COLUMBIA DEMOCRAT,

AND BLOOMSBURG GENERAL ADVERTISER.

LEVI L. TATE, Editor.] TO HOLD AND TRIM THE TORCH OF TRUTH AND WAVE IT O'ER THE DARKENED EARTH." [TERMS: $2.00 PER ANNUM.

VOL. 16.—NO. 48. BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PENN'A., SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1863. VOLUME 26

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY, BY
LEVI L. TATE.
IN BLOOMSBURG, COLUMBIA COUNTY, PA.

OFFICE

"In the new Brick Building, opposite the Exchange, by side of the Court House. "Democratic Head Quarters."

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

$1 00 In advance, for one copy, for six months.
1 75 In advance, for one copy, one year.
2 00 If not paid within the first three months.
2 25 If not paid within the first six months.
2 50 If not paid within the year.

☞ No subscription taken for less than six months, and no paper discontinued until all arrearages shall have been paid.

ADVERTISEMENTS inserted conspicuously at *one dollar* per square, of 10 lines each, for the three first insertions and twenty-five cents, per square, for every subsequent insertion, until ordered discontinued.

JOB WORK, of every description, neatly and cheaply executed at the shortest notice

1863. 1863.

Philadelphia & Erie Rail Road.

This great line traverses the Northern and Northwest counties of Pennsylvania to the city of Erie, on Lake Erie.

It has been leased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and under their auspices is being rapidly opened throughout its entire length.

It is now in use for Passenger and Freight business from Harrisburg to Grove Flat, (124 miles) on the Eastern Division, and from Sheffield to Erie on the Western Division, (72 miles.)

TIME OF PASSENGER TRAINS AT NORTHUMBERLAND.

Mail Train leaves, East		1 25 P. M.
Express Train "	"	11 06 "
Mail " "	West	5 04 "
Express " "	"	6 32 A. M.

Cars run through with express both ways on these trains between Philadelphia and Lock Haven, and Baltimore and Lock Haven. New and elegant Sleeping Cars accompanying the Express Train both ways between Williamsport and Baltimore, and Williamsport and Philadelphia.

For information respecting Passenger business, apply at the S. E. Cor. 11th and Market Sts.

And for Freight business of the Company's Agents: S. S. Kingston, Jr., Cor. 11th and Market Sts., Phil'a. J. W. Reynolds, Erie.
J. M. Drill, Agent N. C. R. R., Baltimore.
H. H. Houston, Genl. Freight Agt., Philadelphia.
Lewis C. Hough, Genl. Ticket Agt., Philadelphia.
Joseph Potts, Genl. Manager, Williamsport.
January 17, 1863.

LIST OF CAUSES

FOR FEBRUARY TERM, 1863.

1 Samuel Kistler vs John K Grotz & Dr. Geo W L
2 Henry Wertman vs John K Grotz & Dr Geo W L
3 Philip Winterstein vs Valentine Winterstein, ot
4 Hugh Thompson, et al vs A S Pierce ot
5 Daniel Sechler vs A S Pierce et al.
6 Henry Wolfe vs George Kinley, jr.
7 Jacob Eyer vs Abraham Klase.
8 Abraham Klase vs Jacob Eyer.
9 David Lee et al vs Simon L Bettle
10 Daniel Sechler et vs Joseph Gensil
11 Elijah Mc Interstein et al vs Benjamin Wolf
12 Elijah Freas vs John Peterman et al.
13 John H. Brown et al vs Edward B Rupert.
14 Peter S. Traub vs Aaron Clayton.
15 Samuel Hutchinson vs Silas S Edgar.
16 James Fleming vs Silas Sloop.
17 Lewis Barton vs Robert Hagenbuch.
18 Rosannah Yarish vs Robert Hagenbuch.
19 Andrew Yarish vs Robert Hagenbuch.
20 Isaiah H Freas vs Wm Bider.
21 John A Gowan vs Elizah D Dillon.
22 William L Parker vs Elizabeth Robbins.
23 Jacob Bond vs Thomas Nagle.
24 Jacob Bond vs Thomas Nagle.
25 George Knight et al vs J V Criswell et al.
26 Daniel Reynolds vs Richard Gower.
27 Caleb Barnes et al vs Edwin Holmes' Admr'x.
28 Ingesol P Stoker vs Wm Bider.
29 W A Kline vs G W Hoffman et al.
30 The Miner's Bank et al vs Edwin M Hollar.

