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THE REBELLION AND THE WAR. SPEECH BY MR. VALLANDIGHAM, OF OHIO,

In the Mouse of Representatives, JANUARY 14, 1863.

[QONCLUSION.]
Are there physical causes which render reunion impracticable? None. Where other causes
do not control, rivers unite; but mountains,
deserts, and great bodies of water—oceani disso
ciabiles—separate a people. Vast forests originally, and the Lakes now, also divide us—not
very widely or wholly—from the Canadas,
though we speak the same language, and are
similar in manners, laws and institutions. Our
chief navigable rivers run from North to South.
Most of our bays and arms of the sea take the Most of our bays and arms of the sea take the same direction. So do our ranges of mountains. Natural causes all tend to Union, except as between the Pacific coast and the country east of the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic. It is "mani fest destiny." Union is empire. Hence, hither to we have continually extended our territory, and the Union with it, South and West. The Louisiana purchase, Florida, and Texas all attest it. We passed desert and forest, and scaled even the Rocky Mountains, to extend the Union to the Pacific. Sir, there is no natural boundary between the North and the South, and no line of between the North and the South, and to line of latitude upon which to separate; and if ever a line of longitude shall be established, it will be east of the Mississippi valley. The Alleghanies are no longer a barrier. Highways ascend them everywhere, and the railroad now climbs their summits and spans their chasms, or penetrates their rockiest sides. The electric telegraph foltheir rockiest sides. The electric telegraph fol-lows, and, stratching its connecting wires along the clouds, there mingles its vocal lightnings with the fires of heaven. But if disunionists in the East will force a sep-

aration of any of these States, and a boundary purely conventional, is at last to be marked out, it must and will be either from Lake Eric upon the shortest line to the Ohio river, or from Manhattan to the Canadas.

And, now, sir, is there any difference of race here, so radical as to forbid reunion? I do not refer to the negro race, styled now, in unctious official phrase by the President, "Americans of African descent." Certainly, sir, there are two white races in the United States, both from the same common stock, and vet so distinct—one of them so peculiar—that they develop different forms of civilization, and might belong, almost, to different types of mankind. But the boundary of these two races is not at all marked by the line which divides the slaveholding from the non-slaveholding States. If race is to be the geographical limit of disunion, then Mason and Dixon's can never be the line.

Next, sir: do not the causes which, in the beginning, impelled to Union still exist in their utmost force and extent? What were they? First, the common descent—and therefore consanguinity—of the great mass of the people from the Anglo-Saxon stock. Had the Canadas been settled originally by the English, they would doubtless have followed the fortunes of the thirteen colonies. Next, a common language, one of the strongest of the ligaments which binds a people. Had we been contiguous to Great Britain, either the causes which led to a separa-tion would have never existed, or else been ily removed ; or, afterwards, we would long specury removea; or, atterwards, we would long since have been reunited as equals and with all the rights of Englishmen. And along with these were similar, at least not essentially dissimilar, manners, habits, laws, religion, and institutions of all birds avers. of all kinds, except one. The common defense was another powerful incentive, and is named in the Constitution as one among the objects of yet than all these, perhaps, but made up of all had there been of them, was a common interest. Variety of climate and soil, and therefore of production, when? At when it is the common of the common implying also extent of country, is not an elemenof separation, but, added to contiguity, becomes a part of the ligament of interest, and is one of its toughest strands. Variety of production is the parent of the earliest commerce and trade; and these, in their full development, are, as between foreign nations, hostages for peace; and between States and people united, they are the firmest bonds of Union. But, after all, the strongest of the many original inpelling causes to the Union, was the securing of domestic tran-quillity. The statesmen of 1787 well know that between thirteen independent but contiguous States without a natural boundary, and with othing to separate them except the machinery of similar governments, there must be a perpetual, in fact an "irrepressible conflict" of jurisdiction and interest, which, there being moother common arbiter, could only be terminated by the conflict of the sword. And the statesmen of 1862 ought to know that two or more confederate governments, made up of similar States, having no natural boundary either, and separated only by different governments, cannot endure long together in peace, unless one or more of them be either too pusillanimous for rivalry, or too insignificant to provoke it, or too weak to resist

These, sir, along with the establishment of justice, and the securing of the general welfare, and of the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, made up the causes and motives which impelled our fathers to the Union at first.

And now, sir, what one of them is wanting?
What one diminished? On the contrary, many of them are stronger to day than in the begin-ning. Migration and intermerriage have strengthened the ties of consanguinity. Commerce, trade, and production have immensely multiplied. Cotton, almost unknown here in 1787, is now the chief product and export of the country. It has set in motion three-fourths of the spindles of New England, and given employment, directly or remotely, to full half the shipping, trade, and commerce of the United States. More than that: cotton has kept the peace between England and America for thirty years; and had the people ish of

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY MORNING. of the North been as wise and practical as the statesmen of Great Britain, it would have maintained Union and peace here. But we are being taught in our first century and at our own cost, the lessons which England learned through the long and bloody experience of eight hundred years. We shall be wiser next time. Let not cotton be king, but peace-maker, and inherit

the blessing.

A common interest, then, still remains to us.

And union for the common defense, at the end of this war, taxed, indebted, impoverished, exhausted, as both sections must be, and with foreign fleets and armies around us, will be fifty-fold more essential than ever before. And finally, sir, without union, our domestic tranquillity must forever remain unsettled. If it cannot be [Larger Advartisements in proportion.]

