

Bradford Reporter.

E. O. GOODRICH, EDITOR.

TOWANDA:

Thursday Morning, July 11, 1861.

LATEST WAR NEWS.

Monday was the day agreed upon by the President and his advisers, including Gen. Scott, for a grand combined movement on Manassas Junction, by flank and center columns. We make no comments, but give this simple announcement, and wait patiently for result. Gen. Beauregard is reported to beat Fairfax Court-House, but the number of his army is not even proximately known.

Various exciting rumors and extravagant reports concerning a battle of great magnitude between Gen. Patterson and Gen. Johnson, at Martinsburg, prevailed at Washington. The war department, however, had no information which would authorize these stories, and they were considered improbable. It is known that Gen. Jackson has been re-enforced, his army now consisting 15,000 or 16,000 infantry, 600 cavalry, and about 20 pieces of artillery. Gen. Patterson has sent for re-enforcement, and the New-York 12th and 5th left Washington on Sunday afternoon to go to him. On Monday it was expected, that his forces will be still further increased by Col. Stone's command. Patterson has now about 17,000 men and 20 pieces of artillery. Some uneasiness was caused at Washington by the fact that his communication with the Department has been interrupted within the past three days.

On Saturday night 45 men of the Third Ohio regiment fell in with an ambuscade of several hundred rebels at Middle York Bridge twelve miles east of Buckhannon, Va. Being surrounded they fought desperately for some time, then cut their way through the enemy and retired, losing only one man and having some wounded. On Sunday three regiments moved from Buckhannon and took possession of the bridge. It was expected that Gen. McClellan, with a large force, would go to Laurel Hill Monday and a fight is confidently looked for in that direction.

We have, by way of Cincinnati, a report which need confirmation, to the effect that Gov. Wise, with a body-guard of 50 men, had been attacked by Virginians in Sissonville, Va., and had been mortally wounded.

A special dispatch 7th inst., to *The Cincinnati Commercial* from Pomeroy, Ohio, says that Col. Horton, with 150 men had just arrived there from an expedition into Virginia, where they captured four horses, 16 head of cattle, and two mules from the rebels.

Gov. Wise with a body guard of 50 men under Capt. Patton, were fired at by the natives near Sissonville. Wise and Patton are supposed to have been mortally wounded, and 40 of the guard killed. The report is undoubtedly true in substance, but the wounding of Gov. Wise and Capt. Patton needs confirmation.

The *Washington Star* has a special despatch from Grafton, dated the 3d inst., which says that General Morris attacked and routed a division of Wise's army on Monday morning at Buckhannon, killing twenty three, and taking two hundred prisoners and seventy-three horses.

CONGRESS.

Congress assembled in special session on Thursday, and immediately proceeded to the business of organization. The Senate was called to order by Vice-President HAMLIN at noon, and the newly elected Senators from Kansas, Illinois and California appeared, and took the customary oath. There were forty-three members present. The Senate did no business on the first day, but Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts, gave notice of his intention to introduce various bills rendered necessary by the condition of the country. On Friday GEORGE T. BROWN, was elected Sergeant-at-arms on the first ballot. Mr. CHANDLER, of Michigan, gave notice that he should introduce a bill to confiscate the property of leading rebels in the South, the proceeds to be applied to the indemnification of Union men who may have suffered losses on account of the acts of such rebels. Notice having been received of the organization of the House, a committee was appointed to wait on the President, and notify him of the readiness of Congress to proceed to business, and a short recess was taken. On reassembling, the President's Message was received and read. We publish this important document in full elsewhere. In the House on Thursday, almost the first business after the roll had been called was the electing of Speaker. But one ballot was had—the contest being between Messrs. GROW, of Pennsylvania, and BLAIR of Missouri. Mr. COLFAX would not suffer his name to be used, and so announced to his friends.—When the vote was taken it was found there was no choice, when Mr. BLAIR withdrew, and his vote was transferred to Mr. GROW—thus electing that gentleman. Mr. GROW on taking the chair, made an earnest and telling address of thanks, which will be found in another part of our paper. The members were then sworn in by delegations. Some objections were made to the Virginia delegation by Mr. BURNETT, of Kentucky, but the objection was overcome. Some other trifling delay was occasioned by case of contested election, when the House proceeded to the choice of Clerk, and the first ballot resulted in the election of Mr. ETHEREDGE, of Tennessee. Mr. VALLANDIGHAM, of Ohio, gave notice of his intention

to introduce a bill to repeal the Tariff act of 1861, and substitute that of 1858 with revision. On Friday Ex-Congressman BALL was chosen Sergeant-at-arms; Ira GOODNOW, of New-York, Doorkeeper, and Rev. Mr. STOKES, Chaplain. The President's Message was received and read, portions of it being greeted with applause from the floor and galleries. Mr. STEVENS, of Pennsylvania, gave notice of a bill to repeal all laws creating ports of entry in the rebellious States, and a bill providing for holding of the United States Court in Wheeling. The House soon afterwards adjourned.

