Patriot & Union.

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THE DAILY PATRIOT AND UNION will be served to subscribers residing in the Borough for TEN CENTS PER WEEK, payable to the Carrier. Mail subscribers, FIVE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

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N. B.—Pension, Bounty and Military claims of all kinds prosecuted and collected.
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OFFICE IN
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SECOND STREET,
BETWEEN WALNUT and MARKET SQUARE,
ap-29w&d Nearly opposite the Buehler House.

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SURGEON AND OCULIST,
RESIDENCE THIRD NEAR NORTH STREET.
He is now fully prepared to attend promptly to the duties of profession in all its branches.
A LONG AND VERY SUCCESSFUL MEDICAL EXPERIENCE justifies him in promising full and ample satisfaction to all who may favor him with a call, be the disease Chronic or any other nature. mh8-dw6m

THOS. C. MACDOWELL,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
MILITARY CLAIM AND PATENT AGENT.
Office in the Exchange, Walnut st., (Up Stairs.)
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. m8-y

MILITARY CLAIMS AND PENSIONS.
The undersigned have entered into an association for the collection of Military Claims and the securing of Pensions for wounded and disabled soldiers.
Master-in and Muster-out Rolls, officers' Pay Rolls, Ordnance and Clothing returns, and all papers pertaining to the military service will be made out properly and expeditiously.
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THOS. C MACDOWELL,
je25-dtf THOMAS A. MAGUIRE.

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NO. 11, NORTH THIRD ST., HARRISBURG.
STEINWAY'S PIANOS,
MELODEONS, VIOLINS, GUITARS,
Banjos, Flutes, Fifes, Drums, Accordeons,
STRINGS, SHEET AND BOOK MUSIC, &c., &c.,
PHOTOGRAPH FRAMES, ALBUMS,
Large Pier and Mantle Mirrors, Square and Oval Frames of every description made to order. Regilding done.
Agency for Howe's Sewing Machines.
☞ Sheet Music sent by Mail. octl-1

JOHN W. GLOVER,
MERCHANT TAILOR!
Has just received from New York, an assortment of
SEASONABLE GOODS,
which he offers to his customers and the public at nov23 *MODERATE PRICES.* dtf

J. COOK, Merchant Tailor,
27 CHESNUT ST., between Second and Front,
Has just returned from the city with an assortment of
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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B. M. GILDEA, D. D. S.,
NO. 119 *MARKET STREET,*
EBY & KUNKEL'S BUILDING, UP STAIRS. jan8-tf

RELIGIOUS BOOK STORE,
TRACT AND SUNDAY SCHOOL DEPOSITORY,
E. S. GERMAN,
27 SOUTH SECOND STREET, ABOVE CHESNUT,
HARRISBURG, PA.
Depot for the sale of Stereoscopes, Stereoscopic Views, Music and Musical Instruments. Also, subscriptions taken for religious publications. no30-dy

JOHN G. W. MARTIN,
FASHIONABLE
CARD WRITER,
HERR'S HOTEL, HARRISBURG, PA.
All manner of *VISITING, WEDDING AND BUSINESS CARDS* executed in the most artistic styles and most reasonable *terms.* dec14-dtf

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Ridge Avenue, corner of Broad street,
HARRISBURG, PA.
The undersigned informs the public that he has recently renovated and refitted his well-known "Union Hotel" on Ridge avenue, near the Round House, and is prepared to accommodate citizens, strangers and travelers in the best style, at moderate rates.
His table will be supplied with the best the markets afford, and at his bar will be found superior brands of liquors and malt beverages. The very best accommodations for railroaders employed at the shops in this vicinity. [ap4 dtf] HENRY BOSTGEN.

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je12-tf (Late of Selins Grove, Pa.)