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Executors' Notices, as reading matter, 10 cts. a line for one proposed for the vertices. The vertices were proposed for the vertices are described in the vertices of the vertices and bound together every way by physical and social ligaments, cannot exist in peace without a common arbiter. Will treatice bind us? What better treaty than the Constitution of the vertices were proposed without a common arbiter. Will treatice bind us? What better treaty than the Constitution of the vertices were proposed for the vertices were proposed for the vertices of the vertices were proposed for the vertices were propo maintained within the Union, how then outside

will be quite as easy.

And, now, sir, to all these original causes and
motives which impelled to union at first, must be
added certain artificial ligaments, which eighty years of association under a common Govern-ment have most fully developed. Chief among these are canals, steam navigation, railroads, express companies, the post office, the newspaper press, and that terrible agent of good and evil mixed—"spirit of health, and yet goblin damn-ca"—if free the gentlest minister of truth and mixed—"spirit of nearth, and yet gooth and ed"—if free, the gentlest minister of truth and liberty; when essiaved, the supplest instrument of falschood and tyranny—the magnetic telegraph. All these have multiplied the speed or the constitute of trade, transp. graph. All These have multiplied the speed or the quantity of trade, travel, communication, migration, and intercourse of all kinds between the different States and sections; and thus, so long as a healthy condition of the body politic continued, they became powerful cementing agencies of union. The numerous voluntary agencies of union, the numerous voluntary agencies of union. The numerous voluntary associations, artistic, literary, charitable, social, and scientific, until corrupted and made fanatical; the various ecclesiastical organizations, until they divided; and the political parties, so long as they remained all national and not sectional, as they remained all national and not sectional, were also among the strong ties which bound us together. And yet all of these, perverted and abused for some years in the hands of bad or fanatical men, became still more powerful instrumentalities in the fatal work of disunion; just as the veins and arteries of the human body, just as the veins and arteries of the human body, designed to convey the vitalizing fluid through every part of it, will carry also, and with increased rapidity, it may be, the subtle poison which takes life away. Nor is this all. It was through their agency that the imprisoned winds of civil war were all let loose at first with such sudden and annuling fiver and kars in motion. of civil war were at let loose at his win such sudden and appalling fury; and, kept in motion by political power, they have ministered to that fury ever since. But, potent alike for good and evil, they may yet, under the control of the people, and in the hands of wise, good and patriotic men, be made the most effective agencies, under Providence, in the reunion of these States.

Other ties also, less material in their nature, but hardly less persuasive in their influence, have grown up under the Union. Long association, a common history, national reputation, treaties and diplomatic intercourse abroad, ad mission of new States, a common jurisprudence, great men whose names and fame are the patri-mony of the whole country, patriotic music and songs, common battle-fields, and glory won under the same flag. These make up the poetry of Union; and yet, as in the marriage relation, and the family with similar influences, they are stronger than hooks of steel. He was a wise stronger than hooks of steel. He was a wise statesman, though he may never have held an office, who said, "Let me write the songs of a people, and I care not who makes their laws." Why is the Marseillaise prohibited in France? Sir, Hail Columbia and the Star Spangled Ban ner—Pennsylvania gave us one, and Maryland the other—have done more for the Union than all the legislation and all the debates in this Caried for forty was re- and they will do mare

same time powerful enough to overcome all the causes and considerations which impel to reunion.

Having two years ago discussed fully and elaborately the more abstruse and remote causes
whence spring civil commotions in all Governments whencespring civil commotions in all Governments and those also which are peculiar to our complex and Federal system, such as the consolidating tendencies of the General Government, because of executive power and patronage, and of the tariff, and taxation and disbursement generally, all unjust and burdencome to the West equally with the South, I pass them by now.

was in one sense—very obscure indeed—the cause of the war. Had there been no slavery here, this particular war about slavery would never have been waged. In a like sense, the Holy Sepulchre was the cause of the war of the Crusades; and had Troy or Carthage never ex-isted, there never would have been Trojan or isted, there never would have been Irolan or Carthagenian war, and no such personages as Hector and Hannibal; and no Iliad or Æucad would ever have been written. But far better say that the negro is the cause of the war; for had there been no negro bere, there would be no war just now. What then? Exterminate him? Who demands it? Colonize him? How? Where? When? At whose cost? Sir, let us have an end

of this folly.

But slavery is the cause of the war. Why? Secause the South obstinately and wickedly re— used to restrict or abolish it at the demand of the philosophers or fanatics and demagogues of the North and West. Then, sir, it was abolition, the purpose to abolish or interfere with and hen in slavery, which caused disunion and war. Slavery is only the subject, but abolition the cause, of this civil war. It was the persistent and determined agitation in the free States of the question of abolishing elavery in the South, because of the alleged "irrepressible conflict" because of the alleged in the Lawrencing or the lawrence of the state of tween the forms of labor in the two sections, or in the false and mischievous cant of the day, between freedom and slavery, that forced a col-lision of arms at last. Sir, that conflict was not confined to the Territories. It was expressly proclaimed by its apostles, as between the States also, against the institution of domestic sharer suo, against the institution of domestic sharery everywhere. But, assuming the plat-forms of the Republican party as the standard, and stating the case most strongly in favor of that parry, it was the refusal of the South to consent that slavery should be excluded from the Territories that led to the continued agita-tion, North and South, of that question, and finally to disunion and civil war. Sir, I will not be answered now by the old clamor about "the aggressions of the slave power." That miserable spectre, that unreal mockery, has been exorcised and expelled by debt and taxation and blood. If that power did govern this country for the sixty years preceding this terrible revolution, then the sooner this Administration and Government return to the principles and policy of Southern statesmanship, the better for the country; and that, sir, is already, or soon will be, the judgment of the people. But I deny that it was the televe nower? that coverned for so many years.

