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A Positive and Specific Kemedy.
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SALMON, (very superior.)
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Union.

HARRISBURG, PA., MONDAY, JANUARY 14, 1861.

MONDAY MORNING, JAN. 14, 1861.

The Patriot & Union.

THE NATIONAL CRISIS.

SPEECH OF SENATOR SEWARD. DELIVERED IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1860.

Mr. President, Congress adjourned last summer amid auspices of national abundance, contentment, tranquility and happiness. It was re-assembled this winter in the presence of derangement of business and disturbance of public as well as private credit, and in the face of seditious combinations to overthrow the Union. The alarm is appalling; for Union is not more the body than Liberty is soul of the nation. The American citizen has been accustomed to believe the Republic immortal .-Orders left at my house, in Walnut street, near He shrinks from the sight of convulsions indicative of its sudden death. The report of our condition has gone over the seas, and we who have so long and with so much complacency studied the endless agitations of society in the Old World, believing ourselves exempt from such disturbances, now, in our turn, seem to be falling into a momentous and disas-

trous revolution.

I know how difficult it is to decide, amid so many and so various counsels, what ought to be and even what can be done. Certainly, however, it is time for every Senator to declare himself. I, therefore, following the example of the noble Senator from Tennessee, [Mr. Johnson,] arow my adherence to the Union in its integrity and with all its parts, with my friends, with my party, with my State, with my they never get out of order, as is frequently the case of | country, or without either, as they may deterthe Platform Scales; besides, the consumer has the mine, in every event, whether of peace or of war, with every consequence of honor or dis-honor, of life or death. Although I lament the occasion, I hail with cheerfulness the duty of lifting up my voice among distracted debates,

for my whole country and its inestimable Union. Hitherto the exhibitions of spirit and resolution here, as elsewhere, have been chiefly made on the side of disunion. I do not regret this. Disunion is so unexpected and unnatural that it must plainly reveal itself before its presence can be realized. I like best, also, the courage that rises slowly under the pressure of severe provocation. If it be a Christian duty to forgive to the stranger even seventy times seven offences, it is the highest patriotism to eudure without complaint the passionate waywardness of political brethren so long as there is hope that they may come to a better

I think it is easy to pronounce what measures or conduct will not save the Union. I agree with the honorable Senator from North Carolina [Mr. Clingham] that mere eulogiums will not save it. Yet I think that as prayer brings us nearer to God, though it cannot move Him towards us, so there is healing and saving virtue in every word of devotion to the Union that is spoken, and in every sigh that its danger draws forth. I know, at least, that, like virtue, it derives strength from every irreverent act that is committed and every blasphemous phrase that is uttered against it.

The Union cannot be saved by mutual crimiour respective snare of responsibility for the present evils. He whose conscience acquits him will naturally be slow to accuse others whose co-operation he needs. History only can adjust the great account.

A continuance of the debate on the constitutional power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories will not save the Union. The opinions of parties and sections on that question have become dogmatical, and it is this circumstance that has produced the existing alienation. A truce, at least during the debate on the Union, is essential to reconciliation.

HELMBOLD'S HELMBOLD'S The Union cannot be saved by proving that secession is illegal or unconstitutional. Persons bent on that fearful step will not stand long enough on forms of law to be dislodged; and loyal men do not need such narrow ground to stand upon.

I fear that little more will be gained from discussing the rights of the Federal Government to coerce seceding States into obedience. If disunion is to go on, this question will give place to the more practical one, whether many seceding States have a right to coerce the remaining members to acquiesce in a dissolution. I dread, as in my innermost soul I abhor.

civil war. I do not know what the Union would be worth if saved by the use of the sword .--Yet, for all this, I do not agree with those who, with a desire to avert that great calamity, advise a conventional or unopposed separation, with a view to what they call a re-construction. It is enough for me, first, that in this plan, destruction goes before re-construction; and secondly, that the strength of the vase in which the hopes of the nation are held, consists chiefly in its remaining unbroken.

Congressional compromises are not likely to save the Union. I know, indeed, that tradition favors this form of remedy. But it is essential to its success, in any case, that there be found a preponderating mass of citizens, so far neu tral on the issue which separates parties, that they can intervene, strike down clashing weapons, and compel an accommodation. Moderate concessions are not customarily asked by a force with its guns in battery, nor are liberal concessions apt to be given by an opposing force not less confident of its own right and its own strength. I think, also, that there is a prevailing conviction that legislative compromises which sacrifice honestly cherished principles, while they anticipate future exigencies, even if they do not assume extra-constitutional powers, are less sure to avert imminent evils than they are certain to produce ultimately even greater dangers.

