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TOWANDA:

Thursday Morning, January 24, 1861.

Remarks of Hon. Geo. Landon,

Upon Senate Bill No. 1, entitled "Joint Resolutions relative to the maintenance of the Constitution and the Union.

It is very agreeable for a man to speak when surrounded by those who wish to hear him; but not quite so agreeable, however, when a man's sentiments do not meet with a frank and cordial response from the palpitating hearts of his hearers, as we, perhaps, have all experienced. Yet, Mr. Speaker, I shall avow my opinions on the subject matter of debate, though no person may be interested in what I say, except myself; and I do it the more freely from this consideration. You will bear me witness to the fact that I never have encroached upon the time of the Senate in any of the sessions of this body. I think that thirty minutes would cover all the time I have occupied in speech-making; and I think that thirty minutes will cover all the time I shall now occupy. What I say now, I intend to say *eximopectore*, (from the soul,) meaning what I say. The points raised in the question before us have occupied the greatest minds of the nation. I shall not bring to their consideration more intellectual strength than they; but all that a man is accountable for is the right of exercise of what he has. I am in favor, first of defining the position of Pennsylvania upon these matters. We are the representative body of this great State. The eyes of the people are upon us; and I, for one, am in favor of defining what I consider to be the calm and deliberate position of the people of this great Commonwealth which we represent.

Pennsylvania certainly is a great State, occupying, as she does, a sort of breakwater position, holding on the one side the North, on the other the South; containing within her borders almost as many people as the whole number of the population of the colonies in the days of the Revolution; sending out her currents of influence from the centre to the circumference of this great country. Being the Keystone of the Federal Arch, it is eminently proper that Pennsylvania should define her position on the question before the whole country. I would, moreover, have her affirm her convictions, for this reason; that I think her true position is misunderstood in certain sections of the Confederacy. Had you, Mr. Speaker, taken up a newspaper, last evening, you might have read in the speech of a distinguished man lately delivered on the floor of Congress, the assertion that "if the worst come to the worst, there was a large party in Pennsylvania and other Northern States, which would side with him." It is a fact of which I believe we are all cognizant that a portion of the country holds a false impression in regard to our position; and we should endeavor to correct that misconception. If the idea is entertained in Georgia, Mississippi or elsewhere, that in the event of certain action on their part, a like course of proceeding will be taken by our own State, which never will be taken, and was never intended to be taken, I ask we are in duty bound to correct that misapprehension. Then, there is another consideration. Within a few months—I was about to say weeks—great principles are to be settled in this country. Pause and reflect for a moment. See our country trembling in the balance, unsettled and undetermined which way it shall go—to the North or to the South—whether in favor of Freedom or Slavery, of a fixed and settled government or of universal anarchy. Thus we stand, at present. In a very short time the die will be cast and the country launched upon a course of prosperity or adversity. We should do our part towards setting our country right by throwing the weight of our great influence in the balance upon the right side. These being the facts, I think that it is legitimately proper that we should, as the representatives of Pennsylvania, calmly and deliberately look over the matter—say what we believe and what we wish to have done.