SHERIFF'S SALES.

By virtue of sundry writs of *Venditioni Exponas*, to me directed, issued out of the Court of Common Pleas of Columbia county, will be exposed to public sale on

Saturday, Thirty first of January, 1863,

at one o'clock, p. m., of said day at the Court House, in Bloomsburg, the following Real Estate to wit:—

All that certain lot of ground situate in Espy, Scott township, Columbia county, Pennsylvania, being forty-one and a half feet front and one hundred and ninety three feet in depth, bounded as follows to wit:—on the north by lot of Mrs McKinney, on the northeast by lot of H Wilhelmy, on the south by Main street, and on the west by lot of Wm Vaunckler, north by Main st. and south by an alley, whereon are erected a good Frame Dwelling House and stable with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

One other Lot situate in Espy township and county aforesaid, on Mill street, north of Main street, being Lot No. 74 in plan of said town, being eighty two and one half feet front and one hundred & seventy three feet in depth, whereon are erected a good Frame Dwelling House a Frame Stable with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

Two other Town Lots lying contageous to each other, and situate in Espy township and county aforesaid, fronting on Mill street, being one hundred and sixty five feet in front and one hundred and seventy three feet in depth, bounded on the west by lands of —— Fox, on the north by Isaac Crevelling, whereon are erected a large Planing Mill and a large Finishing Shop, with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

One other tract or parcel of land, situate in Greenwood township, Columbia county, containing eighty-eight acres, well timbered, bounded and described as follows to wit:—on the north by lands of Clark Merrill on the west by lands of Nicholas Kinel, and on the south by lands of James Patterson, whereon are erected a good Saw Mill, a good Frame Dwelling House and a Barn, with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

One other Lot situate in Espy, Columbia county, said lot being one hundred and ninety six feet in width and two hundred and thirty feet in depth, bounded as follows to wit:—on the northeast by lands of John Kressler, on the north by an alley, on the west by a street, and on the south by the North Branch Canal, are erected a large Steam Mill, a good Frame Dwelling House and a Frame Barn, with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

One other Lot situate in Espy, township and county aforesaid, fronting sixty feet on Main st., and one hundred and eighty feet in depth to an alley, bounded on the west by lot of ground belonging to —— Brobst, northeast by lands of J. Evans, whereon are erected a good Frame House and Stable with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

One other Lot situate in Espy, township and county aforesaid, fronting one hundred and twenty feet on Main street, and one hundred and eighty feet in depth, bounded on the west by lands of Thomas Fowler, on the northeast by lands of A. Snyder, on the north by an alley, and on the south by Main street, whereon are erected a large Frame Dwelling House a Frame Stable and other outbuildings with the appurtenances.

ALSO:

Two other Lots situate in Espy, township and county aforesaid, bounded and described as follows to wit:—on the northeast by lands of Silas Edgar, on the west by lands occupied by Samuel Fowler, on the south by an alley, and north by Main street, being sixty feet in front and one hundred and eighty feet in depth, whereon are erected two good Frame Dwelling Houses, good Stables, with outbuildings with the appurtenances.

Seized, taken in execution and to be sold as the property of Thomas W. Edgar.

ALSO:

At the same time and place by virtue of a writ of *Levari Facias* all those three certain Lots of Ground, with the buildings and improvements thereon erected, lying contagious to each other in "Robert's Addition" adjoining the town of Catawissa, being three Lots marked and numbered on the plot and plan of said Robert's Addition number fifty-six, fifty-seven and fifty eight, forming one whole square in said plot or plan, of two hundred and ten feet in length and the same in breadth, bounded on the east by Fourth street of said Robert's Addition, on the north by Walnut street, on the west by an alley, and on the South by the boundary line of said Robert's Addition to the town of Catawissa.

Seized, taken in execution and to be sold as the property of Truman M. Hubble and Mary Ann his wife.

SHERIFF'S OFFICE, Bloomsburg, Jan. 10, 1863. } JOSIAH H. FURMAN, Sheriff

Choice Poetry.

IMPERISHABLE.

