Patriot & Union.

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JOSEPH B. STEWART,
HESTOR L. STEVENS,
EDWARD CLARK,
OSCAR A. STEVENS,
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WASHINGTON, D. C., 1862.

☞ Apply at our office, or to our *Associate* at HARRISBURG, PA.—JOHN A. BIGLER, Attorney and Counsellor.

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jy31-dly

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Where they ntend to devote their entire time to the manufacture of

BOOTS AND SHOES

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Their stock will consist, in part, of *Gentlemen's Fine Calf and Patent Leather Boots and Shoes*, latest styles; *Ladies' and Misses' Gaiters*, and other Shoes in great variety; and in fact everything connected with the Shoe business.

CUSTOMER WORK will be particularly attended to, and in all cases will satisfaction be warranted. *Lasts fitted up by one of the best makers in the country.*

The long practical experience of the undersigned, and their thorough knowledge of the business will, they trust, be sufficient guarantee to the public that they will do them justice, and furnish them an article tha will recommend itself for utility, cheapness and durability. [jan9] JACKSON & CO.

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april3-d&wtf.

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Having formed a connection with parties in Washington City, who are reliable business men, any business connected with any of the Departments will meet with immediate and careful attention. m6-y

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SEASONABLE GOODS,

which he offers to his customers and the public at nov22) *MODERATE PRICES.* dtf

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General Claims for Soldiers promptly collected, State Claims adjusted, &c., &c. mar20-d1m

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Practice in the several Courts of Dauphin county. Collections made promptly. A. C. SMITH,
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CLOTHS, CASSIMERES AND VESTINGS,

Which will be sold at moderate prices and made up to order; and, also, an assortment of READY MADE Clothing and Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods.

nov21-1yd

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jan8-tf

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CARD WRITER,

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MELODEONS, GUITARS,
VIOLINS, BANJO STRINGS,
Of every description.

DRUMS, FIFES, FLUTES, ACCORDEONS, etc. at the lowest CITY PRICES, at

W. KNOCHE'S MUSIC STORE,
No. 93 MARKET STREET.

PROCLAMATION.—Whereas, the Honorable JOHN J. PEARSON, President of the Court of Common Pleas in the Twelfth Judicial District, consisting of the counties of Lebanon and Dauphin, and the Hon. SAMUEL LANDIS and Hon. MOSES R. YOUNG, Associate Judges in Dauphin county, having issued their precept, bearing date the 24th day of February, 1863, to me directed, for holding a Court of Oyer and Terminer and General Jail Delivery and Quarter Sessions of the Peace at Harrisburg, for the county of Dauphin, and to commence *on the fourth Monday of April next*, being the *27th day of April*, 1863, and to continue two weeks.

Notice is therefore hereby given to the Coroner, Justices of the Peace, Aldermen, and Constables of the said county of Dauphin, that they be then and there in their proper persons, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of said day, with their records, inquisitions, examinations, and their own remembrances, to do those things which to their office appertains to be done, and those who are bound in recognisances to prosecute against the prisoners that are or shall be in the Jail of Dauphin county, be then and there to prosecute against them as shall be just.

Given under my hand, at Harrisburg, the 24th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1863, and in the eighty-seventh year of the independence of the United States.

J. D. BOAS, Sheriff.

HAMS, DRIED BEEF, BOLOGNA SAUSAGES, TONGUES, &c., for sale low, by WM. DOCK, JR., & C

The Patriot & Union.

SATURDAY MORNING, APRIL 25, 1863.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM A. STOKES,

OF WESTMORELAND,

Before the Allegheny County Democratic Club, Pittsburg, April 14, 1863.