party, and its principles and policy, moulded and controlled, indeed, largely by Southern states-men. Neither will I be stopped by that other * In truth, the song was written in derision, by a Brit-ish officer, and not by an American.

race by debt and taxes and arbitrary power. The day of fanatics and sophists and enthusiasts, thank God, is gone at last; and though the age of chivalry may not, the age of practical states-manship is about to return. Sir, I accept the language and intent of the Indiana resolution to the full—"that in considering terms of settle-ment we will look only to the welfare, peace, and safety of the white race, without reference to the effect that settlement may have upon the condition of the African." And when we have done this, my word for it, the safety, peace, and welfare of the African will have been best securbegin, at last, to comprehend that domestic slavery in the South, is a question, not of morals, or religion, or humanity, but a form of labor, perfectly compatible with the 'dignity of free white labor in the same community, and with national vigor, power, and prosperity, and especially with military strength. They have learned, or begin to learn, that the evils of the system affect the master alone, or the community and State in which it exists; and that we of the free Slates partake of all the material benefits of the institution, unmixed with any part of its mischiefs. They believe also in the subordination of the uegro race to the, white where they both exist together, and that the condition of subordination of the uegro race to the, white where they both exist together, and that the condition of subordination, as established in the South, is far better every way for the negro than the hard

ist" and "traitor," has returned to its ancient political nomenclature, and calls certain members of this House "pro-slavery." Well, sir, in the old sense of the term as applied to the Democratic party, I will not object. I said years ago, and it is a fitting time now to repeat it:

"If to love my country; to cherish the Union; to revo the Constitution; if to abhor the madness and hate it treason which would lift up a secrilegious hand again either; if to read that in the past, to should it in the pre-ent to foresee it in the future of this land, which is of mo-value to us and to the world for ages to come than all it multiplied millions who have inhabited Africa from the mutiplied millions with mayo integrited Africa from treation to this day!—If this is to be pro-slavery, then, every nerve, fibre, vein, bone, tendon, joint, and ligame from the topmost hair of the head to the last extremity he foot, I am all over and altogether a pro-slavery man And now, sir, I come to the great controlling question within which the whole issue of union or dismion is bound up: Is there "an irrepres sible conflict" between the slaveholding and non slaveholding States? Must "the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina, and the sugar planta Seward, "be ultimately tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men?" If so You cannot abolish slavery by the sword; still less by proclamations, though the President were to "proclaim" every month, Of what possible avail was his proclamation of September? Did the South submit? Was she even alarmed,? And yet be has now fulmined another "bull against the comet"—brutum fulmen—and, threatening are the inconvention with all its horrors has use the other—have done more for the Union than all the debates in this legislation and all the debates in the State and into the nature, and the other million of men into the field. Sir, I would add." Yankee Doodle i'' but first let me be assured that Yankee Doodle i'' but first let me be assured the treatment of war to subdue the rebels, with administration and into the national committies. The state is a state administration and into the national committee the clawlist will be state administration and into the national committee in the bedsates in the Cavalier, and the will we and the Cavalier, and the will we o

ment. As well attempt to abolish marriage of the relation of paternity. The South is resolved to maintain it at every hazard and by every sacrifice; and if "this Union cannot endure part lave and part free," then it is already and finalv dissolved. Talk not to me of "West Virginia." Tell me not of Missouri, trampled under the feet of your soldiery. As well talk to me of Ireland. Sir, the destiny of those States must abide the issue of the war. But Kentucky you may find tougher. And Maryland—

"E'en in her ashes live their wonted fires."

Nor will Delaware be found wanting in the equally with the South, I pass them by now.

What, then, I ask, is the immediate, direct cause of disunion and this civil war? Slavery, it is answered. Sir, that is the philosophy of the rustic in the play—"that a great cause of the rustic in the rustic in the rustic in the play—"that a great cause of the rustic in t tion is the perfect and eternal compatibility of a union of States "part slave and part free;" else the Constitution never would have been framed, nor the Union founded; and seventy years of successful experiment have approved the wisdom of the plan. In my deliberate judgment, a concy made up of slaveholding and non-slave federacy made up or stavenouing and non-stave-holding States is, in the nature of things, the strongest of all popular governments. African slavery has been, and is, commently conservative. It makes the absolute political equality of the white race everywhere practicable. It dispenses with the English order of nobility, and leave every white man. North and South, owning slaves or owning none, the equal of every other white man. It has reconciled universal suffrage throughout the free States with the stability of government. I speak not now of its material benefits to the North and West, which are many and more obvious. But the South, too, ha profited many ways by a union with the non slaveholding States. Enterprise, industry, selfreliance, perseverance, and the other hardy virtues of a people living in a higher latitude and without hereditary servants, she has learned o received from the North. Sir, it is easy, I know to denounce all this, and to revile him who utter it. Be it so. The English is, of all languages the most copious in words of bitterness and re proach. "Pour on: I will endure."