The pure, the bright, the beautiful,
That stirred our hearts in youth,
The impulse to a worldless prayer,
The dreams of love and truth,
The longings after something lost,
The spirit's yearning cry;
The strivings after better hopes,
These things can never die.

The timid hand stretched forth to aid
A brother in his need,
The kindly word in grief's dark hour
That proves the friend indeed,
The pleading for mercy, softly breathed,
When justice threatens high;
The sorrow of a contrite heart,
These things shall never die.

The memory of a clasping hand,
The pressure of a kiss,
And all the trifles, sweet and frail,
That make up love's first bliss,
If with a firm, unchanging faith,
And holy trust and high,
Those hands have clasped, those lips have met,
These things shall never die.

The cruel and the bitter word,
That wounded as it fell;
The chilling want of sympathy,
We feel but never tell,
The hard repulse, that closes the heart
Whose hopes were becoming high,
In an unfailing record kept,
These things shall never die!

Let nothing pass, for every hand
Must find some work to do;
Lose not a chance to waken love—
Be firm and just, and true.
So shall a light that cannot fade
Beam on thee from on high,
And angel voices say to thee,
These things shall never die.

SPEECH

OF

Hon. C. L. Vallandigham,

OF OHIO,

In the House of Reps., January 14, 1863.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM. Mr. Speaker, indorsed at the recent election within the same district for which I still hold a seat on this floor, by a majority four times greater than ever before, I speak to-day in the name and by the authority of the people who, for six years, have intrusted me with the office of a Representative.—Loyal, in the true and highest sense of the word, to the Constitution and the Union, they have proved themselves devotedly attached to and worthy of the liberties to secure which the Union and the Constitution were established. With candor and freedom, therefore, as their Representative, and much plainness of speech, but with the dignity and decency due to this presence, I propose to consider the state of the Union to-day, and to inquire what the duty is of every public man and every citizen in this the very crisis of the Great Revolution.

It is now two years, sir, since Congress assembled soon after the Presidential election. A sectional anti-slavery party had then just succeeded through the forms of the Constitution. For the first time a President had been chosen upon a platform of avowed hostility to an institution peculiar to nearly one half of the States of the Union, and who had himself proclaimed that there was an irrepressible conflict because of that institution between the States; and that the Union could not endure 'part slave and part free.' Congress met, therefore, in the midst of the profoundest agitation, not here only but throughout the entire South. Revolution glared upon us. Repeated efforts for conciliation and compromise were attempted in Congress and out of it. All were rejected by the party just coming into power, except only by the promise of the last hours of the session, and that, too, against the consent of a majority of that party both in the Senate and House; that Congress—not the Executive—should never be authorized to abolish or interfere with slavery in the States where it existed—South Carolina seceded; Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas speedily followed. The Confederate government was established. The other slave States held back. Virginia demanded a peace congress. The Commissioners met, and after some time, agreed upon terms of final adjustment.—But neither in the Senate nor the House were they allowed even a respectful consideration. The President elect left his home in February, and journeyed towards this capitol, jesting as he came, proclaiming that the crisis was only artificial, and that "nobody was hurt." He entered the city under cover of night and in disguise. On the 4th of March he was inaugurated, surrounded by soldiery; and, swearing to support the Constitution of the United States announced in the same breath that the platform of his party should be the law unto him. From that moment all hope of peaceable adjustment fled. But for a little while, either with unsteadfast sincerity or premeditated deceit, the policy of peace was proclaimed, even to the evacuation of Sumpter and the other Federal forts and arsenals in the seceded States. Why that policy was suddenly abandoned, time will fully disclose. But just after the spring elections, and the secret meeting in this city of the Governors of several northern and western States, a fleet carrying a large number of men was sent down ostensibly to provision Fort Sumpter. The authorities of South Carolina eagerly accepted the challenge, and bombarded the fort into surrender, while the fleet fired not a gun, but, just so soon as the flag was struck, bore away and returned to the North. It was Sunday, the 14th of April, 1861; and that day the President, in fatal haste and without the advice or consent of Congress, issued his proclamation, dated the next day, calling out seventy-five thousand militia for three months, to repossess the forts, places, and property seized from the United States, and commanding the insurgents to disperse in twenty days. Again the gage was taken up by the South, and thus the flames of a civil war, the grandest, bloodiest, and saddest in histosy, lighted up the whole heavens. Virginia seceded. North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas followed; Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were in a blaze of agitation, and within a week from the proclamation, the line of the Confederate States was transferred from the cotton States to the Potomac, and almost to the Ohio and the Missouri, and their population and fighting men doubled.