I salute you, fellow-citizens, with fraternal emotion, for we are bound together as members of the great Democratic family by ties of political affection, and no man, who loves his country, can behold the scene now and here presented—this vast assemblage of the indomitable and unterrified, with resolutions of reparation and revenge for the wrongs done to our common mother, the Republic, stamped firmly on your faces—the fire of patriotism gleaming from your eyes—strong arms ready for any emergency which may arise or any duty to which your country may call you, whether to defend the Union against the traitors of the South, or the Constitution against the tyrants of the North—no man can behold such a scene as this and not feel re-inspired in devotion, reassured in hope. For myself, let me confess, that while I rejoice in this evidence of coming good, I am appalled by the task before me. He who, in times like these, ventures to address the people on those topics of overwhelming importance which now agitate the nation—which indeed everywhere convulse society—should not be, nay, cannot be, unmindful of the responsibility he assumes. Of course I do not allude to the peril of being kidnapped by military power and incarcerated in Federal dungeons—a fate neither to be sought nor avoided—not imminent now, because already the tortures wantonly inflicted by the myrmidons of power have caused them to recoil aghast from their hellish work, have re-invigorated the patriotism of the people, and aroused the land from the lethargy of false security. It is the Divine decree that salvation shall be by suffering. It is in the fire of affliction that the soul is purged and purified. The dark hours of disappointment and defeat chasten the mind for the reception of truth. The courage of virtue rises under the pressure of misfortune.—The pure ore is produced from the hottest furnace, and the brightest thunderbolt is elicited from the darkest storm. These are the consolations of the martyrs of liberty.

No, fellow-citizens, the responsibility to which I allude lies in the obligation to condemn the errors of friends and to extend charity to enemies, to speak frankly and fairly, not as a partisan advocate, but as an independent freeman—nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice—to do impartial justice between contending parties, to reason calmly in order to convince, and even to court mildness for the sake of peace. I know not whether I can conform to my own rule, for I confess that sometimes my passions are aroused, as I behold our wronged and ravaged country—the ruin impending over her—the unnumbered cold and bloody corpses of her slaughtered children—an enormous public debt—burthens of taxation too grievous to be borne—the national honor sullied—the assassins of liberty sharpening their daggers for the fatal stab. The country groans under the vilest wrongs which tyranny, in its worst frenzy, can inflict. Desolation and destruction have become so familiar, by perpetual repetition, that they no longer strike the soul with horror. The agonizing accents of despair are often heard above the clash of arms, and the loud denunciations of hostile parties, convulsed, maddened, by intestine strife. Surely Pennsylvania should not suffer herself to be dragged into this vortex of most perilous confusion. Now, as in past times, she should stand constant to her conservative character—firm as her own mountains—unmoved by the tempest that howls around her—resolved to defend the cause of constitutional freedom and national union, against all assaults, from every quarter. Our State occupies a peculiar position, and, if we ever consent to dissolution of the Union, of inevitable and extreme peril. The States north and east of us are protected by her geographical interposition between them and the South, while the Ohio river forms a natural boundary for the Western States, easily defended. But the line between Virginia and Pennsylvania is artificial and imaginary. Recognize the Southern Confederacy to-morrow, and the next day will begin a border war, of which *you*, Pennsylvanians, must bear the brunt. Virginia slaves will seek refuge on our soil—they will be pursued and recaptured—our people will resist this outrage on the rights of a government, foreign to and independent of the Confederacy—conflicts will ensue, daily more numerous and extensive—the militia will be called out on both sides—peace elsewhere will be at the price of perpetual war for Pennsylvania. Look to your tariff too. I waive the disputed question of protection; but for revenue, some sort of duty upon imports is absolutely necessary. Lay direct taxes to pay the interest of the public debt, and they cannot and will not be collected. Acknowledge the Confederacy, and the tariff laws are, in effect, repealed, and the mercantile marine is destroyed. Smuggling cannot be prevented along a line of thousands of miles. Ships will not enter the harbors of New York, Philadelphia and Boston, to pay enormous duties on their cargoes, when they can enter those of Norfolk, Charleston and New Orleans, without any such exaction. So, too, in regard to the Mississippi, in which western Pennsylvania, and all who live between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountains, have a peculiar and vital interest. Surrender the Mississippi, and you, in effect, dam up all the streams which find their way to the Gulf of Mexico through the channel of that river. Make what treaties you please, they cannot prevent half a dozen men with one cannon, from arresting, at their pleasure, any vessel which may attempt to navigate a stream running more than a thousand miles, through territory inhabited by an exasperated and impulsive people. These streams, hundreds in number, and hundreds of thousands of miles in aggregate length, the great natural highways of a vast empire, are the gifts of God for the promotion of human intercourse, of civilization, of unity—man dare not surrender them—human hands have no right to rupture the beneficent bonds by which Providence has bound together all the people of the valley of the Mississippi.