Then, sir, there is not an "irrepressible con flict" between slave labor and free labor. There is no conflict at all. Both exist together in perfect harmony in the South. The master and the slave, the white laborer and the black, work together in the same field or the same shop, and without the slightest sense of degradation. They are not equals, either socially or politically. And why, then, cannot Ohio, having only free labor, live in harmony with Kentucky which has both slave and free? Above all, why cannot Massachusetts allow the same right of hoice to South Carolina, separated as they are a thousand miles, by other States who would keep the peace and live in good will? Why this civil war? Whence disunion? Not from slavery -not because the South chooses to have two kinds of labor instead of one; but from section atism, always and everywhere a disintegrating principle. Sectional jealousy and hate—these, sir, are the only elements of conflict between these States, and though powerful, they are yet families, communities, towns, cities, counties, and States, and if not repressed would dissolve all society and government. They exist also between other sections than the North and South Sectionslism East, many years ago, saw the South and West united by the ties of geographical position, migration, intermarriage, and interest, and thus strong enough to control not at all irrepressible. They exist between families, communities, towns, cities, counties,

with consummate but most guilty sagacity, it seized upon the question of slavery as the surest and most powerful instrumentality by which to separate the West from the South, and bind her wholly to the North. Encouraged every way from abroad by those who were jealous of our prosperity and greatness, and who knew the secret of our strength, it proclaimed the "irrepressible conflict" between slave labor and free labor. It taught the people of the North to forget both their duty and their interests; and aided by the artificial ligaments and influence which money and enterprise had created between the sea board and the Northwest, it persuaded the people of that section, also, to yield up every tie which binds them to the great valley of the Mississippi, and to join their political fortunes especially, wholly with the East. It sentiment to day in the West than there was two years ago; and if this war be continued, there will be still less a year hence. The people there begin, at last, to comprehend that domestic slavery in the South, is a question, not of monels or religion, or human and south as a continued. and from this District, and clamored against the admission of any more slave States into the Union. It organized a sectional anti-slavery party, and thus drew to its aid as well political ambition and interest as fanaticism; and after twenty-five years of incessant and vehement agitation, it obtained possession finally, and upon that issue, of the Federal Government and of every State government North and West. And to-day, we are in the midst of the greatest, most cruel, most destructive civil war ever waged. But two vears air, of blood and debt and taxation

dination, as estate....

ter every way for the negresservitude of poverty, degradation, and crimes which he is subjected in the free States. All this, sir, may be "pro-slaveryism," if there be such a word. Perhaps it is; but the people of the West begin now to think it wisdom and good is sense. We will not establish slavery in our own midst; neither will we abolish or interfere with it outside of our own limics.

Tribune,) the most influential, and, therefore, dangerous of all of that class—it would structured the sense of love, justice, reason, placability; and, except when at their height, are weaker than the sense of interest, and always, in States at least, give way to it at last. No statesman who yields himself up to them can govern wisely or well; and no State whose policy is controlled by and of State whose policy is controlled by and on State whose policy is controlled by and no State whose policy is an and with the individual man; but fortunately the most powerful of all motives with a people. both their offspring and their aliment, and while it lasts, all other motives are subordinate. The virtues of peace cannot flourish, cannot even

find development in the midst of fighting; and this civil war keeps in motion the centrifugal forces of the Union, and gives to them increased strength and activity every day. But such, and so many and powerful, in my judgment, are the cementing or centripetal agencies impelling us together that nothing but perpetual war and strife can keeps us always divided.

Sir, I do not underestimate the power of the production of what is much stronger.

Sir, I do not underestimate the power of the prejudices of section, or, what is much stronger, of race. Prejudice is colder, and, therefore, more durable than the passions of hate and revenge, or the spirit of antagonism. But, as I have already said, its boundary in the United States is not Mason and Dixon's line. The long standing mutual jealousies of New England and the South denet refractive grow out of always. he South do not primarily grow out of slavery. They are deeper, and will always be the chief obstacle in the way of full and absolute reunion. They are founded in difference of manners, hab-its, and social life, and different notions about politics, morals, and religion. Sir, after all, this whole war is not so much one of sections—least of all between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding sections—as of races, representing not difference in blood but mind and its devel-opment, and different types of civilization. It is the old conflict of the Cavalier and the Roundthe old connect of the Cavanier and the Robertal head, the Liberalist and the Purisan; or rather it is a conflict upon new issues of the ideas and elements represented by those names. It is a war of the Yankee and the Southron. Said a Boston writer the other day, culogizing a New England officer who fell at Fredericksburg:

"This is Messachusetts' aver. Massachusetts

years ago: "No, let us keep the Yankees to quarrel with." Ah, sir, he forgot that quarrelquarier with. An, is long to the quarter ing is always a hazardous experiment; and after some time, the countrymen of Adams proved themselves too sharp at that work for the countrymen of Jefferson. But every day the contest now tends again to its natural and original elements. In many parts of the Northwest—I might add of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York city—the prejudice against the "Yankee" has always been almost as bitter as in the South. Suppressed for a little while by the anti-slavery sentiment and the war, it threatens now to break forth in one of those great but unfortunate popular uprisings, in the midst of which reason and justice are for the time utterly silenced. I speak advisedly; and let New Engand heed; else she, and the whole East, too, i their struggle for power, may learn yet from the West the same lesson which civil war taught to Rome, that evulgate imperii arcano, posse principe alibi, quam Romæ fieri. The people of the We The people of the West demand peace, and they begin to more than sus pect that New England is in the way. The storm rages; and they believe that she, not slavery, is the cause. The ship is sore tried; and passengers and crew are now almost ready to propitiate the waves by throwing the ill-mened prophet overboard. In plain English not very classic, but most expressive—they threaten to "set New England out in the cold." And now, sir, I, who have not a drop of New England blood in my veins, but was born in Ohio, and am wholly of southern ancestry—with a slight cross of Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish—would speak a word to the men of the West and the South, in behalf of New England. Sir, some years ago, in the midst of high sectional controversies, and speaking as a western man, I said some things harsh of the North, which now, in a more catholic spirit as a United States man, and

for the sake of reunion, I would recall. My prejudices, indeed, upon this subject are as strong as any man's; but in this, the day of great national humiliation and calamity, let the oice of prejudice be hushed. Sir, they who would exclude New England in any reconstruction of the Union, assume that all New Englanders are "Yankees" and Puritans; and that the Puritan or pragmatical element, of type of civilization, has always held undisputed way. Well, sir, Yankees, certainly, they are in one sense; and so to Old England we are all Yankees, North and South; and to the South ust now, or a little while ago, we of the middle and western States, also, are, or were, Yankees, too. But, there is really a very large, and most liberal and conservative non-Puritan element in the population of New England, which, for many years, struggled for the mastery, and sometimes held it. It divided Maine, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, and once controlled Rhode Island wholly. It held the sway during the Revolution wholly. It held the sway during the Revolution, and at the period when the Constitution was founded, and for some years afterward. Mr., Calhoun said very justly, in 1847, that to the wisdom and enlarged patriotism of Sherman and Ellsworth on the slavery question we were indebted for this admirable Government; and that, along with Paterson, of New Jersey, "their names ought to be engraven on brass, and live forever." And Mr. Webster. in 1820

and destructive than at first, and threatened to obtain absolute mastery in church, and school, and State. A little earlier it had struggled hard, but the conservatives proved too strong for it; and so long as the great statesmen and jurists of the Whig and Democratic parties survived, it made but small progress, though John Quincy Adams gave to it the strength of his great name. But after their death it broke in as a flood, and swept away the last vestige of the ancient, liberal, and tolerating conservation. Then every form and development of fanalicism. Then every form and development of fanaticism Then every form and development of fanalisism sprang up in rank and most luxuriant growth, till abolitionism, the chief fungus of all, overspread the whole of New England first, and then the middle States, and finally every State in the

Certainly, sir, the more liberal or non-Puritan element was mainly, though not altogether, from the old Puritan stock, or largely crossed with it. But even within the first ten years after the landing of the Pilgrims, a more enlarged and tolerating civilization was introduced. Roger Williams, not of the Mayflower, though a Puritan himself, and thoroughly imbued with all its pecu-liarities of cant and creed and form of worship, seems yet to have had naturally a more liberal spirit; and, first perhaps of all men, some three or more years before "the Ark and the Dove" touched the shores of the St. Mary's, in Maryland, taught the sublime doctrine of freedom of opinion and practice in religion. Threatened first with banishment to England, so as to "remove as far as possible the infection of his prin-ciples; "and afterwards actually banished beyond he jurisdiction of Massachusetts, because, in the language of the sentence of the General Court, "he broached and divulged divers new and strange doctrines against the authority of magictrates" over the religious opinions of men, thereby disturbing the peace of the colony, he became the founder of Rhode Island, and, indeed, of a large part of New England society.
And, whether from his teaching and example, and in the persons of his descendants and those of his associates, or from other causes and another stock, there has always been a large infusion throughout New England of what may be son throughout New Eighand of white has be-called the Roger Williams element, as distinguish-ed from the extreme Puritan or Mayflower and Plymouth Rock type of the New Englander; and its influence, till late years, has always been

powerful.

Sir, I would not deny or disparage the austere virtues of the old Puritans of England or America. But I do believe that, in the very nature of things, no community could exist long in pence, and no Government endure long alone, or become great, where that element in its earliest or its more recent form holds supreme control. And it is my solemn conviction that there can be no possible or dura-ble reunion of these States until it shall have been again subordinated to other and more liber-al and conservative elements, and, above all until its worst and most mischievous develop until its worst and most mischievous development, abolitionism, has been utterly extinguished. Sir, the peace of the Union and of this continent demands it. But, fortunately, those very elements exist abundantly in New England herself; and to her I look with confidence to secure to them the mastery within her limits. In fact, sir, the true voice of New England has for some many part here, but rearly heard hear or sleep. sir, the true voice of New England has for some years past been but rarely heard here or else-where in public affairs. Men now control her pollities and are in high places, State and Feder-al, who, twenty years ago, could not have been chosen as selectmen in old Massachusetts. But let her remember at last her ancient renown; let her turn from vain glorious admiration of the stone monuments of her heroes and patriots of a former age, to generous emulation of the noble and manly virtues which they were designed to commemorate. Letus heariess from her of the Pilcommemorate. Letus hear less from her of the Pil-grim Fathers and the Mayflower and of Plymouth Rock, and more of Roger Williams and his com-patriots, and his toleration. Let her banish now and forever her dreamers and her sophists and her fanatics, and call back again into her State administration and into the national coun-cils "her men of might, her grand in soul"— some of them still live—and she will yet escape the dangers which now threaten her with isola-tion.