In the North and West, too, the storm raged with the fury of a hurricane. Never in history was anything equal to it.—Men, women, and children, native and foreign born, Church and State, clergy and laymen, were all swept along with the current. Distinction of age, sex, station, party, perished in an instant. Thousands bent before the tempest; and here and there only was one found bold enough, foolhardy enough it may have been, to bend not, and him it smote fell as a consuming fire. The spirit of persecution for opinion's sake, almost extinct in the Old World, now, by some mysterious transmigration, appeared incarnate in the New. Social relations were dissolved; friendships broken up; the ties of family and kindred snapped asunder. Stripes and hanging were everywhere threatened, sometimes executed. Assassination was invoked; slander sharpened his tooth; falsehood crushed truth to the earth; reason fled: madness reigned. Not justice only escaped to the skies, but peace returned to the bosom of God, whence she came. The gospel of love perished; hate sat enthroned, and the sacrifices of blood smoked upon every altar.

But the reign of the mob was inaugurated only to be supplanted by the iron domination of arbitrary power. Constitutional limitation was broken down; *habeas corpus* fell; liberty of the press, of speech, of the person, of mails, of travel, of one's own house, and of religion; the right to bear arms, due process of law, judicial trial, trial by jury, trial at all; every badge and muniment of freedom in republican government or kingly government—all went down at a blow; and the chief law officer of the crown—I beg pardon, sir, but it is easy now to fall into the courtly language—the Attorney General, first of all men, proclaimed in the United States the maxim of Roman servility: *Whatever pleases the President, that is law!* Prisoners of State were then first heard of here. Midnight and arbitrary arrest commenced; travel was interdicted, trade embargoed, passports demanded, bastiles were introduced, strange oaths invented, a secret police organized, "piping" began, informers multiplied, spies now first appeared in America. The right to declare war, to raise and support armies, and to provide and maintain a navy was usurped by the Executive; and a little more than two months a land and naval force of over three hundred thousand men was in the field or upon the sea. An army of public plunderers followed, and corruption struggled with power in friendly strife for the mastery at home

On the 4th of July Congress met, not to seek peace, not to rebuke usurpation nor to restrain power, not certainly to deliberate, not even to legislate, but register and ratify the edicts and acts of the Executive; in your language, sir, upon the first day of the session, to invoke a universal baptism of fire and blood amid the roar of cannon and the din of battle. Free speech was had only at the risk of prison; possibly of life. Opposition was silenced by the fierce clamor of "disloyalty." All business not of war was voted out of order. Five hundred thousand men, an immense navy, and two hundred and fifty millions of money were speedily granted. In twenty, at most in sixty days the rebellion was to be crushed out. To doubt it was treason. Abject submission was demanded. Lay down your arms, sue for peace, surrender your leaders—forfeiture, death—this was the only language heard on this floor. The galleries responded, the corridors echoed, and contractors and placemen and other venal patriots everywhere gnashed upon the friends of peace as they passed by. In five weeks seventy eight public and private acts and joint resolutions, with declaratory resolutions, in the Senate and House, quite as numerous, all full of slaughter, were hurried through without delay and almost without debate.

Thus was civil war inaugurated in America. Can any man to day see the end of it?

And now pardon me, sir, if I pause here a moment to define my own position at this time upon this great question.