In the face of theses erious considerations, I ask you, Pennsylvanians, whether you can ever consent to separation from your sister States; and I beg also to ask you another question, more thought of than talked of, in such event, *where are we to go to?* Pennsylvania, in coming into the Federal Union, agreed to a government which included *all* the States, both North and South. The withdrawal of either, seems to be the destruction of the Union for every State which formed part of it; for the contract of the Constitution embraces the whole. If the Almighty should, for our manifold sins, curse us with this calamity, it will be for the people of Pennsylvania to determine what shall be their new position. They have the right to judge for themselves, and they have the po to defend themselves. Here nature has lished, with generous profusion, her riches ifts, concentrating, in high degree, every rce of individual prosperity and national alth. Here is an Empire, complete within elf, self-sustaining, independent; a count qually adapted for agriculture, manufactu and commerce, abounding in mineral tures; a climate neither warm enough to ence, nor so cold as to prevent all culti- tioned to a temperate region; commanding al the communications of the Atlantic d t Mississippi, inhabited by patriotic, illustrs, and virtuous citizens. The great lart such a people spontaneously rejects b idof the surrender of the blood-bought lita of liberty and Union which their ther bequeathed to them, and which they s bord by the most sacred duty to transmit impred to posterity.

ellw-citizens, I deny the right of secession - der that the Constitution of the United ites eserves the right to each State to withw fm the Union at any time, on its own e mtion. On the contrary, I hold that the eral Government, though of limited powers, j legitimate government for the purposes of jreation, perfect in all its parts, Executive, islative and Judicial, self-sustaining, indelent—making, construing and executing its laws, by virtue of its own inherent force. eason revolts from the idea of political ide—of a contract to bind nobody—of an ement for disagreement—of a union for nion.

his question was anticipated and deted by the unanimous action of the Contion that framed the Constitution, General shington, the President of that body, hav- by their authority declared in his official er to Congress submitting the Constitution: is obviously impracticable in the Federal ernment of these States to secure all rights *independent sovereignty* to each and yet pro- e for the interest and safety of all. Indiuals entering into society must give up a tion of liberty to preserve the rest. * * s at all times difficult to draw with precision line between those rights that must be surdered and those which must be reserved. * * In all our deliberations upon this ject, we kept steadily in our view that which pears to us the greatest interest to every e American, the *consolidation* of our *Union*, which is involved our prosperity, felicity, fety, and perhaps our national existence." But the question now presented by the attide of the seceding States is one not subject the tests of the technical lawyer, or the reits of abstract philosophical speculation, or ts of historical authority.

We stand in a momentous time, in the presence of appalling FACTS. Are we equal to the me and its duties—can we comprehend these facts and their consequences? If we are *not*—if we cannot—the death-knell of the Republic is already rung—the great experiment has iled—the demonstration is complete that man is incapable of self-government—despo*tism* has forever triumphed over liberty.

Denying the doctrine of secession, I admit the right of revolution. It is a right reserved by every people in every government; without it, tyranny would be eternal. Its exercise is n the sole judgment of those who assert it. e vindication is in the result of war. But soit is only to be had to this extreme reme- , as Mr. Jefferson well said, when tyranny comes overwhelming, not for light and tran- nt causes, and only when all other means of dress have failed. It is the desperate and tly remedy for accumulated, intolerable and heless wrongs. Its declaration of war is in thunder tones of a people united by the exteal pressure of a crushing oppression, and need to resistance by the extremity of a comon suffering.

is not on this ground, however, that the Cofederacy rests its case, though in fact both sid, by appealing to organized military force, so placed themselves, substantially, in this attide—revolution on the one side and coercion on the other.

nd now, my friends, we come to the all impoant question, *what is to be done?* I pass by he causes which led to the conflict. Neithe side is responsible for the extremes of mace and madness into which unreasoning fanticson both sides often went, except so far as hey may have adopted the cruel counsels of hese infatuated and furious wretches, of whom the antagonistic types are to be found in Sumer and Yancey. I repeat the question, what is to be done?

