

# THE STAR OF THE NORTH.

W. H. JACOBY, Proprietor.

Truth and Right—God and our Country.

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## STAR OF THE NORTH

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### Choice Poetry.

#### DO YOU THINK HE IS MARRIED?

Madam!—you are very pressing,  
And I can't decline the task;  
With the slightest gift of guessing,  
You will hardly need to ask.  
Don't you see a hint of marriage  
In his sober-sided face?  
In his rather careless carriage  
And extremely rapid pace?  
If he's not committed treason,  
Or some wicked action done,  
Can you see the faintest reason  
Why a bachelor should run?  
Why should he be in a flurry?  
But a loving wife to greet,  
Is a circumstance to hurry  
The most dignified to meet!  
When after the man has spied her,  
If the grateful, happy elf,  
Does not haste to be beside her;  
He must be beside himself!  
It is but a trifle, may be—  
But observe his practiced tone,  
When he calms your stormy baby,  
Just as it were his own!  
Do you think a certain meekness  
You have noticed in his looks,  
Is a chronic optic weakness  
That has come of reading books?  
Did you ever see his vision  
Peering underneath a hood,  
Save enough for recognition  
Could a Capuchin be colder  
When he glances as he must,  
At a finely rounded shoulder,  
Or a proudly swelling bust!  
Madam!—think of every feature,  
Then deny it if you can—  
He's fond of a connubial creature,  
And a very married man.

### THANKSGIVING SERMON

BY  
REV. JOHN CHAMBERS,  
NOVEMBER 29, 1860.

After the opening exercises, as applica-  
ble to the occasion, the 8th chapter of Deu-  
teronomy was read, and the speaker re-  
marked:—

In common with multitudes of our brethren  
in our Commonwealth and in our sister  
States, we come together this beautiful  
morning to express to the Sovereign and  
Lord of the Universe the gratitude of our  
hearts for the blessings and mercies which  
have followed us during the past year. No  
nation has greater cause for thankfulness  
for the multitude of favors and blessings  
which have been lavished upon us, for the  
harvests which have been reaped, for the  
almost universal health, and for the free-  
dom from pestilence. If famine has visited  
us it has been on the outskirts of the land,  
while the great heart contains within itself  
enough for all. Remembering these, and  
to call upon God to deliver us from coming  
evil, we can go before His Throne to-day.  
Let us pray.

#### THE PRAYER.

We acknowledge Thee, Eternal God Father,  
Son and Holy Ghost, as our God, Creator,  
Preserver and Benefactor—we acknowl-  
edge Thee as the God and Father, Pres-  
erver and Benefactor of our Fathers be-  
fore us, and amid all the crowding memo-  
ries of the past, we stand before the throne  
of the great Eternal One, in the name of  
Christ, to give thanks for the blessings of  
the past year.

We thank Thee that the fruits of the earth  
have been superabundant; for the cattle  
which have roamed our hills, that health,  
peace and prosperity have attended us in  
all the relations of life; that famine and  
pestilence have not stalked in our midst,  
and that the sword has remained in its  
sheath.

We desire to call upon our souls and all  
that is within us, to bless and magnify so  
good, so gracious, so kind a God.  
We are forced to confess our much ungrate-  
fulness, and we deplore in Thy presence  
the want of earnestness and heart in the  
part of Thy servants; but we humbly  
thank Thee that Thou hast still remem-  
bered mercy, and implore Thee that the  
future may transcend the past infidelity  
and holiness of living. Bless all efforts  
made in bringing to pass that day when  
Thy name shall be great among the Gen-  
tiles. Bless all methods of instruction  
among the young—the college, the acad-  
emical institutions. May the Bible go far  
and near till it shall be the companion of  
all on earth. Give parents wisdom from  
on high in training up their children; that  
there may be in this nation the richest  
developments of morals, in order to fit  
for the still grander developments when  
man shall rise in the last day to infinite  
love and kindness; stay vice in every  
form, stay the tide of evil on the dispa-  
rior, licentiousness and drunkenness of our  
people. And, infinite God, grant in every  
effort to redeem the world from evil,  
abundant success, that all may enjoy free-  
dom from sin through the redemption of  
Thy Son. Thanks for all we have, are,  
and hope for, and for all that has been  
done for us, and continue to bless us, and  
may we continue to remember Thee in  
this great land. And while we thus  
thank and adore Thee for all Thou hast  
done for us, we come before Thee with  
sorrow—we are almost driven to the  
rivers of Babylon and hang our heads upon  
the weeping willows. Alas, that so much  
discord should exist in this favored land.  
Our earnest prayer is, that the resurrec-  
tion power and divinity that watches over  
the sleeping dust of Mount Vernon, may  
watch over this land so dear to him who