Sir, I am one of that number who have opposed abolitionism, or the political development of the anti-slavery sentiment of the North and West, from the beginning. In school, at college, at the bar, in public assemblies, in the Legislature, in Congress, boy and man, as a private citizen and in public life, in time of peace and in time of war, at all times and at every sacrifice, I have fought against it. It cost me ten years exclusion from office and honor, at that period of life when honors are sweetest. No matter: I learned early to do right and to wait. Sir, it is but the development of the spirit of intermeddling, whose children are strife and murder.—Cain troubled himself about the sacrifices of Abel, and slew him. Most of the wars, contentions, litigation, and bloodshed, from the beginning of time, have been its fruits. The spirit of non-intervention is the very spirit of peace and concord. I do not believe that if slavery had never existed here we would have had no sectional controversies. This very civil war might have happened fifty, perhaps a hundred years later. Other and stronger causes of discontent and of disunion, it may be, have existed between other States and sections, are now being developed every day into maturity. The spirit of intervention assumed the form of abolitionism because slavery was odious in name and by association to the Northern mind, and because it was that which most obviously marks the different civilizations of the two sections. The South herself, in her early and later efforts to rid herself of it, had exposed the weak and offensive parts of slavery to the world. Abolition intermeddling taught her at last to search for and defend the assumed social, economic, and political merit and values of the institution. But there never was an hour from the beginning when it did not seem to me as clear as the sun at broad noon, that the agitation in any form in the North and West of the slavery question must sooner or later end in disunion and civil war. This was the opinion and prediction for years of Whig and Democratic statesman alike; and after the unfortunate dissolution of the Whig party in 1854, and the organization of the present Republican party upon an exclusively anti-slavery and sectional basis, the event was inevitable; because, in the then existing temper of the public mind, and after the education through the press and by the pulpit, the lecture and the political canvass for twenty years, of a generation taught to hate slavery and the South, the success of that party, possessed, as it was, of every engine of political business, social, and religious influence, was certain. It was only a question of time, and short time.—Such was its strength, indeed, that I do not believe that the union of the Democratic party in 1860 on any candidate, even though he had been supported also by the entire so called conservative or anti Lincoln vote of the country, would have availed to defeat it; and if it had, the success of the abolition party would only have been postponed four years longer. The disease had fastened too strongly upon the system to be healed until it had run its course. The doctrine of the "irrepressible conflict" had been taught too long and accepted too widely and earnestly to die out, until it should culminate in secession and disunion; and, if coercion were resorted to, then in civil war. I believed from the first that it was the purpose of some of the apostles of that doctrine to force a collision between the North and South, either to bring about a separation or to find a vain but bloody pretext for abolishing slavery in the States. In any event, I knew, or thought I knew, that the end was certain collision, and death to the Union.

Believing thus, I have for years past denounced those who taught that doctrine with all the vehemence, the bitterness, if you choose—I thought it a righteous, a patriotic bitterness—of an earnest and impassioned nature. Thinking thus, I forewarned all who believed the doctrine, or followed the party which taught it, with a sincerity and a depth of conviction as profound as ever penetrated the heart of man. And when, for eight years past, over and over again, I have proclaimed to the people that the success of a sectional anti-slavery party would be the beginning of disunion and civil war in America, I believed it. I did. I had read history, and studied human nature, and meditated for years upon the character of our institutions and form of government, and of the people South as well as North; and I could not doubt the event. But the people did not believe me, nor those older and wiser and greater than I. They rejected the prophecy, and stoned the prophets. The candidate of the Republican party was chosen President. Secession began. Civil war was imminent. It was no petty insurrection; no temporary combination to obstruct the execution of the laws in certain States; but a REVOLUTION, systematic, deliberate, determined, and with the consent of a majority of the people of each State which seceded. Causeless it may have been; wicked it may have been; but there it was, not to be railed at, still less to be laughed at, but to be dealt with by statesmen as a fact. No display of vigor or force alone, however sudden or great, could have arrested it even at the outset. It was disunion at last. The wolf had come. But civil war had not yet followed. In my deliberate and most solemn judgment, there was but one wise and masterly mode of dealing with it. Non coercion would avert civil war, and compromise crush out both abolitionism and secession. The parent and the child would thus both perish. But a resort to force would at once precipitate war, hasten secession, extend disunion, and, while it lasted, utterly cut off all hope of compromise. I believed that war, if long enough continued, would be final, eternal disunion. I said it; I meant it; and accordingly, to the uttmost of my ability and influence, I exerted myself in behalf of the policy of non-coercion. It was adopted by Mr. Buchanan's Administration, with the almost unanimous consent of the Democratic and Constitutional Union parties in and out of Congress; and in February, with the concurrence of a majority of the Republican party in the Senate and this House. But that party, most disastrously for the country, refused all compromise. How, indeed, could they accept any? That which the South demanded and the Democratic and conservative parties of the North and West were willing to grant, and which alone could avail to keep the peace and save the Union, implied a surrender of the sole vital element of the party and its platform—of the very principle, in fact, upon which it had just won the contest for the Presidency; not, indeed, by a majority of the popular vote—the majority was nearly a million against it—but under the forms of the Constitution. Sir, the crime, the "high crime" of the Republican party was not so much its refusal to compromise, as its original organization upon a basis and doctrine wholly inconsistent with the stability of the Constitution and the peace of the Union.