Recognition and just application of the familiar maxim in "Union there is strength," will answer this question. The South is now substantially united, the North divided. It was no so in the beginning of the present contest. Then loyalty prevailed in the hearts of the majority of the people of nearly all the Sorhern States, and the base leaders of the secession movement were compelled to resort to force and fraud, in violation of the wishes of the people, to take them out of the Union, to whose flag, hallowed by a thousand sacred memories, they were ready to rush with rapture, at the earliest practicable moment; while in the North, party was forgotten in the unanimous eagerness of all men to sustain the government in, what were asserted and believed to be its legitimate objects. No need then for milita draft or ruthless conscription. The ranks of volunteer regiments were crowded, alike with Democrats and Republicans, whose paty predelictions were forgotten in all absoing patriotism—he only was unhappy who was excluded from the army—the government was embarrassed by the multitudes who sought to serve in the field. All this is changed, and why? Because the administration has abandoned its original position, because the Executive and Congress have proved recreant to the principles which they professed, because the objects of the war have utterly changed. When Mr. Lincoln was inaugurated President he declared, under the solemn sanction of the constitutional oath of office which he had just taken, that he had no design, desire or power to interfere with slavery, or to invade, in any manner, the rights of States or people. Soon afterwards appeared Mr. Seward's diplomatic circular, strengthening and expanding the President's declaration. A few months later Congress, by nearly unanimons resolution, followed in the same course, and solemnly announced that the object of the war was only to secure the supremacy, everywhere, of the Constitution and the laws. Such being the avowed and legitimate purposes of the government, it received the united support of all the people of all the loyal States, and a vast and powerful body in the South.

This platform thus erected by Republicans was one on which Democrats, both North and South, could stand and did stand, because it was the platform of the Constitution. So soon as the administration had succeeded, by these false pretexts, in seducing into the ranks of the army several hundred thousand Democrats, and felt themselves strong enough to defy the source of all power, they commenced a systematic course of treasen and perjury by repeated and avowed violations of the Constitution and of their oaths to support, uphold and defend it. In this horrid exigency the duty of the Democracy was plain, and was performed. The liberty of the citizen is the life of the State. They set themselves to vindicate the violated Constitution. They accepted the gage of battle thrown down by its enemies, the Federal administration. This war of rulers against people, of servants against masters, is now being waged with a reckless and savage ferocity which violates law, defies justice, denies truth, and tramples upon right. The government, thus far, has succeeded only in dividing the North and uniting the South, in slaughtering hecatombs of victims, in creating an enormous national debt, in imposing burthens of taxation too grievous to be borne, in gorging the maws of rapacious plunderers, and in making the very name of Republic a by word and disgrace throughout the world. Proof of these facts is needless, inasmuch as they are often admitted. No candid and intelligent Republican will deny that Mr. Seward's proclamation of the irrepressible conflict, eagerly adopted by the mass of his party, alienated one portion of the Union from the other, by organizing a vast political body, based on a geographical line, hostile to one half of the Union, and pledged to the destruction of their State institutions—that to give effect to this pledge, they placed their wicked and visionary scheme above the Constitution and the Union, and refused all propositions of adjustment and pacification offered and urged by patriots, North and South. Progressing to the practical application of these theories, they beseiged the President, until, worn out by ceaseless importunity, he surrendered principles which he had publicly professed; abdicating his constitutional power to become the passive instrument of a vast Abolition society. The result was soon found in the Abolition proclamation, in the suspension of the *habeas corpus*, in arrests without accusation, proof, hearing or warrant, in confiscation of property without notice or trial, in the conscription, which laid every State and every citizen prostrate at the feet of a single man.

The excuse for all this is an alleged necessity, judged of only by those who make the plea. The arraigned criminals pretend to justify themselves by their own judgments, defying the impartial verdict of the people now, and the historic sentence of condemnation in the future. Let me address you, my Republican friends, who have honored us by your presence to-night, and in whom we recognize intelligence, integrity and patriotism—do you not tolerate all these excesses because you think that exigency of national peril gives the government a right to disregard the organic law? Now let me appeal to your candor. Does not the history of all usurpation prove that it is in times of public peril that the government, regardless of law, absorbs all the power of the nation, giving, as justification for their crimes, this very peril. From Cæsar to Napoleon this has been the usurper's argument. A facile man, like Mr. Lincoln, yielding to bad advice, may unintentionally produce monstrous disaster, the irreparable ruin of his country, as well as a successful soldier, whose genius enables him to see beforehand the fatal consequences of his conduct. Imbecility is no excuse for guilt. Liberty consists in the equality of all citizens before the law. The President is as subject to law as any other citizen. How can we wage a war for the re-establishment of the ascendency of the Constitution in every State, if the government is systematically violating it? The Constitution is our *right*, our *property*—purchased by the blood of our forefathers. If Mr. Lincoln robs us of a line of it, even for an hour, he may be impeached, tried and convicted. Let Felix tremble. He will yet find that justice does not sleep forever. How monstrous is the miserable pretext of defending the Constitution by destroying it!