THEO. F. SCHEFFER,
BOOK, CARD AND JOB PRINTER,
NO 18 MARKET STREET, HARRISBURG.
☞ Particular attention paid to printing, ruling and binding of Railroad Blanks, Manifests, Insurance Policies, Checks, Bill-Heads, &c.
Wedding, Visiting and Business Cards printed at very low prices and in the best style. jan22

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GEO. A. KLUGH.
The subscriber is ready at NO. 242 MARKET ST., four doors below Fourth street, to make
MEN'S AND BOY'S CLOTHING
In any desired style, and with skill and promptness. Persons wishing cutting done can have it done at the shortest notice. apl4-1

CHARLES F. VOLLMER,
UPHOLSTERER,
Chestnut street four doors above Second,
(OPPOSITE WASHINGTON HOUSE HOUSE,)
Is prepared to furnish to order, in the very best style of workmanship, Spring and Hair Mattresses, Window Curtains, Lounges, and all other articles of Furniture in his line, on short notice and moderate terms. Having experience in the business, he feels warranted in asking a share of public patronage, confident of his ability to give satisfaction. jan17-dtf

COOPER'S GELATINE.—The best article in the market, just received and for sale by
apr4-tf WM. DOCK Jr.

NOTIONS.—Quite a variety of useful and entertaining articles—cheap at
SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE.

WEBSTER'S ARMY AND NAVY
POCKET DICTIONARY.
Just received and for sale at
SCHEFFER'S BOOKSTORE.

NEW ORLEANS SUGAR!—FIRST IN THE MARKET!—For sale by
fe12 WM. DOCK Jr., & CO.

Medical.

DR. SWEET'S
INFALLIBLE LINIMENT
THE
GREAT EXTERNAL REMEDY,
FOR RHEUMATISM, GOUT, NEURALGIA, LUMBAGO, STIFF NECK AND JOINTS, SPRAINS, BRUISES, CUTS & WOUNDS, PILES, HEADACHE, and ALL RHEUMATIC and NERVOUS DISORDERS.

For all of which it is a speedy and certain remedy, and never fails. This Liniment is prepared from the recipe of Dr. Stephen Sweet, of Connecticut, the famous bone setter, and has been used in his practice for more than twenty years with the most astonishing success.

AS AN ALLEVIATOR OF PAIN, it is unrivaled by any preparation before the public, of which the most skeptical may be convinced by a single trial.

This Liniment will cure rapidly and radically, RHEUMATIC DISORDERS of every kind, and in thousands of cases where it has been used it has never been known to fail.

FOR NEURALGIA, it will afford immediate relief in every case, however distressing.

It will relieve the worst cases of *HEADACHE* in three minutes and is warranted to do it.

TOOTHACHE also will it cure instantly.

FOR NERVOUS DEBILITY AND GENERAL LASSITUDE, arising from imprudence or excess, this Liniment is a most happy and unfailing remedy. Acting directly upon the nervous tissues, it strengthens and revivifies the system, and restores it to elasticity and vigor.

FOR PILES.—As an external remedy, we claim that it is the *best* known, and we challenge the world to produce an equal. Every victim of this distressing complaint should give it a trial, for it will not fail to afford immediate relief, and in a majority of cases will effect a *radical* cure.

QUINSY and SORE THROAT are sometimes extremely malignant and dangerous, but a timely application of this Liniment will never fail to cure.

SPRAINS are sometimes very painful, and enlargement of the joints is liable to occur if neglected. The worst case may be conquered by this Liniment in two or three days.

BRUISES, CUTS, WOUNDS, SORES, ULCERS, BURNS and SCALDS, yield readily to the wonderful healing properties of DR. SWEET'S INFALLIBLE LINIMENT, when used according to directions. Also, *CHILBLAINS, FROSTED FEET, and INSECT BITES and STINGS.*

EVERY HORSE OWNER
should have this remedy at hand, for its timely use at the first appearance of Lameness will effectually prevent those formidable diseases to which all horses are liable and which render so many otherwise valuable horses nearly worthless.

Over four hundred voluntary testimonials to the wonderful curative properties of this Liniment have been received within the last two years, and many of them from persons in the highest ranks of life.

CAUTION.
To avoid imposition, observe the Signature and Likeness of Dr. Stephen Sweet on every label, and also "Stephen Sweet's Infallible Liniment" blown in the glass of each bottle, without which none are genuine.
RICHARDSON & CO.,
Sole Proprietors, Norwich, Ct.
For sale by all dealers. apl6ow-d&w

Dyeing.

ALL WORK PROMISED IN
ONE WEEK!

104.
PENNSYLVANIA
STEAM DYEING ESTABLISHMENT,
104 MARKET STREET,
BETWEEN FOURTH AND FIFTH,
HARRISBURG, PA.
Where every description of Ladies' and Gentlemen's Garments, Piece Goods, &c., are Dyed, Cleansed, and finished in the best manner and at the shortest notice.
no2-d&w1y DODGE & CO., Proprietors.

