. In the spirit of the Senator from Illinois on this side, (Mr. Douglas,) I go with men of my party, and men of every party who will devote themselves to the great work of rescuing the country from the impending danger.

Mr. President, for weal or for woe, I am a Union man. I am for the Union as made

by our fathers. I am for the Constitutional Union as it is, and, in the spirit of the remark of the Senator from California yesterday, I expect to be and for the Union as it is to be. Whatever an humble individual like myself can do, or suffer, or sacrifice, in the cause of the Union, shall be freely offered up.

But, sir, what can be done? I think the motion of the Senator from Kentucky, to refer so much of the President's message as refers to this subject to a select committee, is a movement in the right direction. I think the Senator for it, and I shall cheerfully vote for its adoption.

I was somewhat surprised at the view taken of that proposition by the distinguished Senator from Virginia, (Mr. Mason.) That honorable Senator said he would vote for the resolution as a mere matter of Parliamentary courtesy, because the message should be referred to a committee. He said that most, lest his vote might be misunderstood by his constituents, that they should be under the impression that he had concluded that a remedy for the present difficulties which beset the country could be instituted, while, in his judgment, Congress could do nothing on that subject. That honorable Senator must know that, in some way or other, an adjustment that may be made on the subject must, to some extent, be connected with Congress. Congress must necessarily be connected with it, unless it be the question of secession, which belongs to the States only. If it be possible to agree upon an adjustment in the shape of a law, then Congress and the Executive will perform the whole work. If the committee should find that it required an amendment to the Constitution, then Congress must either adopt that amendment, or submit it to the States for their approval, or the States, or else, when two-thirds of the States petition Congress, provision must be made for a convention of the States, so that, in any event, Congressional action will be necessary. That is a reason why there should be no hesitation whatever in considering the question here, and inquiring calmly, soberly and earnestly of each other what can be done to rescue the country.

Sir, I have a word or two to say specially to my friends on this side of the chamber—I mean those from the far-off South; those with whom I have so long and cordially co-operated here; for whose rights I zealously contended long before I met them on this floor; whose cause has been our cause in the North, and whose cause, to some extent, in the late contest for President, fifteen hundred thousand Northern men embraced. It is scarcely wise of me to undertake to judge of their case. I confess, I am, perhaps, incapable of appreciating their precise position and feelings. I acknowledge, as they are aware, the justice of some of their complaints. I acknowledge that there has been kept up a war of aggression upon their feelings, well calculated to alienate them from the people of the North; and in some instances they have been vexatiously embarrassed, and at times defeated; and furthermore, that the party about to assume the reins of Government, in the late contest avowed doctrines which, in my judgment, are inconsistent with the equality of the States; for so I regard the doctrine of the exclusion of Territories unless he leaves his property behind him. But, Mr. President, is this solution a remedy? Is it the best and wisest of all the alternatives left? Has the time come to embrace that remedy? I think not. I said before, that it was not for me to speak of what concerned them and their interests; but I say no more fatal step can be taken for the interests of the great State which I represent here, and as I verily believe, for every other State in the Confederacy.

I know, sir, what you said—it was said yesterday by the Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Brown)—that war, and even death, are to be preferred to dishonor, and that a State remaining in the Union less than an equal, denied of its constitutional rights, is in some measure dishonored; but my friend from Mississippi, and those that act with him, should view this question in a more hopeful light.

After all, Mr. Lincoln is in a minority of one. He has a thousand votes, and in the election the people of the United States have not passed judgment against the claims of the South to equality and justice.

Mr. President, I want to call the attention of those Senators and of their friends at home to a particular point in this case. I do not care to inquire into the question of the right of secession. Whether it be right, or whether, when the States withdraw, the result be the consequence of the seceding State and to the remaining States will be essentially the same, and the remedy, if remedy there be, will be the same. But the point I wish to make is this: even if it be a right, it is just to the other States to resort to that remedy until redress has been sought and denied at the very fountain of political power and authority, and through the precise channels in which this Confederacy was formed. Such precipitate action is not just to their friends. Let the Southern States seek the people of this Confederacy, separate and aside from ordinary political considerations, to consider the question of the non-slaveholding States from the question of slavery, in order that the question may have no resting-place in the Northern mind.

Honorable Senators yesterday said the hearts of men ought to be changed. I trust in God's name that many of that will be changed; but that is no work for politicians or Senators. It will be idle to hope for an escape in that way. You must separate the agitating cause, if you expect those men who are bitterly anti-slavery to drop the subject. I am of those who think they ought to have done so long ago. No man has given that feeling-less countenance than myself. I have never been in a political struggle in my life that the rights of the South were not a leading issue; and never felt that I did not feel the weight of a Southern issue.

But, Mr. President, I do not know that I can usefully pursue this subject further. I desire to say, however, in reference to my own State, notwithstanding its vote for the Republican candidate at the late election, that it is a conservative and a just State; that our Southern friends can rely with confidence upon the future action of that State. If they ask redress in the form in which I have indicated, or any other which the people can set apart from other considerations, I have not a

doubt that they would give all the guarantees which any reasonable Southern man would demand.

I may be said that, in a minority, as I am, I am not warranted thus to speak, for I should not be regarded as authority; but, sir, every man of intelligence in my State knows that other potent influences than the mere distinctive principles of the Republican party weighed in the late election. There were complications of influences against us, and among them the most potent, next to the slavery agitation, was the question of the tariff. The operatives in the manufacturing establishments and the mines away down in the earth had felt and believed that the policy of the Democratic party was prejudicial to their interests; and at the late election, though they were naturally with the Democratic party, they voted in a body against us.

But, Mr. President, I should be glad, indeed, if Senators on the other side—who speak for the dominant party—would indicate what their present views would be, if they were in the minority. It is not a time when men may stand upon a mere partisan victory. What is a party victory if the country is to be torn by violence, by riots, and mobs, in your commercial cities, on questions of employment and bread? What is a party triumph worth if the Government should not do it? Sir, it is worse than a delusion. I know, Mr. President, the grave responsibilities that attend what I say. I may be laughed at for much that I have uttered. But so it is. I would not have uttered it if I did not feel that the times require that every man, regardless of consequences, should perform his part. I shall only repeat, therefore, that in the remaining part of my brief official career here, whatever it may be possible for me to do to adjust these unhappy differences, I shall do so as earnestly as I can. I cannot bring to you a ready-made solution of these States, much less calmly to contemplate the consequences which would follow.

Sir, let us, as one man, address ourselves to this subject. Why should our friends from the far South desire to separate from those in the North who have so long stood by them? Why, gentlemen, do you men in the States of New York and Pennsylvania alone count against us in the late contest that can be found in all the States that are talking of separating from the Union. A million and a half of voters have, in a large measure, identified themselves with you in the issue against the Black Republican party; and it is my impression that, if this form of Government remains, and the same issues are to be made four years hence, the dividing party will be with you. A flag will be driven to the wall as completely as any party ever was driven in this country. I am no prophet, nor the son of a prophet, but I predict that it is the last victory the Republican party will ever gain. Let us remain together, then; let us contend for your rights within the Constitution and the Union, and in a short time you who are now depending and complaining and threatening disruption, will be the triumphant party, and your friends on this side will control the Government once more; and long ere that, I solemnly believe, if the effort be made in the right direction, the people of this country will give all the guarantees that the South, upon full reflection, would demand.

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