The general government is not an original sovereignty, but the creature of the Constitution, by which the people of the States delegated to it a portion of the perfect political power which they possessed. That instrument, therefore, is a *grant*, and necessarily *limited by its terms*. That which is therein found, and that *alone*, constitutes the power which the Federal Government may lawfully exercise.—That which is *not* therein found is reserved to the grantors. One of its own clauses expressly declares, that all the powers not therein granted, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people. The best commentary on the Constitution is the Constitution itself. It follows, therefore, inevitably, that inasmuch as in the carefully elaborated declaration of the powers of the President, there is no authority for any of the acts to which I have referred, but, on the contrary, by an express prohibition, in that clause of the Constitution which provides that all the powers not therein granted, are reserved to the States or people, all those acts are null and void. They are not the legitimate acts of the President of the United States, but the usurpations of Abraham Lincoln and his advisers. Even unconstitutional acts, however, which have the form of law, should not be resisted by force, but by appeal to judicial tribunals, or by the exercise, in extreme cases, of the personal right of self-defence.

Besides, this plea of necessity rests wholly on the fact that we are at war. During the war with England, all New England was an organized conspiracy against the government. Their Puritan pulpits were converted into political batteries, from which the Republic was attacked; they held conventions in which they declared the war to be cruel, bloody and unjust; they obstructed naval and military operations; they gave aid and comfort to the enemy. In the face of all this, not a single arbitrary arrest was made. Then no man dreamed that the Constitution was binding only in times of peace. That bold fallacy was invented by the sons of the English sympathizers of 1812. Why, if the Constitution is suspended during the war, so also is the President, Congress, and the Courts, for they all live, move, and have their being, only by and under the Constitution.

During the war with England, James Madison, justly called "the father of the Constitution," was President. I have shown that his conduct was the reverse of that now pursued. Let me call your attention to the language which he used in the resolutions written by him, and adopted by the Legislature of Virginia:

"This Assembly doth explicitly and peremptorily declare, That it views the powers of the Federal government, as resulting from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no farther valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact."

So alse the author of the Declaration of Independence said:

"Whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthorative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but, that as in all other cases of compact, among parties have no common judge, *each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress.*"

The administration, discarding the doctrines of our fathers, and disregarding the Constitution, seek to dazzle our eyes and our judgments, by the meretricious glare of a magnificent consolidated Empire, to be raised on the ruins of the Constitution. Far more true honor would be awarded to the President, both now and hereafter, if he kept his oath and did his duty, and are we not to say so? Even during the despotism of Louis XIV, the Chancellor D'Aguesseau boldly said to the Monarch, "Respect the empire of the law. Kings, the noblest images of Divinity, are never greater than when they submit all their greatness to justice, and unite to the title of masters of the world, that of slaves of the law." Undoubtedly, despotism is more splendid than Democracy; but the people prefer happiness to glory, freedom to oppression, and the rights of man to the will of tyrants. Therefore, it is that at the polls, in their public meetings, in their newspapers and in social conversation, they defend themselves by denouncing the errors of the administration, and this is falsely called *opposing the government.* The government—what is the government? It is constitutional, political organization, of which we are the defenders. It is not the administration nor the men who compose it. Nay, to the extent to which the administration violates the Constitution, which creates the government, it is the enemy of the government. Mr. Seward well said in his letter last November to Mr. Adams, our Minister to England:

"In this country, especially, it is a habit *not only entirely consistent with the Constitution, but even essential to its stability*, to regard the administration at any time existing as distinct and separate from the government itself, and to canvass the proceedings of the one without a thought of disloyalty to the other."