But to resume: the session of Congress expired. The President elect was inaugurated; and now, if only the policy of non coercion could be maintained, and war thus averted, time would do its work in the North and the South, and final peaceable adjustment and reunion be secured.—Some time in March it was announced that the President had resolved to continue the policy of his predecessor, and even go a step further, and evacuate Sumter and the other Federal forts and arsenals in the seceded States. His own party acquiesced; the whole country rejoiced. The policy of non-coercion had triumphed, and for once, sir, in my life I found myself in an immense majority. No man then pretended that a Union founded in consent could be cemented by force. Nay, more, the President and the Secretary of State went further. Said Mr. Seward, in an official diplomatic letter to Mr. Adams:—

"For these reasons he (the President) would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs, (the secessionists,) namely, that the Federal Government would not reduce the seceding State to obedience by conquest, although he were disposed to question that proposition. But in fact the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State."

Pardon me, sir, but I beg to know whether this conviction of the President and his Secretary, is not the philosophy of the persistent and most vigorous efforts made by this administration, and first or all through this same Secretary, the moment war broke out and ever since till the late elections, to convert the United States into an imperial or despotic Government? But Mr. Seward adds, and I agree with him:

"This Federal Republican system of ours is, of all forms of government, the very one which is most unfitted for such a labor."

This, sir, was on the 10th of April, and yet that very day the fleet was under sail for Charleston. The policy of peace had been abandoned. Collision followed; the militia were ordered out; civil war began.

Now, sir, on the 14th of April, I believed that coercion would bring on war, and war disunion. More than that, I believed, what you all in your hearts believe to-day, that the South could never be conquered—never. And not that only but I was satisfied—and you of the abolition party have now proved it to the world—that the secret but real purpose of the war was to abolish slavery in the States. In any event, I did not doubt that whatever might be the momentary impulses of those in power, and whatever pledges they might make in the midst of the fury for the Constitution, the Union, and the flag, yet the natural and inexorable logic of revolutions would sooner or later, drive them into that policy, and with it to its final but inevitable result, the change of our present democratical form of government into an imperial despotism.

These were my convictions on the 14th of April. Had I changed them on the 15, when I read the President's proclamation, and became convinced that I had been wrong all my life, and that all history was a fable, and all human nature false in its development from the beginning of time, I would have changed my public conduct also. But my convictions did not change. I thought that if war was disunion on the 14th of April, it was equally disunion on the 15th, and at all times.—Believing this, I could not, as an honest man, a Union man and patriot, lend an active support to the war; and I did not: I had rather my right arm were plucked from its socket, and cast into eternal burnings, than, with my convictions, to have thus defiled my soul with the guilt of moral perjury. Sir, I was not taught in that school which proclaims that "all is fair in politics." I loathe, abhor, and detest the execrable maxim. I stamp upon it. No State can endure a single generation whose public men practice it. Whoever teaches it is a corrupter of youth. What we most want in these times, and at all times, is honest and independent public men. That man who is dishonest in politics is not honest at heart, in anything; and sometimes moral cowardice is dishonesty. Do right; and trust to God, and Truth, and the People. Perish office, perish honors, perish life itself; but do the thing that is right, and do it like a man. I did it.—Certainly, sir, I could not doubt what he must suffer who dare defy the opinions and the passions, not to say the madness, of twenty millions of people. Had I not read history? Did I not know human nature? But I appealed to TIME, and right nobly hath the Avenger answered me.

I did not support the war; and to-day I bless God that not the smell of so much as one drop of its blood is upon my garments. Sir, I censure no brave man who rushed patriotically into this war; neither will I quarrel with any one, here or elsewhere, who gave to it an honest support. Had their convictions been mine, I too, would doubtless have done as they did. With my convictions I could not.