One of the important documents accompanying the President's, the two of most immediate interest are the reports of the Secretary of War and the secretary of the Treasury. The latter anticipates that it will be necessary to provide for raising \$320,000,000, and he suggests that \$80,000,000 of this sum should be raised by direct taxation, and the remaining \$240,000,000 by loans.

After the announcement of the ballot for Speaker, Hon. G. A. GROW, made the following remarks:—

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, of the United States of America:

Words of thanks for the honor conferred by the vote just announced would but feebly express the heart's gratitude. While appreciating this distinguished mark of your confidence, I am not unmindful of the trying duties incident to the position to which you have assigned me. Surrounded at all times by grave responsibilities, it is doubly so in this hour of national disaster, when every consideration of gratitude to the past and obligation to the future tenders around the present. Four score years ago fifty-six bold merchants, farmers, lawyers and mechanics, the representatives of a few feeble Colonists, scattered along the Atlantic seaboard, met in Convention to found a new Empire, based on the inalienable rights of man. Seven years of bloody conflict ensued, and the Fourth of July, 1776, is canonized in the hearts of the great and good as the jubilee of oppressed nationalities, and in the calendar of heroic deeds it marks a new era in the history of the race. Three-quarters of a century have passed away, and the feeble Colonists, hemmed in by the ocean in front, and the wilderness and the savage in the rear, have spanned the whole continent with a great empire of free States, rearing throughout its vast wilderness the temples of science and of civilization on the ruins of savage life. Happiness, seldom, if ever, equalled, has surrounded the domestic fireside, and prosperity unsurpassed has crowned the national energies, the liberties of the people been secure at home and abroad, while the National standard floated, honored and respected in every commercial mart of the world. On the return of this glorious anniversary after a period but little exceeding the allotted lifetime of man, the people's representatives are convened in the Council Chambers of the Republic to deliberate on the means for preserving the Government, under whose benign influence these grand results have been achieved. A rebellion the most causeless in the history of the race has developed a conspiracy of long standing to destroy the Constitution formed by the wisdom of our fathers and the Union, cemented by their blood. This conspiracy, nurtured for long years in secret councils, first develops itself openly in acts of spoliation and plunder of public property, with the connivance or under the protection of treason, enthroned in all the high places of the Government, and at last in armed rebellion for the overthrow of the best Government ever devised by man. Without an effort in the mode prescribed in the organic law for a redress of all grievances, the malcontents appeal only to the arbitrament of the sword, insult the nation's honor, and trample upon its flag; inaugurate a revolution which, if successful, would end in establishing petty jarring confederacies or anarchy upon the ruins of the Republic and the destruction of its liberties.

The 19th of April, canonized in the first struggle for American Nationality, consecrated in the martyr blood of Warren, has its counterpart in Ellsworth, and the heroic deeds and patriotic sacrifices of the struggle for the establishment of the Republic are being reproduced upon the battle-fields for its maintenance. Every race and tongue of men almost is represented in the grand legion of the Union, their standards proclaiming in a language more impressive than words that here indeed is the home of the emigrant and the asylum of the exile, no matter where was his birth place, or in what clime his infancy was cradled. He devotes his life to the defence of his adopted land, the vindication of its honor, and the protection of its flag, with the same zeal with which he would guard his hearthstone and fireside. All parties, sects and conditions of men, not corrupted by the institutions of human bondage, forgetting bygone rancors or prejudices, blend in one phalanx for the integrity of the Union and the perpetuity of the Republic. Long years of peace in the pursuits of sordid gain, instead of blunting the patriotic devotion of loyal citizens, seems but to have intensified its development, when the existence of the Government is assailed. The merchant, the banker, and the tradesman, with an alacrity unparalleled, proffer their all at the altar of their country, while from the counter, the workshop, and the plow, brave hearts and stout arms, leaving their tasks unfinished, rush to the tented field—the air vibrates with martial strains, and the earth shakes with armed men. In view of this grand demonstration for self-preservation in the history of nationalities, desponding patriotism may be assured that the foundations of our national greatness still stands strong and the sentiment which beats to-day in every loyal heart will for the future be realized. No flag alien to the sources of the Mississippi will ever float permanently over its mouth till its waters are crimsoned in human gore, and not one foot of American soil can be wrenched from the jurisdiction of the Constitution of the United States until it is baptized in fire and blood. [Vociferous applause upon the floor, and in the galleries, which lasted for many minutes.] Gentlemen, as your presiding officer, it becomes my duty to apprise you that any demonstrations of approval or disapproval of anything done or said during your session is in violation of parliamentary decorum, and the Chair would also inform the persons in the galleries that applause by them is a violation of good order and a breach of the rules of the House. The Chair hopes therefore that any demonstrations of applause will not be repeated.