Indeed, Mr. President, I think it will be wise to discard two prevalent ideas or prejudices, namely, first, that the Union is to be saved by semebody in particular; and secondly, that it is to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification. If I remember rightly, I said something like this here so long ago as

1850, and afterwards in 1854. The present danger discloses itself in this Discontented citizens have obtained form. political power in certain States, and they are using this authority to overthrow the Federal. Government. They delude themselves with a belief that the State power they have acquired enables them to discharge themselves of allegiance to the whole Republic. The honorable Senator from Illinois [Mr. Douglas] says we have a right to coerce a State, but we cannot. The President says that no State has a right to secede, but we have no constitutional power to make war against a State. The dilemma results from an assumption that those who, in such a case, act against the Federal Government, act lawfully as a State; although manifestly they have perverted the power of the State to an unconstitutional purpose. A class of politicians in New England set up this theory and attempted to practice upon it in our war with Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson did not hesitate to say that States must be kept within

the face of a public enemy. But if it is untenable in one case, it is necessarily so in all others. I fully admit the originality, the sovereignty; and the independence of the several States within their sphere. But I hold the Federal Government to be equally original, sovereign and independent within its sphere. And the government of the State can no more absolve the people residing within its limits from allegiance to the Union, than the Government of the Union can absolve them from allegiance to the State. The Constitution of the United States, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, are the supreme law of the land, paramount to all legislation of the States, whether made under the Constitution, or by even their organic conventions. The Union can be dissolved, not by secession, with or without armed force, but only by the voluntary consent of the people of the United States, collected in the manner prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

*Congress, in the present case, ought not to be immpassive: It ought, if it can, to redress any real greivances of the offended States, and then it ought to supply the President with all the means necessary to maintain the Union in the full exhibition and discreet exercise of its authority. Beyond this, with the proper activity on the part of the Executive, the responsibility of saving the Union belongs to the people, and they are abundantly competent to discharge it.

I propose, therefore, with great deference, to address wyself to the country upon the momentous subject, asking a hearing, not less from the people within what are called the seceding, than from those who reside within the adhering States.

Union is an old, fixed, settled habit of the American people, resulting from convictions of its necessity, and therefore not likely to be hastily discarded. The early States, while existing as colonies, were combined, though imperfectly, through a common allegiance to the British Crown. When that allegiance ceased, no one was so presumptuous as to suppose political existence compatible with disunion; and therefore, on the same day that they declared themselves independent, they proclaimed themselves also confederated States. Experience in war and in peace, from 1776 until 1787, only convinced them of the nesessity of converting that loose Cenfederacy into a more perfect and a perpetual Union. They acted with coolness very different from the intemperate conduct of those who now on one side threaten, and those who on the other rashly defy disunion. They consider the continuance of the Union as a subject comprehending no-thing less than the safety and welfare of all the parts of which the country was composed, and the fate of an empire in many respects the most interesting in the world. I enter upon the subject of continuing the Union now, deeply impressed with the same generous and loyal conviction. How could it be otherwise. when, instead of only thirteen, the country is now composed of thirty-three parts, and the empire embraces, instead of only four millions, no less than thirty millions of inhabitants.

The founders of the Constitution moreover regarded the Union as no mere national or American interest. On the contrary, sthey confessed with deep sensibility that it seemed to them to have been reserved for the people of this country to decide whether societies of men are really capable of establishing good government upon reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. They feared, therefore, that their failure to continue and perfect the Union would be a misfortune to the nations. How much more, sir, would its overthrow now be a calamity to mankind?

Some form of government is indispensable here as elsewhere. Whatever form we have, every individual citizen and every State must cede to it some natural rights, to invest the Gevernment with the requisite power. The simple question, therefore, for us now to decide, while laying aside all pique, passion and prejudice is: whether it conduces more to the interests of the people of this country to remain for the general purposes of peace and war, commerce inland and foreign, postal communications at home and abroad, the care and disposition of the public domain, colonization, the organization and admission of new States, and, generally, the enlargement of empire, one nation under our present Constitution, than it would be to divide themselves into separate

Confederacies or States. Our country remains now as it was in 1787 -composed not of detached and distant Territories, but of one whole well-connected and fertile region lying within the temperate zone, with climates and soils hardly more various than those of France or of Italy. This slight diversity quickens and amplifies manufacture and commerce. Our rivers and valleys, as improved by art, furnish us a system of highways unequalled in the world. The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an elemont of strife in the Confede

Notwithstanding recent vehement expressions and manife-tations of intolerance in some quarters, produced by intense partizan excitement, we are, in fact, a homogeneous people, chiefly of one stock, with accessions well as similated. We have, practically, only one language, one religion, one system of Government. and manners and customs common to all Why, then, shall we not remain henceforth as hitherto, one people?