T. F. WATSON,
MASTIC WORKER
AND
PRACTICAL CEMENTER,
Is prepared to Cement the exterior of Buildings with the New York Improved
Water-Proof Mastic Cement.
This Material is different from all other Cements. It forms a solid, durable adhesiveness to any surface, imperishable by the action of water or frost. Every good building should be coated with this Cement; it is a perfect preserver to the walls, and makes a beautiful, fine finish, equal to Eastern brown sandstone, or any color desired.
Among others for whom I have applied the Mastic Cement, I refer to the following gentlemen:
J. Bissell, residence, Penn street, Pittsburg, finished five years.
J. H. Shoenberger, residence, Lawrenceville, finished five years.
James M'Candless, residence, Allegheny City, finished five years.
Calvin Adams, residence, Third street, finished four years.
A. Hoeveler, residence, Lawrenceville, finished four years.
J. D. M'Cord, Penn street, finished four years.
Hon. Thomas Irwin, Diamond street, finished four years.
St Charles Hotel and Girard House, finished five years.
Kittanning Court House and Bank, for Barr & Moser, Architects, Pittsburg, finished five years.
Orders received at the office of R. M'Aldowney, Paint Shop, 20 Seventh street, or please address
T. F. WATSON,
may16-tf P. O. Box 1336. Pittsburg, Pa.

HAMS!!!!
20,000, lbs. Composed of the following Brands just received:
NEWBOLD'S—Celebrated.
NEW JERSEY—Select.
EVANS & SWIFT'S—Superior.
MICHINER'S EXCELSIOR—Canvassed.
MICHINER'S EXCELSIOR—Not canvassed.
IRON CITY—Canvassed.
IRON CITY—Not canvassed.
PLAIN HAMS—Strictly prime.
ORDINARY HAMS—Very good.
☞ Every Ham sold will be guaranteed as represented.
WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO.

SUPERIOR STOCK OF LIQUORS.—WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO., are now able to offer to their customers and the public at large, a stock of the purest liquors ever imported into this market, comprising in part the following varieties:
WHISKY—IRISH, SCOTCH, OLD BOURBON.
WINE—PORT, SHERRY, OLD MADEIRA.
OTARD, DUPEY & CO. PALE BRANDY.
JAMICA SPIRITS.
PRIME NEW ENGLAND RUM.
DRAKE'S PLANTATION BITTERS
These liquors can all be warranted; and in addition to these, Dock & Co. have on hand a large variety of Wines, Whisky and Brandy, to which they invite the particular attention of the public.

WAR! WAR!—BRADY, No. 62 Market street, below Third, has received a large assortment of Swords, Sashes and Belts, which he will sell very low. aug6 d1

EXCELSIOR!!!—SUGAR CURED HAMS!—*A Delicious Ham, cured expressly for family use. They are superior to any sale in the market.* [may26] WM. DOCK, Jr., & CO

The Patriot & Union.

TUESDAY MORNING, SEPT. 29, 1863.

ADDRESS
OF
HON. WILLIAM BIGLER,
DELIVERED AT
New Hope, Bucks County, Sept. 17, 1863.

[*Conclusion.*]

I should like to talk to you at some length about the efforts to compromise and settle in the winter of 1860--1; but I must necessarily be brief. Of the various propositions brought before Congress to adjust our troubles, there was none that gave promise of an effective and final settlement except that presented by Mr. Crittenden. It was in the nature of an equitable partition of the territories rather than quarrel longer. It was believed that with this basis, all else that was necessary could be attained. It came from the South, and was generous to the North. We then had about 1,200,000 square miles of common territory, and it proposed to give us all north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, being about three-fourths of the whole, or 900,000 square miles—quite all that any impartial umpire could have awarded us. The reasons pressed upon the dominant party in favor of the acceptance of this proposition, so far as related to the territories, were these: first, if it be a material interest about which we are contending, here is a Southern proposition that gives the North three-fourths of it; second, if it be the application of a political principle, it applies the doctrines of the Chicago Platform to three-fourths of this common territory. They were also reminded that, although they had legally elected Mr. Lincoln President, they were nearly a million in the minority at the polls; and being so largely in the minority, if they secured the application of their principles to three-fourths of the common estate, they could justly boast of a great victory before the world, and enjoy their political triumph in peace.