In God is our trust, and the "Star Spangled Banner" forever shall wave, o'er the land

of the free and the home of the brave." [Suppressed applause.] Those who regard it as mere cloth basting, fail to appreciate its symbolical power. Wherever civilization dwells or the name of Washington is known, it bears on its folds the concentrated powers and armies and navies, and surrounds the votaries with a defence more impregnable than a battlement of wall or tower. Wherever, on the earth's surface, an American citizen may wander, called by pleasure, business or caprice, it is a shield to secure him against wrong and outrage; save on the soil of the land of his birth. As the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people, your paramount duty is to make it honored at home as it is respected abroad. A Government that cannot command the loyalty of its own citizens is unworthy the respect of the world; and a Government that will not protect its own loyal citizens, deserves the contempt of the world.

He would tear down this grandest temple of Constitutional liberty, thus blasting forever the hopes of crushed humanity, because its freemen in the mode presented by the Constitution select a Chief Magistrate not acceptable to him, is a parricide to his race, and should be regarded as a common enemy of mankind. The Union once destroyed is a shattered vase that no human power can reconstruct in its original symmetry. Coarse stone when they are broken never can be cemented again; precious ones never. If the Republic is to be dismembered, and the sun of its liberty must go out in endless night, let it set amid the roar of cannon and the din of battle, when there is no longer an arm to strike or a heart to bleed in its cause, so the coming generation may not reproach the present with being too imbecile to preserve the priceless legacy bequeathed by our fathers, so as to transmit it unimpaired to future times. Again, gentlemen, thanking you for your confidence and kindness, and invoking guidance from that Divine Power that led our fathers through the Red Sea of the Revolution, I enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have assigned me, relying upon your forbearance and cooperation, and trusting that your labors will contribute not a little to the greatness and glory of the Republic.

President's Message.

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:—Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation. At the beginning of the present Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, excepting only those of the Post-office Department. Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom-houses, and the like, including the moveable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized, and were held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only Forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston Harbor, S. C.

The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose. The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality to the best of her own, and outnumbering the latter perhaps ten to one—a disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way in these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue, lying within them, had been seized for the same object—the Navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government.

Officers of the Federal Army had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government. Simultaneously, and in concert with all this, the purpose of severing the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States declaring the States respectively to be separated from the Federal Union. A formula for instituting a combined Government of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization in the character of the "Confederate States," was already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from Foreign Powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the Inaugural Address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion, and the ballot-box; it promised a continuance of the mails, at Government expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbances to any of the people or any of their rights, of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case. Everything was forborne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 4th of March, the present incumbent's first day in office, a letter from Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March, was by that Department placed in his hands. The letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer, that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made inclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieut.-Gen. Scott who at once concurred with Major Anderson in his opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the Army and Navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated, at the same time,

that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that to abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be ruinous; that the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy, that at home, it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received just one week after the fall of Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late Administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, up to the time the order was dispatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter named fort.

In precaution against such a conjecture, the Government had a few days before commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward as had been intended. In this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted there would be no attempt to throw in men, arms or ammunition, without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense, a matter of self defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could, by no possibility, commit aggression upon them; they knew—they expressly notified—that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men in the garrison was all that would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves by resisting so much should provoke more. They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as heretofore stated, to time, discussion and the ballot-box, for final adjustment, and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object, to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union and thus force it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object, the Executive well understood; and having said to them in the Inaugural Address "you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," he took pains, not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so far from ingenious sophistry, so that the world should not misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and thereby the assailants of the Government began the conflict of arms, without a gun in sight or in the expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort sent to that harbor years before, for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue—immediate dissolution or blood, and this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a Constitutional Republic or Democracy, a Government of the people, by the same people, can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control the Administration according to the organic law in any case, can always upon the pretences made in this case, or any other pretences, or arbitrarily without any pretence, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth. It forces us to ask, "is there in all Republics this inherent and fatal weakness?" Must a Government of necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?