Union as it was," then upon her own head be the responsibility for secession. And there will be no more coercion now. I, at least, will be

exactly consistent. And now, sir, can the central States, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, consent to separation? Can New York city? Sie, the trade of the South made her largely what she is. She was the factor and banker of the South—cotton filled her harbor with shipping and her banks with gold. But in an evil hour the foolish, I will not say bad, "men of Gotham" persuaded her merchant princes—against their first lesson husiness—that she could retain or force bac in business—that she could retain or force back the southern trade by war. War, indeed, has given her, just now, a new business and trade greater and more profitable than the old. But with disunion that, too, must perish. And let not Wall street, or any other great interest, mercantile, manufacturing, or commercial, imagine hat it shall have power enough or wealth enough that it shall have power enough or weath enough to stand in the way of reunion through peace. Let them learn, one and all, that a public man who has the people as his support, is stronger than they, though he may not be worth a mil-lion, nor even one dollar. A little while ago the banks said that they were king, but President Jackson speedily taught them their mistake. Next, railroads assumed to be king; and cotton once vaunted largely his kingship. Sir, these are only of the royal family—princes of the ood. There is but one king on earth. Politic

blood. There is but one king on earth. Politics is king.

But to return: New Jersey, too, is bound closely to the South, and the South to her; and more and longer than any other State, she remembered both her duty to the Constitution and her interest in the Union. And Pennsylvania, a sort of middle ground, just between the North and the South, and extending, also, to the West, is united by nearer, if not stronger ties, to every section, than any other one State, unless it be Ohio. She was—she is yet—the keystone in the Ohio. She was—she is yet—the keystone in the great but now crumbling arch of the Union. She is a border State; and, more than that, she has less within her of the fanatical or disturbing less within her of the fanatical or disturbing element than any of the States. The people of Pennsylvania are quiet, peaceable, practical, and enterprising, without being aggressive. They have more of the honest old English and German thrift than any other. No people mind more diligently their own business. They have but one idiosyncrasy or specialty—the tariff; and even that is really far more a matter of tradition than of substantial interest. The industry, en terprise, and thrift of Pennsylvania are abundantly able to take care of themselves against any competition. In any event, the Union is of

e value, many times, to her than any local But other ties also bind these States-Pennsylvania and New Jersey, especially—to the South, and the South to them. Only an imaginary line separates the former from Delaware and Maryland. The Delaware river, common to both Pennsylvania and New Jersey, flows into Delaware bay. The Susquehanna empties its waters, through Pennsylvania and Maryland, into the Chesapeake. And that great watershed itself, extending to Norfolk, and, therefore, almost to the North Caroline line, does belong, and must ever belong, in common to the central and south-And Mr. Webster, in 1830, in one of ern States, under one Government; or else

with the North, or Pennsylvania and New Jersey with the South. Military force on either side between the mouth of the Chesapeake and the Hudson. And if that bay were itself made the line. Delaware, and the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia, would belong to the North; while Norfolk, the only capacious harbor on the southeastern coast, must be commanded by the

> the great valley of the Mississippi. There is no line of latitude upon which to separate. The South would not desire the 'old line of 36° 30' on both sides of the river; and there is no natural boundary east and west. The nearest to it are the Ohio and Missouri rivers. But that line would leave Cincinnati and St. Louis, as border cities, like Baltimore, to decay, and, extending fifteen hundred miles in length, would become the scene of an eternal border warfare without example even in the worst of times. Sir, we cannot, ought not, will not, separate from the South. And if you of the East who have found this war against the South and for the negro, gratifying to your hate or profitable to your gratifying to your hate or profitable to your purse, will continue it till a separation be forced between the slaveholding and your non slaveholding States, then, believe me, and accept it, as you did not the other solemn warnings of years past, the day which divides the North from the South, that self-same day decrees eternal divorce between the West and the East

between the West and the East.
Sir, our destiny is fixed. There is not one drop of rain which descending from the heavens, and fertilizing our soil, causes it to yield an abundant harvest, but flows into the Mississippi, and there, mingling with the waters of the mighty river, finds its way, at last, to the Gulf of Mexico. And we must and will follow it with travel and trade, not by treat but the visible freely presently and not by treaty but by right, freely, peaceably, and without restriction or tribute, under the same of that Gulf. Sir, we will not remain after sepa ration from the South, a province or appanage of the East, to bear her burdens and pay her taxes; nor hemmed in and isolated as we are and without a sea-coast, could we long remain distinct confederacy. But wherever we go, married to the South or the East, we bring with us three-fourths of the territories of that valley Pacific—the grandest and most magnificent dowry which bride ever had to bestow.