There are three setts of resolutions before us—the first coming from the Senator from Philadelphia (Mr. Smith), the second from the honorable Senator from Huntingdon (Mr. Wharton), and the third from the Senator from York. The question now arises, how shall we vote? Before defining my position on any of the resolutions, I would give expression to our friendly feelings entertained towards every section of this Union—to our feelings of friendship towards every portion of this confederacy. I wish that principle distinctly and plainly declared in any sett of resolutions for which I vote. We are to hold just as good and kindly feelings towards South Carolina as towards Massachusetts, notwithstanding that South Carolina has certain things within her domain which we would not fellowship so well as we would the institutions of Massachusetts; yet we acknowledge the ties of a political consanguinity. It is in that case the same that it would be if a member of our family were to be afflicted with a fever-sore. We would not fellowship the fever sore, but we would never hesitate to acknowledge the relationship we sustain to that afflicted member. South Carolina may, as a sister State, have upon her body politic a loathsome ulcer—a sore upon her body politic a loathsome ulceration. We claim no relationship with the gangrene of her disease, but we acknowledge our relationship to her. We hold that the prosperity of South Carolina is our prosperity. Just as the prosperity of any one of the fifteen Southern States is the prosperity of the Union. It is an old adage that if any one member of a body is honored and exalted, the glory and honor of one is the glory and honor of the whole, the happiness of the whole; and when storms and sorrows baptize the one there is a quiver running through the whole body. Therefore, it is a matter of sound philosophy and sound statesmanship that we should feel interested in the extended influence, the greatness and the glory of every member of this Confederacy; hence, when we look to South Carolina, we can only express our affection for her. I would have resolutions embodying this principle, that to every State we guarantee the enjoyment of its constitutional rights. We would wrong no one, nor ruffle a single hair upon the head of any State. What the Constitution guarantees to each State, we guarantee. I would have Pennsylvania affirm the right of any southern State to regulate her own constitutional institutions—her right to act as a sovereign State. If the people of South Carolina, for instance, affirm that two hundred and seventy five thousand whites may and shall hold as goods and chattels, three hundred thousand human beings—buying, selling, mortgaging and crushing them—and if this political right be guaranteed by the Constitution—then they may hold them accountable alone, as they must be to the eternal principles of Truth, Justice and Equity and to the Great God. If there is to be any shame, any disgrace, any ignominy in connection with that institution, they must have it all on their own shoulders—I share none of it; and if there comes down upon them an avalanche of accountability before Christendom, before the universe and before eternity, that avalanche must settle on their heads and not on mine. I am understood, am I sir? If the Constitution gives them the right to hold human beings as chattels, I say, gentlemen, they have the disgrace of it, and I would like them to have the expense of it, too, if that could be. You may have the shame of it—the profit of it—all to yourselves. Then there is another principal germane in relation to this question. While I concede that they shall have their Constitutional rights, I wish the resolutions for which I vote, to claim for me my Constitutional rights. Why, sir, it has come to pass that white men are lost sight of in the contemplation of the sable countenance of Africans—and I think as much of them as of white men—but it has come to pass, that a negro in Virginia or in Dauphin county, is confessedly of more importance, than either you or I would be in South Carolina. A great hullabaloo is raised if we do not turn out *posse comitatus* to catch fugitive slaves from South Carolina, but it is considered all the same if you or I are tarred and feathered in that State. Yet I would stop here, by way of episode.

We would say to the South, gentlemen, when a few months ago there was a conference of clergymen in the State of Texas, you went into that church, walked up to the pulpit, and commanded Bishop Ames to stop in the remarks being made by that reverened gentleman, it was for no other reason under Heaven but that they did not subscribe to the opinion of the South. I would say to them in such language as our constitutional right would warrant, you shall not kick me out of Charleston. I would say to them that if a citizen of Pennsylvania wishes to travel in Virginia he shall be allowed to travel there.

Here is an article of the Constitution which I will read, though the reading of it be superfluous, since we have become familiar with it, by having it so often thrown in our teeth:

"No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

All well, sir, but in close proximity to this article is another, of yet greater significence and force, one that every man should read, one that should be engraved in golden capitals and hung in our national halls. Hear it, and let the country read it:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

While the citizens of one State shall be allowed all the privileges and immunities of a citizen in all States, I demand that after I have given them their Constitutional rights they shall give me mine. I want a resolution that embodies the principle claiming our Constitutional rights.