The first object of every human society is safety or security, for which, if need be, they will, and they must, sacrifice every other. This security is of two kinds: one, exemption from foreign aggression and influence; the other, exemption from domestic tyranny and sedition.

Foreign wars come from either violations of treaties or domestic violence. The Union has, thus far, proved itself an almost perfect shield against such wars. The United States, continually enlarging their diplomatic acquaintance, have now treaties with France, the Netherlands, Great Britian, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, Russia, Denmark, Mexico, Brazil, Austria, Turkey, Chili, Siam, Muscat, Venezuela, Peru, Greece, Sardinia, Equador, Hanover, Portugal, New Granada, Hesse Cassel, Wurtemburg, China, Bavaria, Saxony, Nassau, Switzerland Mecklenburg Schwerin, Guatemala, the Hawaaian Islands, San Salvador, Borneo, Costa Rica, Peru, Bremen, the Argentine Confederation, Loo Choo, Japan, Brunswick, Persia, Baden, Belgium and Paraguay. Nevertheless, the United States, within their entire existence under the Federal Constitution, have had flagrant wars with only four States, two of which were insignificant Powers, on the coast of Barbary; and have had direct hostilities, amounting to reprisals, against only two or three more; and they are now at peace with the whole world. If the Union should be divided into only two Confederacies, each of them would need to make as many treaties as we have now; and, of course, would be liable to give as many causes of war as we now do. But we know, from the sad experience of other nations, that disintegration, once begun, inevitably continues until even the greatest empire

treaties as we now have, and will incur liabilities for war as often as we now do, by breaking them. It is the multiplication of treaties, and the want of confederation, that makes war the normal condition of society in Western Europe and Spanish America. It is union that, notwithstanding our world-wide intercourse, makes peace the habit of the American people.

NO. 113.

I will not descend so low as to ask whether new Confederacies would be able or willing to bear the grievous expense of maintaining the diplomatic relations which cannot be dispensed with except by withdrawing from foreign commerce.

Our Federal Government is better able to avoid giving just causes of war than several Confederacies, because it can confirm the action of all the States to compacts. It can have only one construction, and only one tribunal to pronounce that construction, of every treaty. Lo-cal and temporary interests and passions, of personal cupidity and ambicion, can drive small Confederacies or States more easily than a great Republic into indiscreet violations of

The United States being a great and formidable power, can always secure favorable and satisfactory treaties. Indeed, every treaty we have was voluntarily made. Small Confederacies or States must take such treaties as they can get, and give whatever treaties are exacted. A humiliating, or even an unsatisfactory treaty, is a chronic cause of foreign war.

The chapter of wars resulting from unjustifiable causes would, in case of division, amplify itself in proportion to the number of new Confederacies and their irritability. Our desputes with Great Britain about Oregon, the boundary of Maine, the patriot insurrection in Canada, and the Island of San Juan; the border strifes between Texas and Mexico and Central America; all these were bases in which war was prevented only by the imperturbability of the Federal Government.

This Government not only gives fewer causes of war, whether just or unjust, than smaller Confederacies would, but it always has a greater ability to accommodate them by the exercise of more coolness and courage, the use of more various and more liberal means, and the display, if need be, of greater force. Every one knows how placable we curselves are in controversies with Great Britain, France and Spain; and yet how exacting we have been in our intercourse with New Granada, Paraguaya and San Juan de Nicaragua.

Mr. President, no one will dispute our forefathers' maxim, that the common safety of all is the safety of each of the States. While they remain united, the Federal Government combines all the materials and all the forces of the several States; organizes their defences on one general principle; harmonizes and assimilates them with one system; watches for them with a single eye, which it turns in all directions, and moves all agents under the control of one executive head. A nation so constituted is safe against assault or even insult.

War produces always a speedy exhaustion of money and a severe strain upon credit. The treasuries and credits of small confederacies would often prove inadequate. Those of the Union are always ample.