For a time these views seemed to have influence with the more conservative of that party; but the radicals, ever vigilant and always impracticable, were soon on the spot, denouncing the proposition as destructive of the Republican party, and in direct contravention of that sacred instrument, the Chicago platform! They held that the people had passed upon this question at the polls, and that slavery was forever interdicted from all the territories. In vain were these men reminded that a million more men had voted against Mr. Lincoln than for him, and that the decision they claimed could by no possibility have been made. Equally vain was it to point to the imperilled attitude of the Union. They were joined to their idols, and determined to rule or ruin. To meet these objections, absurd as they were, the real friends of the Union and peace determined, after consultation, to go to the people for relief, especially as the impracticables base their action on the decision of the people. It was to that end that I myself submitted for the consideration of the Senate a bill, not as charged, to amend the Constitution in an irregular way, but to give the people in the several States and Congressional districts the opportunity to decide whether the Crittenden proposition should be submitted for the ratification of the States, as provided by the Constitution, or not; in other words, to instruct their representatives to vote for or against its submission. Nothing could be fairer or safer; it was simply going to the fountain of political authority for advice in times of serious trouble—just what our fathers did and doubtless intended we should do. Gen. Cameron and others at first declared their determination to support this proposition; but they could not stand out against the vehement denunciations of the radicals. I verily believe that, had this bill prevailed, the Crittenden proposition would have been accepted by an overwhelming majority North and South; but it fell, at the hands of the radicals, as did all other efficient means of settlement. I envy not the position of men who not only persistently refused, as representatives, to offer or accept any effective means of averting our present calamities, but in addition denied the people the opportunity of settling the question for themselves; and for this great wrong they must answer to their constituents.

But ever since that time, wily politicians of the Republican party, hoping to mitigate these crimes against the country, have been alleging that some Republican members did vote for the Crittenden proposition, and others against them. Not only this, but the Hon. John Brough, the Republican candidate for Governor in Ohio, has recently asserted that the Crittenden proposition had been tendered to the Southern by the Northern members of Congress, and rejected. Why, gentlemen, Mr. Brough is utterly mistaken; he must be the dupe of some lying newspaper. No statement could be more destitute of truth than this; it is "baseless as the fabric of a vision." The reverse is much nearer the truth, and I intend to prove it. But I have reason to thank Mr. Brough for the statement, for he thereby admits the admissibility of the proposition, and that it ought to have been accepted by the Republicans. The truth is, it was offered by the Northern Democrats and Southern Senators to the Republicans, and by them rejected. I challenge Mr. Brough or any other man, to show where any Republican member of Congress spoke for or voted for the Crittenden proposition. I aver that they invariably and unitedly opposed it. It never was considered in the House of Representatives; and I am too familiar with what occurred in the Senate to be mistaken on any essential point. The Republicans of that body opposed it without any exceptions. Their opposition took the usual form of amendments and postponement. On the 14th of January, 1861, they cast a united vote against its consideration, and they did the same thing on the 15th. On the 17th they voted for Mr Clark's motion to strike out the Crittenden proposition and insert certain resolutions agreeable to themselves. On this vote the yeas were twenty-five, and the nays twenty-three, so Mr. Clark's amendment prevailed, and the Crittenden proposition was defeated. This is the vote on which the cotton State Senators withheld their votes, and of this which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Gen. Cameron, as though alarmed at what had been done, immediately moved a reconsideration of the vote. This motion came up for consideration the next day, being the 18th, when Gen. Cameron (to his shame be it said) voted against his own motion, and was sustained by every member of the Republican party. The final vote was not taken until the 8d of March, when every Northern Democrat and every Southern Senator then present voted in the affirmative, and every Republican in the negative. The truth is, the radicals of that body showed no inclination to settle; they sneered at the attitude of the South and at the suggestion of real danger.—It is well known that when the Peace Conference was in session these men exerted themselves to have it filled with impracticable radicals. Mr Chandler and Mr Harlan were detected in this unworthy effort.