Again, I want the resolutions to contain this principle; that we affirm the unity, the indivisibility and the perpetuity of this Union. I should blush if I attempted to explain to you, Mr. Speaker, or to this body, a Constitutional question, for do we not all know that when this government was formed, the people, by their representative convention, ceded to the hands of Congress certain of their rights? you may call it a compact, or a confederacy. I would rather call it a coalescence, a conglomeration, a running together, in certain respects; for the people conceded to Congress certain of their rights. And what were those rights? The right to issue letters of marque to suppress insurrection, etc. For how long a time? They were surrendered into the hands of the Government of this Confederacy for all coming time. The Fathers who laid the corner stone there, contemplated that the great building of which that was the foundation, would rise up from age to age. I would have no declaration go out from this Senate that it is our belief that those principles are surrendered only during the pleasure of any State. We have fallen upon troublous times. Seas are stirred; the storms and whirlwinds of political fury are rushing by us and dashing over us, and the great question is, how are we to get out of them? I see but three ways in which we can. The first is not by taking the position that if all of the slaveholding States want to go out of the Union, to let them go, in the language of a Senator on this floor, the amount of which was this: that he had such a christian feeling for his Southern brethern that "if they wanted to go out of the Union they might go out, and go clear to h—l." If we take that position, what is the result? The moment we adopt it we acknowledge that we never had any government, and that for seventy-five years the people have been following an illusion; supposing they were governed by a Constitution, whereas it was nothing but a rope of sand. The sooner we have a company of traitors out of the Union the better, for themselves and us. You concede this principle to day to the Slave-holding States, a proposition will soon come from the Pacific States asserting their right to a seperate confederacy. The north-eastern States will then swing off, and instead of having one grand colossal government that should be the way mark of the future and the glory of the past, we would have a company of little petty Kingdoms, continually warring upon each other's interests. Fixed as are our fraternal feelings to our Southern brothers, we must acknowledge as dangerous that principle which would lead us to destruction; and I do not think we can get out of it by saying that the great remedy is to compromise. The Senator from Huntingdon proposes to compromise; the committee of thirty-three in Congress, the United States Senate committee on Resolutions, are all bending over the seething vat endeavoring to cook up something in the way of compromise which will be satisfactory to all parties. I want to be upright always, and I ask the Senate to whom do we propose to compromise—to States?—to rabbles?—to Governors?—who have taken possesssion of our forts and arsenals, who have defied the authority of the government, pulled down our flag and stand to-day outside of the pale of government, planted upon the shores of rebel lion. And we, the great North, with the education and the wealth, the industry and the free labor, the character, the bone, muscle and sinew and throbbing heart of the country—we are to come cringing like whipped spaniels at the feet of a lion. We are to propose compromises; is that the idea? When a robber comes to rob your hou-e and proceeds to batter down your front door, are you going to cry compromise? If any propositious of compromise are to be entertained they must come from the other quarter. It is the rebel who is to be forgiven.

Another question is, what do you propose to compromise? I have claimed here the right to free speech; the South has filed a demurrer, objected to that right, and avowed that I shall speak in measured terms from the rostrum or the pulpit everywhere. Do you propose to prevent the use of free speech, the foster mother of science and the nurse of genius, the living river of joy that gladdens the homes of men and bears upon its bosom the rich treasures of thought. The traveler standing on the dreary desert may behold in the distance the long-looked for stream. He may not see the waters of that stream, but he may map down on his memorandum its course which he is able to perceive by means of the luxuriant foliage growing upon its banks.—Wherever this stream of free speech flows there grows the beauty and thought and all that is green and beautiful in human existence—and are we to concede it or compromise it away? You call upon me to compromise on a sett of resolutions which will put a padlock on my mouth and prevent the expression of my sentiments. I say no, sir. The great God who gave me a throbbing heart and grieving brain, gave me a tongue to utter the pulsations of the one and the throbbing of the other. No compromise!