I have thus far kept out of view the rela-tions which must arise between the confederacies themselves. They would be small and inconsiderable nations bordering on each other, and therefore, according to all sophy, natural enemies. In addition to the many treaties which each must make with foreign powers, and the causes of war which they would give by violating them, each of the confederacies must also maintain treaties with all the others, and so be liable to give them frequent offence. They would necessarily have different interests resulting from their establishment of different policies of revenue, of mining, manufactures and navigation, of immigration, and perhaps the slave trade. Each would stipulate with foreign nations for advantages peculiar to itself and injurious to its rivals. If, indeed, it were necessary that the Union

should be broken up, it would be in the last degree important that the new Confederacies to he formed should be as nearly as possible equal in strength and power, that mutual fear and mutual respect might inspire them with caution against mutual offence. But such equality could not long be maintained; one Confederacy would rise in the scale of political importance, and the others would view it thenceforward with envy and apprehension. Jealousies would bring on frequent and retaliatory wars, and all these wars, from the peculiar circumstances of the Confederacies, would have the nature and character of civil war. Dissolution, therefore, is, for the people of this country, perpetual civil war. To mitigate it, and obtain occasional rest, what else could they accept but the system of adjusting the balance of power which has obtained in Europe, in which the few strong nations dictate the very terms on which all the others shall be content to live. When this hateful system should fail at last, foreign nations would intervene, now in favor of one and then in aid of another; and thus our country, having expelled all European powers from the continent, would relapse into an aggregate form of its colonial experience, and, like Italy. Turkey, India and China, become the theatre of transatlantic intervention and rapacity. If, however, we grant to the new confedera-

cies an exemption from complications among each other and with foreign States, still there is too much reason to believe that not one of them could long maintain a Republican form of government. Universal suffrage and the absence of a standing army are essential to a Republican system. The world has yet to see a single self sustaining State of that kind, or even any confederation of such States, except our own. Canada leans on Great Britain no unwillingly, and Switzerland is guarantied by interested monarchial States. Our own expe riment has thus far been successful, because by the continual addition of new States, the influence of each of the members of the Union is constantly restrained and reduced. No one. of course, can foretell the way and manner o travel; but history indicates with unerring certainty the end which the several confederacies would reach. Licentiousness would render life intolerable; and they would sooner or later purchase tranquility and domestic safety by the surrender of liberty, and yield them selves up to the protection of military despot ism. Indulge me, sir, in one or two details under this head. First, it is only sixty days since this disunion movement began; already those who are engaged in it have canvassed with portentous freedom the possible re-combinations of the States when dissevered, and the feasible alliances of those re-combinations with European nations; alliances as unnatural, and which would prove ultimately as pestilential to society here as that of the Tiascalans with the Spaniards, who promised them revenge upon their ancient enemies, the Aztecs. Secondly, The disunion movement arises

partly out of a dispute over the common domain of the United States. Hitherto the Union has confined this controversy within the bounds of political debate, by referring it, with all other national ones, to the arbitrament of the ballot-box. Does any one suppose that disutheir constitutional sphere by impulsion, if that shall ultimately arise out of the ruin of Secession was then held to be inadmissible in the Union will have necessity for as many would, after dissolution, be invoked?

Designation of the suppose that distributions of the ruin of party, or that any other umpire than war liberty, and accept the hateful and intolerable espionage of military despotism?

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Thirdly, This movement arises, in another view, out of the relation of African slaves to the domestic population of the country. Freedom is to them, as to all mankind, the chief object of desire. Hitherto, under the opera-tion of the Union, they have practically remained ignorant of the controversy, especially of its bearing on themselves. Can we hope that flagrant civil war shall rage among ourselves in their very presence, and yet that they will remain stupid and idle spectators? Does history furnish us any satisfactory instruction upon the horrors of civil war among a people so brave, so skilled in arms, so earnest in conviction, and so intent in purpose, as we are? Is it a mere chimera which suggests an aggravation of those horrors beyond endurance when, on either side, there shall occur the intervention of an uprising, ferocious, African slave population of four or six, perhaps twenty milions?

The opinions of mankind change, and with them the politics of nations. One hundred years ago all the commercial European States were engaged in transferring negro slaves from Africa to this hemisphere. To-day all those States are firmly set in hostility to the extension and even to the practice of slavery. Opposition to it takes two forms—one European, which is simple, direct abolition, effected, if need be, by compulsion; the other American, which seeks to arrest the African slave trade. and resist the entrance of domestic slavery into territories where it is yet unknown, while it leaves the disposition of existing slavery to the considerate action of the States by which it is retained. It is the Union that restricts the opposition to slavery in this country within these limits. If dissolution prevail, what guarantee shall there be against the full development here of the fearful and uncompromising hostility to slavery which elsewhere pervades the world, and of which the recent invasion of Virginia was an illustration?