The source of all our perils is the discord which necessarily results from the dangerous doctrines and the illegal acts of the administration. If they sincerely desire the suppression of the rebellion, let them reunite the bonds which they have ruptured, let them reinaugurate the reign of concord by withdrawing their illegal proclamations, by repealing their unconstitutional laws, by respecting the rights of the States, and ceasing to assail the liberties of the people. Suppose even we are wrong in these views, they are those of millions of voters, they are the declared sentiments of sovereign States, they are entitled to consideration and respect; adopt them, and the country will be saved; defy them, and the present conflict will be indefinitely procrastinated. Let calm consideration take the place of partisan passion.

We are all brethren by whatever name we are called, and we have like interests in our common country. Let us be right and do right, and we may be confident against the world in arms. Undoubtedly peace is to be desired, but to obtain peace war must be vigorously prosecuted, and every constitutional means of coercion used against those who are, at once, our enemies and our brothers. No thought must be, for a moment, entertained of consenting to a separation, for to restore and preserve the Union, is a sacred duty, which we owe not only to ourselves, but to the memory of our fathers, and the rights of our children. Let us continue to refute, by our acts, as we have hitherto done, always and everywhere, the base and baseless slander, that the Democracy is in any way or degree tainted with disloyalty.—We have the power—let us use it. Let us all unite, party distinctions forgotten in devotion to legitimate government, as organized, defined and limited by the Constitution, and we cannot fail. Our troops, no mercenary hordes of semi-barbarians driven to the ranks by despotic power, but citizen soldiers, inspired by patriotism, to defend with their lives, the Union and liberty of the country—a body of independent and intelligent freemen, such as was never before assembled under a common banner, have exhibited devotion, solemn and sacrificial. Never, in the annals of war, has shone more resplendent glory the heroic gallantry of citizens, become soldiers, only to save their country. Fortitude, patience, constancy, the highest and rarest military virtues, ennobled and sustained the prolonged and agonized offering of their mortal and immortal natures, which they laid on the altar of their country. Their sublime self-sacrifice demands that country's gratitude. Notwithstanding all the neglect and incompetency by which they have been weakened and obstructed, they have steadily progressed; and, at this moment, hold the most important strategic positions. Let the government strengthen and assure them, by uniting the North on the basis of the Constitution, and they will speedily vindicate the sacred cause which has called them to the field.

The high and sacred mission of the Democratic party, united with the true men of all parties, is to make peace with the South—to restore the ascendency of the Constitution, everywhere—to assure the equality of the States, and to vindicate the rights of man.

You must never forget that Pennsylvania was first among the States that formed and ratified the Constitution of the Union, and has always been its inflexible defender against all opponents and every attack. You will not sully the emblazoned pages in which the world reads of your patriots, and reverences their patriotism, but you will cherish these sacred memories, and emulate these heroes of peace and war—you will vindicate your birthright by proving that you are worthy of it.

Product of patriotic effort, fruit of toils and dangers, reward of wisdom and valor, purchased by suffering and blood, crown of the revolutionary contest, is the Constitution of the United States. Its construction was a labor of love; let it be again and perpetually renovated by the political affection of this great national family.

It formed the Union and is its sole security. The Union, blessed mother of all her children; bountiful source of the greatness and glory of the Republic; shield of security; assurance of prosperity; concentrated wisdom of its immortal authors; proof of their patriotism; lesson for all nations and ages; the happy expedient by which freedom of domestic government is connected with power in foreign affairs, each ample, neither impaired; consoling evidence that there is in the human soul a divinely inspired spirit of concord stronger than arms, capable of political combinations for erecting a government more powerful than despotism; commended to our affections by the tenderest recollections of the past; mingled with our dearest hopes for the future; the sacred legacy of our ancestors, which we are bound, in faith and honor, to transmit unimpaired to our posterity; hope of the whole world; light of liberty, committed to our care, that its rays, streaming across oceans and continents, may beam the radiant glory of equality; the sun in the political firmament, warming, vivifying and fructifying the seed of freedom everywhere, so that all people may find final repose under the protecting branches of the tree of liberty.

Not for ourselves alone, but for our race—not for the present only, but for all time, the great question is now to be solved of the possibility of sustaining government by moral means—of the fitness of man for freedom.—Dissolve the Union, and Democratic liberty is dead—discord rules until despotism succeeds. God preserve our beloved country from either evil—from the cruel arms of conflicting powers, strong in hatred, but too feeble for effective defence, or from the cold silence of subjec-