It is said in the account of a murder which I once read, that the blood stains were in the floor, and never could be washed out; and Mr. Speaker, the blood stains of that man who was beaten to the earth in the United States Senate will never be washed away. No compromise here to please anybody! We have a certain way of interpreting scripture, of construing the Constitution; that way gives offence to our Southern brethern, and they claim that we shall change our opinion in reference to those matters. In regard to these matters, do you propose to change your firm convictions, to strangle your moral sensibilities, in obedience to the dictum of your Southern directors? I cannot construe these matters in any other way than that in which I always have; and I will tell you, further, the people will say the same. It is asked, further, that we shall amend our statute books. I lately took up the message of Governor Letcher, of Virginia, and, if I remember accurately, he sets forth some eight or ten counts; that we must erase from our statute books, all that is offensive is one count. And men here are found to re-echo it in this chamber. My position is this—while I am willing that men in Mississippi and the Southern States should build up slavery, if such is the wish of the people there—they must bear all the damnation of it themselves; but I shall throw my influence in the scales for freedom. I suppose that we have on our statutes nothing that is unconstitutional. We have sections there which were all looked over and passed upon by this body only a twelve-month ago. Certain of those sections are against kidnapping and riotous apprehensions of fugitive slaves. Let them stand where they are.

It is proposed to yield up a portion of our territory in order to quiet or mitigate the wrath of our southern brethern. It has been eloquently said here that the normal condition of the land where the water flows untrammeled, where the dews are inhaled without restraint, where Heaven's skies are free and the sunshine free—it has been eloquently said that the normal state of God's earth is free and in favor of freedom. When the proposition is made to extend the dark line clear through to the Pacific, and with a grudging look at the North giving a small part of the territory to the cause of freedom, and with a feeling of demonical satisfaction, all south of that line to the unmitigated woes and terrors of slavery, I hope, under Heaven, that we shall not have many men in the North to approve of such a proposal.

It is proposed by the resolutions of the Senator from Huntingdon, to open the territories to the introduction of slavery. In my simplicity, I thought that the American people had decided that point. I thonght that we went to the American people with that proposition—"more slavery or not"—"extension or non-extension of slavery"—that, sir, was my text and I supposed it was yours; and I now think that the man who will be inaugurated President of these thirty-three States, on the Fourth day of March next, is the embodied verdict of the American people on this point. If he is put by there a minority vote; thank God, it is a constitutional minority. And I will say as a certain gentleman said, on the floor of the House of Parliament, when, on the vote being taken, he found himself in the minority.—"May it please your Honor, if you weigh the votes and not count them, we carry the point." It is demanded that we shall concede the right of transit and sojourn of slaves with their masters in Pennsylvania. But concede that point on this floor, in this year of our Lord, 1861, and what a paralyzing quiver will go through the body politic of this State, at least through the better part of it? Only concede that point, and you will hear a cry of condemnation come up from the tens of thousands of Pennsylvania's intelligent sons, who inhabit the valleys and hills of the State, as loud as Heaven's thunders. I know that petitions have come from Philadelphia. I could get petitions signed by 10,000 persons, that the honorable Senator from Huntingdon, whom I appreciate highly, should be hung. We know well how to appreciate petitions presented from certain sections. If Pennsylvania was to take the step proposed by that Senator, there would be a constant influx of slaves here; men could then buy and sell human beings, while on our soil. We need not make any such proposition as that, for I tell you that it can never be carried out. Should the Republican party endorse that, its epitaph is written, coffin made and burial service performed. It is demanded further that the subject of slavery should be taken from our legislative halls. But there is a power behind the throne. The people cannot concede this point. It is claimed that we shall execute the fugitive slave law. Have we not stood by and pressed down our nervous system and upheaving syspathies? Have we not stood by and seen the United States Marshal size his captive by the throat and take him away into bondage? Have we not seen it, and is that not enough? Reisstance may have been made to the execution of the law in certain cases; but never so often as has resistance been made in the South to the execution of the United States laws. I think it enough to be compelled to stand by and see the deed done, without being myself made a miserable poltroon to execute it. I would say to the South, do not expect the Fugitive slave law to be executed any more faithfully in the future. I believe this to be the voice of Pennsylvania, thrilling up from each valley, flung down from each height, our Country and Liberty—God for the right. If we cannot meet the difficulties which beset us except by conceding these fundamental principles of our organic nature, what are we to do? There is the Constitution, which reads; "It shall be the duty of Congress to suppress insurrection, to repel invasion. Suppose that England had made war upon us, what would then be done? It is not England but part of ourselves—the Southern States. What is to be done? Let your Constitution defend the law of the realm protect the right and crush out rebellion. I know that the picture is a dark one, but the path of duty is always the same. I remarked that I could not see out of our difficulties but in three ways. We must concede the right of secession and allow the South to go when and where they please; or, in the second place we must conciliate their wrath by surrendering every principle of diginity and truth; or, in the third place—and this is the manly and patriotic course—we must maintain the Government by all the resources that Providence and Nature have put within our reach—trusting to the God of empires—clinging to the Constitution—lashing ourselves to that sacred instrument as Ulysses did to the mast of his vessel, resolved to sink or swim with this, the ark of our National hopes.