But more and worse. After these impracticable radicals had succeeded in so diluting the proceedings of the "Peace Conference" as to destroy their influence on the Southern mind, and they were referred to a committee of the Senate, composed of Messrs. Crittenden, Seward, Thompson, Trumbull and myself—Mr. Seward, in that committee, in a spirit of sarcasm and ridicule, because even that much had been done toward settlement, moved to strike out those proceeding and insert certain futile words of his own. He afterwards did this in open Senate. When Mr. Crittenden remonstrated against his course, he replied with that profound complacency for which he is so remarkable: "Why, gentlemen, this excitement is totally unnecessary; the troubles you are so alarmed about will not last ninety days."

Why, gentlemen, this class of men were as determined against any compromise as were Messrs. Wigfall and Iverson. Mr. Wade, with whom I served in the Committee of Thirteen, seemed to become distressed and indignant at the slightest indications of settlement. About the same time it was that Mr. Greeley was encouraging the "wayward sisters to depart in peace," for the sole purpose, as it now appears, of inaugurating a war of extermination against slavery, for I suppose no one will deny that the overthrow of slavery and not the restoration of the Union is now the real object of the Greeley school of fanatics.

But it is now said that the Southern members of Congress could have adopted the Crittenden Compromise had they desired to do so.—No allegation could be more preposterous. Why, everybody knows that the Southern members were largely in the minority in both branches of Congress; how then could they adopt anything without Northern aid? But everybody knows, besides, that the Constitution requires a vote of two-thirds in both branches to submit amendments to the Constitution; not having a majority in either branch, how could the Southern members cast a two-third vote in both? The truth is, that with the vote of every Southern Senator and every Northern Democrat, it would still have required some eight or nine Republican votes to have submitted the proposition as an amendment to the Constitution, and not one was given on any occasion. But, suppose the allegation was true, what could it have availed to have adopted any measure by a mere party or sectional vote? Such action would have been about as effectual as the "Pope's Bull against the comet," or Mr. Lincoln's proclamation freeing the slaves in the heart of the revolted States. The Republican was the dominant party in the North, and no adjustment could prevail in the States without their active support, and this was perfectly understood in the South.

But I am aware that the circumstances of six or eight Senators from the cotton State withholding their votes on Mr. Clark's amendment has been made the basis for this latter allegation. Now, gentlemen, see how plain a tale will put down this fabric, behind which these men seek to conceal their own deformities. It is true that these cotton State Senators did withhold their votes on the 17th, thereby allowing Mr. Clark's amendment to prevail over the Crittenden proposition; but it is equally true that when Gen. Cameron's motion to reconsider this vote came up the next day, those Senators, or as many of them as were present, repented their error of the day before; and cast their votes for the reconsideration, and it was carried by their votes; and thus, by their action, the compromise was placed in precisely the same position which it occupied the day before. But if it was a grave error in the cotton States Senators to withhold their votes from the Compromise in this single instance, what can be said for the Republicans who stood up against it on that and all other votes?

It is also said that the Southern Senators would not have accepted Mr. Crittenden's proposition had it been tendered them by the dominant party. I never saw any sufficient reason for this allegation. With few exceptions they were openly for it. Mr. Iverson and Mr. Wigfall were against any settlement, but their influence was quite limited. Mr. Slidell and Mr. Mason were in the habit of dismissing the subject by saying the other side intended to do nothing. Mr. Hunter voted for it in the Committee of Thirteen. Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, when the danger became imminent, frequently declared to me his willingness to accept it. Mr. Mallory was openly for it, and I read a letter from him, dated about the time of the secession of Florida, addressed to Mr. Russell, his former Secretary, in which he said that Florida would come back into the Union on the basis of the Crittenden resolutions.

Mr. Davis and Mr. Toombs, in the Committee of Thirteen, both declared their willingness to accept and sustain it, if the Republican side would unite with them in good faith. Mr. Toombs said so in open Senate, as will appear on page 270, *Congressional Globe*, first part, Thirty-fifth Congress.

The following statements made by Mr. Douglas, in the course of an elaborate speech, on the 3d of January, 1861, is conclusive on this point:

"If you of the Republican side are not willing to accept this nor the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky, pray tell us what you will do? I address the inquiry to the Republicans alone, for the reason that in the Committee of Thirteen, a few days ago, EVERY MEMBER FROM THE SOUTH, including those from the Cotton States, (Messrs. Davis and Toombs) *expressed their readiness to accept the proposition of my venerable friend from Kentucky as a final settlement of the controversy,* if tendered and sustained by the Republican members. Hence the sole responsibility of our disagreement, and the only difficulty in the way of an amicable adjustment, is with the Republican party."