But I was a Representative. War existed—by whose act no matter—not mine. The President, the Senate, the House and the country, all said that there should be war—war for the Union; a union of consent and good will. Our southern brethren were to be whipped back into love and fellowship at the point of the bayonet. Oh, monstrous delusion! I can comprehend a war to compel a people to accept a master; to change a form of government; to give up territory; to abolish a domestic institution—in short, a war of conquest and subjugation: but a war for Union!—Was the Union thus made? Was it ever thus preserved? Sir, history will record that after nearly six thousand years of folly and wickedness in every form and administration of government, theocratic, Democratic, monarchic, oligarchic, despotic, and mixed, it was reserved to American statesmanship in the nineteenth century of the Christian era to try the grand experiment on a scale the most costly and gigantic in its proportions, of creating love by force, and developing fraternal affection by war; and history will record, too, on the same page, the utter, disastrous, and most bloody failure of the experiment.

But to return: the country was at war and I belonged to that school of politics which teaches that when we are at war, the Government—I do not mean the Executive alone, but the Government—is entitled to demand and have, without resistance, such number of men, and such amount of money and supplies generally, as may be necessary for the war, until an appeal can be had to the people. Before that tribunal alone, in the first instance, must the question of the continuance of the war be tried. This was Mr. Calhoun's opinion, and he laid it down very broadly and strongly in a speech on the loan bill, in 1841. Speaking of supplies, he said:

"I hold that there is a distinction in this respect between a state of peace and war. In the latter, the right of withholding supplies ought ever to be held subordinate to the energetic and successful prosecution of the war. I go further, and regard the withholding supplies *with a view of forcing the country into a dishonorable peace*, as not only to be what it has been called, moral treason, but very little short of actual treason itself."

Upon this principle, sir, he acted afterwards in the Mexican war. Speaking of that war in 1847, he said:—

"Every Senator knows that I was opposed to the war; but none knows but myself the depth of that opposition. With my conception of its character and consequences, it was impossible for me to vote for it."

And again, in 1848:

"But, after the war was declared by authority of the Government, I acquiesced in what I could not prevent, and which it was impossible for me to arrest; and then I felt it to be my duty to limit my efforts to give such direction to the war as would, as far as possible, prevent the evils and dangers with which it threatened the country and its institutions."

Sir, I adopt all this as my own position and my defence; though, perhaps, in a civil war, I might fairly go further in opposition. I could not, with my convictions, vote men and money for this war, and I would not, as a Representative, vote against them. I meant that, whithout opposition, the President might take all the men and money he should demand, and then to hold him to a strict accountability before the people for the results. Not believing the soldiers responsible for the war, or its purposes, or its consequences, I have never withheld my vote where their separate interests were concerned. But I have denounced from the beginning the usurpations and the infractions, one and all, of law and Constitution, by the President and those under him; their repeated and persistent arbitrary arrests, the suspension of *habeas co pus*, the violation of freedom of the mails, of the private house, of the press and of speech, and all the other multiplied wrongs and outrages upon public liberty and private right, which have made this country one of the worst despotisms on earth for the past twenty months; and I will continue to rebuke and denounce them to the end; and the people thank God, have at last heard and heeded, and rebuked them, too. To the record and to time I appeal again for my justification.