One other principle I would direct attention to: the duty of our State government to assist in maintaining this Union; that Pennsylvania with her three millions of people, her vast resources of wealth and her profound patriotism pledges to Congress all the resources and power of this great State for the maintenance of the government handed down to us by our fathers. I look over these resolutions and I am frank enough to say that every one of the principles named and advocated by myself are contained in the resolutions of the Senator from Philadelphia. They are contained in full or in a germ state, and I shall therefore vote for them. We have fallen sir upon troublous times. Storms and tempests are about us.—The pillars of our country seem collapsing.—But let there be no fear, let no man's heart fail him. Stand for the truth, for the governmental principles of our fathers. The clouds shall yet clear away, and the good old ship Constitution, bound for the port of universal freedom, shall emerge from the misty tempest, the stars and stripes at her mast-head, a glorious history behind and an undimmed future before her.

THE SCHOOLMASTER ABOUT NEW YORK.—J. W. Gerard known as the Adonis of the New York bar, talked to some school children the other day. Speaking of the ease with which crowds were collected in this country, he said he doubted whether the Prince had ever seen such a crowd before as the one which welcomed him in New York, *even upon the occasion of the coronation of his mother.* (This event took place a year or two before the Prince was born.)

IN the early parts of the American war, Franklin went to Paris, in hopes of obtaining pecuniary resources of France. For some time he was unsuccessful; and being present at a large party, a gentleman observed: "It must be owned, sir, that America now exhibits to us a very grand and magnificent spectacle!"

"True," replied the doctor, drily, "but the spectators don't pay!"

LITTLE SUSIE D., poring over a book in which angels were represented as winged beings suddenly remarked with much vehemence—"Mamma, I don't want to be an angel—and I needn't need I?" "Why, Susan?" questioned her mother. "Hump! leave off all my pretty clothes, and wear fedders like a hen!"

AN EDITOR in Maine has never been known to drink any water. He says he never herd water was used as a general remedy but once—at the time of Noah, when it killed more than it cured.

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

OF

GOV. ANDREW G. CURTIN,

DELIVERED AT HARRISBURG JAN. 15, 1861.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

Having been entrusted by the people of Pennsylvania, with the administration of the Executive department of the government for the next three years, and having taken a solemn oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Constitution of Pennsylvania, I avail myself of your presence to express to you, and through you to the people of the State, my gratitude for the distinguished honor they have, in their partiality, conferred upon me.

Deeply impressed with its responsibilities and duties, I enter upon the office of Governor of Pennsylvania, with a determination to fulfil them all faithfully to the utmost of my ability. Questions of great moment intimately connected with the feelings and interests of the people of all parts of the Nation, now agitate the public mind; and some of them, from their novelty and importance, are left for settlement in the uncertainty of the future. A selfish caution might indicate silence as the safest course to be pursued as to these questions, by one just entering upon the responsibilities of high official position; but fidelity to the high trust reposed in me demand, especially at this juncture, that I yield to an honored custom which requires a frank declaration of the principles to be adopted, and the policy to be pursued during my official term.