These remarks were made, as I well remember, before a very full Senate—in the presence of nearly, if not quite all, the Republicans and Southern Senators, and no one dare to dispute the facts stated.

Mr. Pugh, on the 2d day of March, in the course of a very able speech, remarked:

"The Crittenden proposition has been endorsed by the almost unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky. It has been endorsed by the Legislature of the noble old Commonwealth of Virginia. It has been petitioned for by a larger number of electors of the United States than any proposition that was ever before Congress. I believe in my heart, to-day, that it would carry an overwhelming majority of the people of my State; aye, sir, and of nearly every other State in the Union. Before the Senators from the State of Mississippi left this chamber, *I heard one of them, who assumes, at least, to be President of the Southern Confederacy, propose to accept it, and to maintain the Union if that proposition could receive the vote it ought to receive from the other side of this Chamber.*"

Mr. Douglas, at the same time, said in reply:

"I can confirm the Senator's declaration that *Senator Davis himself, when on the Committee of Thirteen was ready at all times to compromise on the Crittenden proposition. I will go further, and say that Mr. Toombs was also ready to do so.*"

But if this testimony were not in existence at all, do we not all know that the great State of Virginia endorsed this proposition and submitted it to the other States as a basis of a final adjustment and permanent peace? It was this basis on which that State called for the Peace Conference which assembled soon thereafter.

It was also endorsed by almost the unanimous vote of the Legislature of Kentucky, and subsequently by those of Tennessee and North Carolina.

When the struggle was at its height in Georgia, between Robert Toombs for secession and A. H. Stephens against it, had those men in the Committee of Thirteen, who are now so blameless in their own estimation, given us their votes, or even three of them, Stephens would have defeated Toombs, and secession would have been prostrated. I heard Mr. Toombs say to Mr. Douglas that the result in Georgia was staked on the action of the Committee of Thirteen. If it accepted the Crittenden proposition, Stephens would defeat him; if not, he would carry the State out by 40,000 majority. The three votes from the Republican side would have carried it at any time; but Union and Peace in the balance against the Chicago platform were sure to be found wanting.

But all attempts at settlement failed. Secession and war suddenly followed; and upon Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward devolved the duty of directing a bloody strife, which they could much more readily have averted. I have never united in complaints against the administration for a want of vigor in the prosecution of the war. I think it has been managed with decided vigor and some ability; but the political policy necessarily connected with the war has been, in my judgment, the worst for the Union that the wit of man could devise, tending directly to unite the Southern and divide the Northern people. This would seem to be an inexcusable error, for the division in Southern sentiment could not have been missunderstood by the administration. It never was more apparent than in the large vote against secession in Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana. Indeed, at the beginning, the opponents of secession were in a decided majority in most of these States, and commanded a large majority in all those now claiming to be out of the Union. In these struggles the Unionists maintained that the then incoming administration contemplated no interference with the local institutions of the slaveholding States, and that it was the true policy of those States to remain in the Union and contend for their rights and equality under the Constitution. The secessionists reasoned to the contrary; and it was for the administration to sustain one side or the other. For a time we had reason to hope that the Union men would be sustained; that the war would be conducted on the principles of the resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives, in July, 1861; and that in case of a decided defeat of the rebel army in the field, (which originally represented only the secessionists and the *de facto* government,) the Unionists would rise up and overthrow Davis and his associates, and bring the revolted States back to their wonted allegiance. This was my hope, and almost my only hope for the Union, after war began; but this hope was blasted by the unwise measures of Mr. Lincoln and his cabinet. Their policy sustained the rebels and broke down the Unionists. One after another, in rapid succession, came the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; the act of confiscation, (harmful only in some of its parts;) the message of the President for compensated emancipation, a measure totally unwarranted by the Constitution; his proclamation freeing the slaves in the revolted States, WHETHER BELONGING TO LOYAL OR REBEL MASTERS; and next the admission of West Virginia as a State of the Union, in utter violation of the fundamental law of the land; interspersed by impolitic orders, sayings and proclamations of the generals in the field; and thus, step by step, the men of the South who had defended the North and contended for the Union—chagrined, disheartened and humiliated—were literally driven into the ranks of the secessionists. But for these impolitic measures the war would probably have terminated ere this.