Then, sir, New England, freed at last from the then, sir, New England, treed at last from the domination of her sophisters and dreamers and bigots, and restored to the control once more of her former liberal, tolerant, and conservative civilization, will not stand in the way of the reunion of these States upon terms of fair and honorable adjustment. And in this great work the central free and border slave States, too, will units heart and unite heart and hand. To the West, it is a neces sity, and she demands it. And let not the States now called confederate insist upon separation and independence. What did they dimand at first? Security against abolitionism within the Union. Protection from "the irrepressible conflict" and the domination of the absolute numerical majority. A change of public opinion, and consequently of political parties in the North and West, so that their local institutions and domestic peace should no longer be endangered. And, now, sir, after two years of persistent and most gigantic effort on the part of this Admin-istration to compel them to submit, but with utter istration to compel them to submit, but with utter and signal failure, the people of the free States are now or are fast becoming satisfied that the Union is the utter suppression of abolitionism or auti-slavery as a political element, and the complete subordination of the spirit of fanaticism and intermeddling which give it birth. In any event, they are ready now, if I have not greatly misread the signs of the times, to return to the old constitutional and actual basis of fifty years are—three-fifths rule of representation speedy

in addition to all the other great and multiplied benefits of union, would be far more secure in her slave property, her domestic institutions. than under a separate government. Sir, let no man North or West, tell me that this would perman North or West, tell me that this would per-petuate African slavery. I know it. But so does the Constitution. I repeat, sir, it is the price of the Union. Whoever hates negro slavery more than he loves the Union, must demand separation at last. I think that you can never abolish slavery by fighting. Certainly you never can till you have first destroyed the South, and then, in the language, first of Mr. Douglas and afterwards of Mr. Seward, converted this Govvernment into an imperial despotism. And, sir, whenever I am forced to a choice between the loss to my own country and race, of personal and political liberty with all its blessings, and the involuntary domestic servitude of the negro, I shall not hesitate one moment to choose the latter alternative. The sole question to day is between the Union with slavery, or final disunion, and, I think, anarchy and desnotism. I am for the Union. It was good enough for my fathers. It is good enough for us and our children after us. And, sir, let no man in the South tell me that she has been invaded, and that all the horrors

implied in those most terrible of words, civil war, have been visited upon her. I know that, too. But we, also, of the North and West, in every State and by thousands, who have dared so much as to question the principle and policy, or doubt the honesty, of this Administration and or doubt the honesty, of this Administration and its party, have suffered everything that the worst despotism could inflict, except only loss of life itself upon the scaffold. Some even have died for the cause by the hand of the assassin. And can we forget? Never, never. Time will but burn the memory of these wrongs deeper into our hearts. But shall we break up the Union? Shall we destroy the Government because usurpting tyrants have held possession and perverted it to the most cruel of oppressions? Was it ever itself upon the scaffold. Some even have died for the cause by the hand of the assassin. And can we forget? Never, never. Time will but burn the memory of these wrongs deeper into our hearts. But shall we break up the Union? Shall we destroy the Government because usurping tyrants have held possession and perverted it to the most cruel of oppressions? Was it ever so done in any other country? In Athens? Rome? England? Anywhere? No, sir; let us expel the surper, and restore the Constitution and laws, the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people; and then, in the country of our fathers, under the Union of our fathers, and the old flag—the symbol once again of the free and the brave—let us fulfill the grand mission which Providence has appointed for us among

controversy—slavery. It is the only question, as authorized arciters, most readily prohounds said Mr. Calhoun twenty-five years ago, of sufficient magnitude and potency to divide this Union; and divide it it will, he added, ordreach the country in blood if not arrested. It has done both. But settle it on the original basis of the Constitution, and give to each section the power to protect itself within the Union, and now, after the trible leacens of the next two larges the trible leacens of the next two larges the Switzwaland on Russic or any other impartial to protect itself within the Union, and now, after the terrible lessons of the past two years, the Union will be stronger than before, and, indeed,

Behold to-day two separate governments in one country, and without a natural dividing line; the dead, that the plague of disunion may be with two Presidents and Cabinets, and a double stayed.

But why speak of ways or terms of reunion now? The will is yet wanting in both sections. Union is consent and good will and fraternal affection. War is force, hate, revenge. Is the country tired at last of war? Has the experiment been tried long enough? Has sufficient blood been shed, treasure expended, and misery inflicted in both the North and the South? What then? Stop Schitter, Marking What then? Stop fighting. Make an armistice—no formal treaty. Withdraw your army from the seconded States. Reduce both armies to a fair land and Virginia, would belong to the North, while Norfolk, the only capacious harbor on the southeastern coast, must be commanded by the gans of some new fortress upon Cape Charles; and Baltimore, the now queenly city, seated then upon the very boundary of two rival, yes, hostile, confederacies, would rapidly fall into deasy. And now, sir, I will not ask whether the North-west can consent to separation from the South. Never. Nature forbids. We are only a part of the great valley of the Mississippi. There is no line of latitude upon which to separate. The South would not desire the old line of 36° 30′ on both sides of the river; and there is no natural boundary east and west. The nearest to it are the Ohio and Missouri rivers. But that line would leave Cincinnati and St. Louis, as, border cities, like Baltimore, to decay, and, extending fifteen hundred miles in length, would become the scene of an eternal border warfare without. and sufficient peace establishment. Declare abcourse, North and South. Let the secret orders and voluntary associations everywhere reunite as brethren once more. In short, give to all the natural and all the artificial causes which impel us together, their fullest sway. Let time do his office—drying tears, dispelling sorrows, mellowing passion, and making herb and grass and treat to grow again upon the hundred battle-fields of this terrible war.