We have assumed, as the great fundamental truth of our political theory, that man is capable of self-government, and that all power emanates from the people. An experience of seventy-one years, under the Constitution of the United States, has demonstrated to all mankind that the people can be entrusted with their own political destinies; and the deliberate expression of their will should furnish the rule of conduct to their representatives in official station. Thus appreciating their liberal capacity for self-government, and alive to the importance of preserving pure and unsullied as it came from the hands of the Apostles of Liberty, this vital principle, I pledge myself to stand between it and encroachments, whether instigated by hatred or ambition, by fanaticism or folly.

The policy that should regulate the administration of the government of our State, was declared by its founders, and is fully established by experience. It is just and fraternal in its aims, liberal in its spirit, and patriotic in its progress. The freedom of speech and of the press, the right of conscience and private judgment in civil and religious faith, are the high prerogatives to which the American citizen is born. In our social organization the rich and the poor, the high and the low, enjoy these equally, and the Constitution and the laws in harmony therewith, protect the rights of all. The intelligence of the people is one of the main pillars of the fabric of our government, and the highest hopes of the patriot for its safety rest on enlightened public morality and virtue. Our system of Common Schools will ever enlist my earnest solicitude. For its growing wants the most ample provision should be made by the Legislature. I feel that I need not urge this duty. The system has been gaining in strength and usefulness for a quarter of a century, until it has silenced opposition by its beneficent fruits. It has at times languished for want of just appropriations, from changes and amendments of the law, and perhaps from inefficiency in its administration; but it has surmounted every difficulty and is now regarded by the enlightened and patriotic of every political faith as the great bulwark of safety for our free institutions.—The manner in which this subject is presented to the Legislature, by my immediate predecessor in his annual message, fully harmonizes with public sentiment; and his recommendation for aid to the Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania meets my most cordial approbation.—Invited to the rich prairie lands of the West where the labor of the husbandman is simple uniform, when population has filled our valleys it passes away from our highland soils where scientific culture is required to reward labor by bringing fruitfulness and plenty out of comparative sterility. While individual liberality has done much for an institution that is designed to educate the farmer of the State, the School languishes for want of public aid. An experience of ten years has fully demonstrated that the institution can be made self sustaining and it requires no aid from the State except for the completion of the buildings in accordance with the original design. A liberal appropriation for that purpose would be honorable to the Legislature and a just recognition of a system of public instruction that is of the highest importance to the State in the devolpment of our wealth, the growth of our population and the prosperity of our great agricultural interests.

The State having been wisely relieved of the management of the public improvements by their sale, the administration of the government is greatly simplified, its resources are certain and well understood, and the amount of the public debt is definitely ascertained. A rigid economy in all its various departments and a strict accountability from all public officers, are expected by our people, and they shall not be disappointed. Now that the debt of the State is in the course of steady liquidation by the ordinary means of the treasury, all unnecessary expenditures of the public money must be firmly resisted, so that the gradual diminution of the indebtedness shall not be interrupted.

To promote the prosperity of the people and the power of the Commonwealth, by increasing her financial resources, by a liberal recognition of the vast interests of our commerce, by husbanding our means and diminishing the burdens of taxation and of debt, will be the highest objects of my ambition, and all the energy of my administration will be directed to the accomplishment of these results.

The pardoning power is one of the most important and delicate powers conferred upon the Chief Magistrate by the Constitution and it should always be exercised with great caution, and never except on the most conclusive evidence that it is due to the condemend, and that the public security will not be prejudiced by the act. When such applications are presented to the Executive it is due to society, to the administration of justice, and to all interested, that public notice should be given. By the adoption of such a regulation imposition will be prevented and just efforts will be strengthened.