I never had much faith in war as an agency of Union. It looks to me very like a paradox. I thought it should have been avoided at any reasonable sacrifice, and I exerted myself to the utmost to attain that end. Nevertheless, when war began as a means to save the Union, I wished it success in that good work; and there were times in the course of its progress when I thought that, with the proper political policy on the part of the administration, the desired end might have been attained. But this always failed. That policy would have conducted the war as though slavery had not existed—have looked steadily for help to the enemies of secession in the South, and not to the negro or the cause of the negro. Such policy would doubtless have divided the Southern people, and possibly overthrown the *de facto* government at Richmond. But, even with this bad policy, if, at a recent date, after the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and the defeat of Lee's army at Gettysburg, the President had, in the attitude of a victor, addressed himself to the people of the Southern States, assuring them that the government at Washington had no pleasure in their misfortunes and sufferings—that it did not seek their humiliation or subjugation, but simply desired to maintain the Government as it had descended from the fathers, and that so soon as resistance to the authority of the Government within any State ceased, its equal rights and dignities with the other States should be promptly recognized and abundantly guaranteed, visiting the penalties for resistance, whatever they might be, upon the leaders—it is quite probable, indeed there are many things which justify the impression, that we should now witness decided, if not successful, movements in the South against the rebellion. But instead of this, men from Louisiana, who sought the countenance of the Government in an effort to bring that State back into the Union, were dismissed with an intimation that slavery must first be abolished.

Not only this, but it seems now to be a grave question at Washington what kind of a war it has been on the other side—whether a war of States, as alien enemies outside of the Union, or a wide-spread insurrection within the several States. If the former, then, when defeated, the rebel States could only resume their functions in the Union on such terms as the conqueror might grant; if the latter, then, when resistance ceases within a State, it would resume its functions as heretofore. I do not intend to discuss these points, for I do not concur in either of these positions; but it seems to me clear that those who have denied the right of a State to go out of the Union by its own action, cannot now hold that the States are alien enemies, though the secessionists may do so. But of this I am very certain: if it be announced, as signified by Mr. Whiting, an intimate friend of the President, that the revolted States can only resume their functions in the Union on such terms as the Administration may prescribe, it would become a fresh and powerful incentive to renewed efforts and continued resistance in the Southern States, leading them probably to the adoption of a guerrilla mode of warfare, by which means the strife might be prolonged for an indefinite period.

But what do all these impolitic steps mean? Are there to be no efforts for settlement and Union? Is subjugation or extermination to be the word? Why, Mr. Lincoln told us in his inaugural: "If you go to war, you cannot fight always; and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions of intercourse will be upon you." Mr. Lincoln never uttered a wiser sentiment. It shows that before the war began, he anticipated the necessity of stopping it to adjust its causes. He manifestly then contemplated a war for the Union only, not for subjugation or extermination; and thus he could see that the Union could only be restored by negotiation and settlement—that subjugation or extermination would not give back the Union. Both are against the Union; and there was great philosophy in his sentiment, and had he adhered to it, and adhered to the resolution of Mr. Crittenden, adopted by Congress in 1861, he would doubtless have done his country a vital service. But the counsels of the radicals prevailed; and, gentlemen, I fear they always will prevail.

I do not care at this time to discuss terms of settlement; but I am exceedingly anxious that Mr. Lincoln should recur to that wise paragraph in his inaugural. God knows, we have had "much loss on both sides and no gain on either," and now we should like exceedingly to have "the identical questions of intercourse" and settlement. We have had losses enough, blood enough, taxes enough, drafts and conscriptions enough. We now want peace—such peace as will save the country—as will give us the Union as it was, or a Union as similar as possible. Give us at least peaceful agencies with the sword, if we have not fought enough to make it patriotic to attempt to cease. At least let the olive branch and the sword go into the South side by side, as they did in Mexico, if the fratricidal strife cannot entirely terminate.

But, gentlemen, whilst shedding rivers of blood and spending countless treasure to put down rebellion in the South, let us not forget that liberty is as dear to us as Union—that Union without liberty would be a barren achievement—"a word of promise to the ear, to be broken to the hope." Let us rather adopt the great sentiment of Webster, "Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever;" for liberty and Union are now both imperiled. The great principles of civil liberty, for which Hampden and Sydney suffered in England nearly two centuries ago, and the love of which brought our ancestors to this country, are imperiled by the incidents of this cruel war.