Mr. President, I have designedly dwelt so long on the probable effects of disunion upon the safety of the American people as to leave me little time to consider the other evils which must follow in its train. But, practically, the loss of safety involves every other form of public calamity. When once the guardian angel has taken flight, everything is lost.

Dissolution would not only arrest, but extinguish the greatness of our country. Even if separate confederacies could exist and endure, they could severally preserve no share of the common prestige of the Union. If the constellation is to be broken up, the stars, whether scattered widely apart, or grouped in smaller clusters, will thenceforth shed forth feeble, glimmering and lurid lights. Nor will great schievements be possible for the new confederacies. Dissolution would signalize its triumph by acts of wantonness which would shock and astound the world. It would provincialize Mount Vernon and give this Capitol over to desolation at the very moment when the dome is rising over our heads that was to be crowned with the statue of Liberty. After this there would remain for disunion no act of stupendous infamy to be committed. No petty confederacy that shall follow the United States can prolong; or even renew, the majestic drama of national progress. Perhaps it is to be arrested because its sublimity is incapable of continuance. Let it be so if we have indeed become degenerate. After Washington and the inflexible Adams, Henry and the peerless Hamilton, Jefferson and the majestic Clay. Webster and the acute Calhoun, Jackson, the modest Taylor and Scott, who rises in greatness under the burden of years, and Franklin, and Fulton, and Whitney, and Morse, have all performed their parts, let the curtain fall!

While listening to these debates, I have sometimes forgotten myself in marking their contrasted effects upon the page who customsrily stands on the dais before me, and the venerable Secretary who sits behind him. The youth exhibits intense but pleased emotion in the excitement, while at every irreverent word that is uttered against the Union the eyes of the aged man are suffused with tears. Let him weep no more. Rather rejoice, for yours has been a lot of rare felicity. You have seen and been a part of all the greatness of your country, the towering national greatness of all the world. Weep only you, and weep with all the bitterness of auguish, who are just stepping on the threshold of life; for that greatness perishes prematurely and exists not for you, nor for me, nor for any that shall come after us. The public prosperity! how could it survive

the storm? Its elements are industry in the culture of every fruit; mining of all the metals; commerce at home and on every sea; material improvement that knows no obstacle and has no end; invention that ranges throughout the domain of nature; increase of knowledge as broad as the human mind can explore; perfection of art as high as human genius can reach; and social refinement working for the renovation of the world. How could our successors prosecute these noble objects in the midst of brutalizing civil conflict? What guarantees will capital invested for such purposes have, that will outweigh the premium offered by political and military ambition?-What leisure will the citizen find for study, or invention, or art, under the reign of conscription; nay, what interest in them will society feel when fear and hate shall have taken possession of the national mind? Let the miner in California take heed; for its golden wealth will become the prize of the nation that can command the most iron. Let the borderer take care; for the Indian will again lurk around his dwelling. Let the pioneer come back into our denser settlements; for the railroad, the post road, and the telegraph, advance not one furlong farther into the wilderness. With standing armies consuming the substance of our people on the land, and our Navy and our postal steamers withdrawn from the ocean. who will protect or respect, or who will even know by name our petty confederacies? The American man-of-war is a noble spectacle. I have seen it enter an ancient port in the Mediterranean. All the world wondered at it, and talked of it. Salvos of artillery, from forts and shipping in the harbor, saluted its flag .-Princes and princesses and merchants paid it homage, and all the people blessed it as a harbinger of hope for their own ultimate freedom. I imagine now the same noble vessel again entering the same haven. The flag of thirtythree stars and thirteen stripes has been hauled down, and in its place a signal is run up, which flaunts the device of a lone star or palmetto tree. Men ask, "Who is the stranger that thus steals into our waters?" The answer contemptuously given is, "She comes from one of the obscure Republics of North America. Let her pass on."

Lastly, public liberty, our own peculiar liberty, must languish for a time, and then cease to live. And such a liberty! free movement everywhere through our own land and throughout the world; free speech, free press, free suffrage; the freedom of every subject to vote on every law, and for or against every agent who expounds, administers, or executes. Unstable and jealous confederacies, constantly apprehending assaults without and treason within, formidable only to each other and contemptible to all besides; how long will it be before, on the plea of public safety, they will surrender all this inestimable and unequalled