The association of capital and labor, under acts of incorporation, where the purposes to be accomplished are beyond the reach of individual enterprise, has long been the policy of the State, and has done much to advance the prosperity of the people. Where the means of the citizens are moderate, as they generally are in a new and growing country, and where the concentration of the capital of many is necessary to development and progress, such associations, when judiciously restricted, confer large benefits on the State. The vast resources of Pennsylvania, and the variety of her mechanical and other industrial pursuits, invite capital and enterprise from abroad, which, on every sound principle of political economy, should be encouraged. Much of the time of the Legislature is consumed by applications for special chartered privileges which might be saved by the enactment of general laws and by such amendment to our general mining and manufacturing law as will remove needless time afford ample protection to capital and labor, and to the community at large. Our statute books are full of acts of incorporations conferring special privileges, various as they are numerous, dissimilar in their grants of power, and unequal in their liabilities and restrictions. Well considered and judicious general laws to meet all classes of corporations would remedy the evil, economise time and money, relieve the Legislature from the constant pressure for undue privileges, and be just and equal to all in their administration.

The veto power conferred upon the Executive was given with much hesitation, and not without serious apprehensions as to its abuse, by the framers of our organic law. It is, in my judgment, to be used with the greatest caution, and only when legislation is manifestly inconsiderate, or of more than doubtful constitutionality. The legislators, chosen as they are directly by the people, in such a manner that a fair expression of their views of the true policy of the government can always be had, give to all well considered measures of legislation the solemn sanction of the highest power of the State, and it should not be arbitrarily interfered with. While I shall shrink from no duty involved by the sacred trust reposed in me by the people of the Commonwealth, I would have all other departments of the government appreciate the full measure of responsibility that devolves upon them.

The position of mutual estrangement in which the different sections of our country have been placed by the precipitate action and violent denunciation of heated patizans, the apprehension of still more serious complications of our political affairs, and the fearful uncertainity of the tutnre, have had the effect of weakening commercial credit and partially interrupting trade; and, as a natural consequence, deranging our exchanges and the currency. Yet the elements of general prosperity are everywhere diffused amongst us, and nothing is wanting but a return of confidence to enable us to reap the rich rewards of our diversified industry and enterprize. Should the restitution of confidence in business and commercial circles be long delayed, the Legislature, in its wisdom, will, I doubt not, meet the necessities of the crisis in a generous and patriotic spirit.

Thus far our system of Government has fully answered the expectations of its founders, and has demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government. The country has advanced in wealth, knowledge and power, and secured to all classes of its citizens the blessings of peace, prosperity and happiness. The workings of our simple and natural political organizations have given direction and energy to individual and associated enterprise, maintained public order, and promoted the welfare of all parts of our vast expanding country. No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania and understands the opinions and feelings of her people can justly charge us with hostility to our brethren of other States. We regard them as friends and fellow countrymen, in whose welfare we feel a kindred interest, and we recognize, in their broadest extent, all our constitutional obligations to them. These we are ready and willing to observe generously and fraternally in their letter and spirit, with unswerving fidelity.

The election of a President of the United States, according to the forms of the Constitution, has recently been made a pretext for disturbing the peace of the country by a deliberate attempt to wrest from the Federal Government the powers which the people conferred on it when they adopted the Constitution.—By this movement the question whether the government of the United States embodies the prerogatives, rights and powers and sovereignty, or merely represents, for specific purposes a multitude of independent communities, confederated in a league which any one of them may dissolve at will, is now placed directly before the people. Unhappily this question is not presented in the simple form of political discussion, but complicated with the passions and jealousies of impending or actual conflict.

There is nothing in the life of Mr. Lincoln, nor in any of his acts or declarations before or since his election, to justify the apprehension that his Administration will be unfriendly to the local institutions of any of the States No sentiments but those of kindness and conciliation have been expressed or entertained by the constitutional majority which elected him; and nothing has occurred to justify the excitement which seems to have blinded the judgment of a part of the people, and is precipitating them into revolution.

The supremacy of the National Government has been so fully admitted and so long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania, and so completely has the conviction of its nationality