Whilst repelling the heresy of secession, let us beware lest we become the victims of others quite as intolerable. In the midst of a bloody struggle with secession another issue has sprung up quite as startling—the issue of popular liberty on the one hand and Executive power on the other. From the beginning I have feared this tendency as an incident of war, even in prudent hands. Indeed, I shall never forget the remark of a sagacious citizen, at the beginning of the war, touching its tendencies. He said it would give us dissolution or despotism; and unless the people were unusually vigilant in guarding their rights, it would give us both. The States would be separated, and both sections become subject to despotic rule. The startling sentiment has lingered on my mind ever since, and the recollection of it has been often renewed by the encroachments upon constitutional liberty by the Cabinet at Washington.

Not only is an open, manly dissent from the policy of the administration held to be disloyalty to the Government, but Mr. Lincoln, in his Albany letter, has enunciated the extraordinary doctrine that "the man who stands by and says nothing, while the peril of his country is discussed, is to be suspected—much more so he who speaks for his country with *ifs* and *buts*." In the name of Heaven, has it come to this? Cannot a man speak or think his sentiments without being suspected of disloyalty to the Government? "Much more so, he who speaks with *buts* and *ifs!*" I have thought and spoken much, as doubtless you all have; and yet, as God is my judge, I have never had a thought in favor of disunion; I never uttered a sentiment in favor of that wicked work; and yet I should despise myself, were I capable of so far sacrificing my own judgment as to agree with Mr. Lincoln in his policy. I have differed with him, not because I was less for the Union than he, but because my clear convictions were that the Union never could be saved on his political policy. So feeling I must so speak, come what may.

But to return. If any man has practiced crime against the government, let him be arrested, tried and convicted, and punished according to law, but not kidnapped and incarcerated, and denied the writ of *habeas corpus*, to which writ even the criminal is entitled, and to deny which is to place the liberties of every citizen at the disposal of a single man. Gentlemen, we shall not act our part as freemen if we fail to resist these aggressions by all the influence we can command. The Constitution expressly guarantees freedom of speech and of the press, yet everybody knows that private citizens have been arrested and imprisoned in numerous instances in utter disregard of this clause. The freedom of the press has been abridged by a system of *espionage* and Cabinet and military orders. The Constitution also provides that in all cases of criminal prosecution the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial. This has been denied in many cases. Indeed, the whole of the Sixth article of the Constitution has been treated as a dead letter.

But the most alarming heresy of the times is that which measures authority by necessity; in other words, which determines the authority of the President by the opinion he may entertain as to what measures will best enable him to suppress the rebellion. Whatever in his opinion will best enable him to do this, the war power, it is contended, authorizes him to adopt. Away go your Constitution and laws "at one fell swoop!" A member of Congress happens to differ with the Executive, and forthwith the President concludes that it will best enable him to suppress the rebellion to have the refractory fellow kidnapped for a while, and so he is promptly called upon by a military provost. As many members as complain of the act are disposed of in the same way, until Congress is composed only of "loyal" friends of the President, and the Legislative department is absorbed by the Executive. An opinion of a judge is unsatisfactory to the President, and forthwith Mr. Seward rings that potential bell, now so familiar in foreign courts, and the judge is sent to prison on the unanswerable plea that it will best enable the President to put down the rebellion; and so on till the Judicial department is merged in the Executive, and the President clothed with dictatorial powers. I do not charge Mr. Lincoln with any such purpose; I hope better things; some fear it; but surely all hope that no such design has ever entered the brain of any one in authority; and on this we all agree that whosoever first seriously entertains the idea will merit all the chastisement that man can visit upon man, and all the punishment reserved for the damned hereafter. Should we now acquiesce in these false doctrines, some time hence, when a worse man than Mr. Lincoln becomes President, he might attempt, under the authority of these precedents, to usurp the Government and declare himself a dictator.

Now, gentlemen, I think I have shown you that the men now in authority have failed to redeem their oft-vaunted promises of honesty and economy in the management of the Government; that they had an important part in sowing the seeds of discord between the North and South which culminated in secession and rebellion; that their doctrines served to stimulate and cherish jealousies and hostilities between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States; that by reason of their fanatical feelings against slavery, they are utterly incapable