And now, sir, I recur to the state of the Union to day. What is it? Sir, twenty months have elasped, but the rebellion is is not crushed out; its military power has not been broken; the insurgents have not dispersed. The Union is not restored; nor the Constitution maintained; nor the laws enforced. Twenty, sixty, ninety, three hundred, six hundred days have passed; a thousand millions been expended; and three hundred thousand lives lost or bodies mangled; and to day the confederate flag is still near the Potomac and the Ohio, and the confederate government stronger, many times, than at the beginning. Not a State has been restored, not any part of any State has voluntarily returned to the Union. And has anything been wanton that Congress, or the States, or the people in their most generous enthusiasm, their most impassioned patriotism, could bestow? Was it power? And did not the party of the executive control the entire Federal Government, every State government, every county, every city, town and village in the North and West? Was it patronage? All belonged to it. Was it influence? What more?—Did not the school, the college, the church the press, the secret orders, the municipality, the corporation, railroads, telegraphs, express companies, the voluntary association, all, all yield it to the utmost? Was it unanimity? Never was an Administration so supported in England or America.—Five men and half score of newspapers made up the opposition. Was it enthusiasm?—It was fanatical. There has been nothing like it it since the Crusades. Was it confidence? Sir the faith of the people exceeded that of the patriarch. They gave up Constitution, law, right liberty, all at your demand for arbitary power that the rebellion might, as you promised, be crushed out in three months and the Union restored. Was credit needed?—You took control of a country, young, vigorous, and inexhaustible in wealth and resources, and of a Government almost free from public debt, and whose good faith had never been tarnished. Your great national loan bubble failed miserably, as it deserved to fail; but the bankers and merchants of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston lent you more than their entire banking capital. And when that failed too, you forced credit by declaring your paper promises to pay a legal tender for all debts. Was money wanted? You had all the revenues of the United States, diminished indeed, but still in gold. The whole wealth of the country, to the last dollar, lay at your feet. Private individuals, municipal corporations, the State governments, all in their frenzy gave you money or mean, with reckless prodigality. The great eastern cities lent you $150,000-000. Congress voted first, $250,000,000, and next $500,000,000 more in loans; and then, first, $50,000,000, then $10,000,000 next $90,000,000, and, in July last $150-000,000 in Treasury notes; and the Secretary has issued also a paper "postage currency," in sums as low as five cents, limited in amount only by his discretion. Nay, more: already since the 4th of July 1861, this House has appropriated $2,017-864 000, almost every dollar without debate, and without a recorded vote. A thousand millions have been expended since the 15th of April, 1861; and a public debt or liability of $1,500,000,000 already incurred. And to support all this stupendous outlay and indebtedness, a system of taxation, direct and indirect, has been inaugurated, the most onerous and unjust ever imposed upon any but a conquered people.

Money and credit, then, you have had in prodigal profusion. And were men wanted? More than a million rushed to arms! Seventy five thousand first, (and the country stood aghast at the multitude,) then eighty three thousand more were demanded; and three hundred and ten thousand responded to the call. The President next asked for four hundred thousand, and, Congress, in its generous confidence, gave him five hundred thousand; and, not to be outdone, he took six hundred and thirty seven thousand! Half of these melted away in their first campaign; and the President demanded three hundred thousand more for the war, and then drafted yet another three hundred thousand for nine months. The fabled hosts of Xerxes have been outnumbered. And yet victory strangely follows the standards of the foe. From Great Bethel to Vicksburg, the battle has not been to the strong. Yet every disaster, except the last, has been followed by a call for more troops, and every time so far they have been promptly furnished. From the beginning the war has been conducted like a political campaign, and it has been the folly of the party in power that they have assumed that numbers alone would win the field in a contest not with ballots but with musket and sword. But numbers you have had almost without number—the largest, best appointed, best armed, fed, and clad host of brave men, well organized and well disciplined, ever marshaled. A Navy, too, not the most formidable perhaps, but the most numerous and gallant, and the costliest in the world, and against a foe almost without a navy at all. Thus with twenty millions of people, and every element of strength and force at command—power patronage influence, unanimity, enthusiasm, confidence, credit, money, men, an Army and a Navy the largest and the noblest ever set in the field or afloat upon the sea; with the support, almost servile, of every State, county, and municipality in the North and West; with a Congress swift to do the bidding of the Executive; without opposition anywhere at home, and with an arbitary power which neither the Czar of Russia nor the Emperor of Austria dare exercise; yet after nearly two years or more vigorous prosecution of the war than ever recorded in history; after more skirmishes, combats and battles than Alexander, Cæsar, or the first Napoleon ever fought in any five years of their military career, you have utterly, signally, disastrously—I will not say ignominiously—failed to subdue ten millions of "rebels" whom you had taught the people of the North and West not only to hate but to despise. Rebels, did I say? Yes, your fathers were rebels, or your grandfathers. He who now before me on canvas looks down so sadly upon us, the false, degenerate, and imbecile guardians of the great Republic which he founded, was a rebel. And yet we, cradled ourselves in rebellion and who have fostered and fraternized with every insurrection in the nineteenth century every where throughout the globe, would now, forsooth, make the word "rebel" a reproach. Rebels certainly they are; but all the persistent and stupendous efforts of the most gigantic warfare of modern times have, though your incompetency and folly, availed nothing to crush them out, cut off though they have been by blockade from all the world, and dependent only upon their own courage and resources. And yet they were to be utterly conquered and subdued in six weeks