So viewing the issue, no choice was left but to call out the war power of the Government, and so to resist the force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation. The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectations. Yet none of the States, commonly called Slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through the regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of these States by individual enterprise, and received into the Government service.

Of course the seceded States, so called, and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration, gave no troops to the cause of the Union. The Border States, so called, were not uniform in their action, some of them being almost for the Union, while in others, as in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced. The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A Convention, elected by the people of that State, to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union, was in session at the Capital of Virginia, when Sumter fell.

To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men, almost immediately after the fall of Sumter. Many members of that majority went over to the original disunion minority, and with them, adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Federal Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, and their great

resentment to the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known.

Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken in a day, then somewhat more than a month distant, the Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading men of the State, not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State was out of the Federal Union. They pushed military organizations vigorously forward all over the State.

They seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the Gosport Navy-yard, near Norfolk. They received, perhaps, invited, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance with the so-called Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery, and finally they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it, and it has the less to regret as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection. These loyal citizens this Government is bound to protect as being in Virginia. In the Border States, so called, in fact the middle States, there are those who favor a policy which they call armed neutrality. That is, an arming of these States to prevent the Union forces passing one way, or the Disunion the other, over their soil. This would be disunion completed.

Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation, and yet not quite an impassable one, for, under the guise of neutrality, it would tie the hands of the Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke, it would take all the trouble out of the hands of Secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade.

It would do for the Disunionists that which of all things they most desire, feed them well and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligation to maintain the Union, and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is never theless very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the Government it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal.

At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privatizing.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them.

It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress. Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the Commanding-General, in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, in other words, to arrest and detain without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised but very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who has sworn to take care that the laws be faithfully executed should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted and failing of execution in nearly one-third of the State. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution, some single law made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty, that, practically, it relieves more of the guilty than the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the laws but one to go unexecuted and the Government itself to go to pieces, lest that one be violated?

Even in such a case, would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown when it was believed disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it. But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated. The provision of the Constitution that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it, is equivalent to a provision that such privilege may be suspended when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it.

It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the privilege of the writ, which was authorized to be made.—Now it is insisted that Congress, and not the Executive, is vested with this power. But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power, and as the provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress could be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case by the rebellion. No more extended argument is now afforded, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney-General. Whether there shall be any legislation on the subject, and if so what, is submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of this Government had been so extraordinary and so long continued, as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this, on discovery, gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign Powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War and Navy, will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and all the Departments will stand ready

to supply omissions or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of \$600,000,000 now is a less sum per head, than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money-value in the country bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sanction and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them; in a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well.—It might seem at first thought to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called secession or rebellion.—The movers, however, will understand the difference.

At the beginning they knew that they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law; they knew their people possessed as much of moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in preference for the history and Government of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauchery of the public mind; they invented an ingenious sophism, which, it conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents of the complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Union may, consistently with the nation's Constitution, and therefore, lawfully and peacefully withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union, or of any other State.

The little disguise that the supposed right to be exercised only for just cause, themselves to be the sole judge of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. With rebellion thus suggested they have been dragging the people of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Government the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretense of taking their State out of the Union who could have been brought to no such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State—to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union.—The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ones came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State.

The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while the name was first adopted for old ones, and by the Declaration of Independence.—Therein the united colonies were declared to be free and Independent States. But even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward, abundantly show. The express pledging of faith by each and all of the original thirteen States in the articles of confederation two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive, having never been States either in substance or in name outside of the Union. Whence this magical omnipotence of State Rights, asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States, but the word even is not in the National Constitution, nor as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions.

What is a sovereignty in the political sense of the term? It would be far wrong to define it a political community without a political superior? Tested by this no one of our States except Texas, was a sovereignty, and even Texas gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States made in pursuance of States, have their status in the Union made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this they can only do so against law and by revolution.

The Union, and not themselves separately, procured their independence and their liberty by conquest or purchase; the Union gave each of them whatever of independence and liberty it has. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States. Originally some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States formed their Constitutions before they entered the Union, nevertheless dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union. Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution, but among these surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous or destructive, but at most such only as were known in the world at the time as governmental powers; and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself as a merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is no other than the principle of equality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confined to the whole Government, while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State.

This is all there is of original principle, in defining boundaries between the two, and