"But this is recognition." It is not formal recognition, to which I will not consent. Recognition now, and attempted permanent treaties about boundary, travel, and trade, and partition of Territories, would end in a war fiercer and more disastrous than before. Recognition is abon territories, would end in a war heroer and more disastrous than before. Recognition is absolute disunion; and not between the slave and the free States, but with Delaware and Maryland as part of the North, and Kentucky and Missouri part of the West. But wherever the actual line, every evil and misshief of disunion is implied in it. And for similar reasons, sir, I would not at this time press hastily a convention of the States. The men who now would hold seats in such a convention, would, upon both sides, if both agreed to attend, come together full of the hate and bit-terness inseparable from civil war. No, sir; let passion have time to cool, and reason to resume its sway. It cost thirty years of desperate and most wicked patience and industry to destroy or impair the magnificent temple of this Union. Let us be content if, within three years, we shall be able to restore it.

But certainly what I propose is informal, practical recognition. And that is precisely what exists to-day, and has existed, more or less deflued, from the first. Flags of truce, exchange of prisoners, and all your other observances of the laws, forms and courtesies of war are acts of the laws, forms and courtesies of war are acts of recognition. Sir, does any man doubt to-day that there is a Confederate government at Richmond, and that it is a "belligerent?" Even the Secretary of State has discovered it at last, though he has written ponderous folios of polished rhetoric to prove that it is not. Will continual war, then, without extended and substantial success, make the confederate States any the less a government in fact? a government in fact?

"But it confesses disunion." Yes, just as the surgeon, who sets your fractured limb in splints, in order that it may be healed, admits that it is broken. But the Government will have failed to "crush out the rebellion." Sir, it has "crush out the rebellion." Sir, it has failed. You went to war to prove that we had a Government. With what result? To the people of the loyal States it has, in your hands, been the Government of King Stork, but to the Confederate States, of King Log. "But the rebellion will have triumphed." Better triumph to-day than ten years hence. But I deny it. The rebellion will at last be crushed out in the only way in which it ever was possible. "But no one will be hung at the end of war." Neither will there be, though the war should last half a century. be, though the war should last half a century, except by the mob or the hand of arbitrary power. But really, sir, if there is to be no hanging, let this Administration, and all who have done its bidding everywhere, rejoice and be exceeding glad.
And now, sir, allow me a word upon a subject

mportant it may be in its influence upon the future—FOREIGN MEDIATION. I speak not of armed and hostile intervention, which I would resist as long as but one man was left to strike a blow at the invader. But friendly mediation—the kindly offer of an impartial Power to stand as a daysman between the contending parties in this most bloody and exhausting strife—ought to be met in a spirit as cordial and ready as that in which it is proffered. It would be churlish to refuse. Certainly, it is not consistent with the former dignity of this Government to ask for former aignly of this dovernment to ask for mediation; neither, sir, would it befit its ancient magnanimity to reject it. As proposed by the Emperor of France, I would accept it at once. Now is the auspicious moment. It is the speedjest, easiest, most graceful mode of suspending hostilities. Let us hear no more of the mediation of earnon and the sword. The day for all tion of cannon and the sword. The day for all tion of cannon and the sword. The day for all that has gone by. Let us be statesmen at last. Sir, I give thanks that some, at least, among the Republican party seem ready now to lift themselves up to the height of this great argument, and to deal with it in the spirit of the patriots and great men of other countries and ages, and so the better days of the United State. better days of the United States

of the better days of the United States.
And now, sir, whatever may have been the motives of England, France, and the other great Powers of Europe, in withholding recognition so long from the Confederate States, the South and the North are both indebted to them for an immense public service. The South has proved her ability to maintain herself by her own strength and resources, without foreign aid, moral or ma-terial. And the North and West—the whole country, indeed—these great Powers have served incalcuably, by holding back a solemn proclamation to the world that the Union of these States an act of unselfish heroism without example in history. Was such indeed her purpose? Let her answer before the impartial tribunal of posterity. In any event, after the great reaction in public sentiment in the North and West, to be followed after some time by a like reaction in the South, foreign recognition now of the Confederate States could avail little to delay or prevent final reunion; if, as I firmly believe, reunion be not only possible but inevitable.

which frovidence has appointed for us among the nations of the earth.

And now, sir, if it be the will of all sections to unite, then upon what terms? Sir, between the South and most of the States of the North, and all of the West, there is but one subject in controversy—slavery. It is the only question, as authorized arbiters, most readily pronounce as the Calbon tent wenty fire years ago. Of Sufto Switzerland, or Russia, or any other impartial d, indeed, and incorruptible Power or State in Europ Union will be stronger than before, and, indeed, and incorruptible Power or State in Europe. But endure for ages. Woe to the man, North and South, who, to the third or the fourth generation, should teach men disunion.

And now the way to reunion: what so easy?

States of the Northwest, the mediator who shall stand, like the prophet, betwirt the living and

> Sir, this war, horrible as it is, has taught us all some of the most important and salutary les-sons which ever a people learned. First, it has annihilated, in twenty months, all

> the false and pernicious theories and teachings of abolitionism for thirty years, and which a mere