there reposes. Merciful God! may no  
spoiling hand fall on us—may the tur-  
wings which dash against the shores of  
our Republic be stilled and calm as the  
sleeping babe. Oh, Father, put in the  
mid of ever man in this wide land to  
obey, to the very letter and spirit the  
laws and Constitution thereof. We have  
not done so—we know we have not; and  
the spirit of exalted patriotism, that  
the spirit which knows nothing but the rich-  
est, largest fraternal love, may we have  
the manliness to confess to each other the  
wrong we have done—unite us with  
hooks of eternal steel and such bonds of  
love, that no stripe from our glorious  
flag, till Gabriel, standing with one foot  
in the sea, and one on solid land, shall  
proclaim Time to be no more; and not  
till then, may the glories of our Repub-  
lic be marred by any unhalloved act of  
man.

And, now, to the Father, the Son and Holy  
Ghost we will render praise now and ever.  
Amen!

The 11th and 12th verses of the 21st  
chapter of Isaiah were taken as the text:—

“Watchman, what of the night? Watchman,  
what of the night? The Watchman said,  
The morning cometh, and also the night; if ye will  
inquire, inquire ye: return, come.”

#### THE SERMON.

No man can feel the responsibility of his  
position more than I do now. I stand in the  
presence of a large audience of fellow-citizens  
and fellow-Christians—I as a minister  
of the Lord Jesus Christ, devoted as I trust  
to the interests of my Master's Kingdom,  
and considering the claims of the Bible as  
paramount to all other considerations of  
earth—I stand before you, equal with your-  
selves as a citizen of the grandest republic  
on this earth. As this latter I am as close-  
ly identified with the Constitution and the  
laws of my country as with the Bible and  
religion of God—Father, Son and Holy Ghost.  
Consequently, I cannot be obtuse in my  
conscience, nor can I be insensible to the  
common Christianity and common communion,  
counting, as I do, Christianity a thing we  
ought to love over and above all things, and  
the support of which will make us patriots  
in heart, life and death, if need be. The  
question which we design then to consider  
this morning is—

How is our Union to be perpetuated?  
I am aware that on this, as on all sub-  
jects, there exists diversities of opinion. I  
am aware that some, nay, many say, there  
is no danger, no cause for alarm or excite-  
ment. From this opinion I would most  
kindly and respectfully dissent. If I did  
not feel in my heart, and conscientiously,  
honestly, believe my country in danger,  
fearful danger, I would not occupy your  
time nor consume my strength in speaking  
on a subject of such magnitude. We say,  
then, no sane man can shut his eyes to the  
danger, and we ought to know it, and know  
it now. I desire not to speak as an alarmist  
or for effect—the facts are palpable, clear  
and visible to all.

I know it is said, and by many, that it is  
impossible this Union should be dissolved.  
Wherein lies the impossibility? The pow-  
er of contracting is capable of dissolving.  
Let us look at the facts. Some years ago  
every one said there was no danger of the  
Church of God being divided. Is the  
Church of God divided? Let us look at the  
Methodist church, that mighty combination  
of mind and heart, which has made itself  
felt and known from the Atlantic to the  
Western borders, and from the cold frosts of  
a winter, which congeals even the wa-  
ters of the sea, to the distant Southern re-  
gions, where the sun is never hidden from  
the Church of God being divided. Is the  
Methodist church divided?

Take the New School Presbyterian church,  
a noble body of intellect and heart, and is  
it not divided, North and South.

Take the Baptist church, the grand auxil-  
iary in the empire of morals and religion,  
and is it not divided?

What divided the Methodist Church, and  
what the New School Presbyterian filled up,  
as it is, with men of gigantic minds and far-  
reaching benevolence; and what the Baptists,  
that indefatigable body of Christians  
spirits; why are they divided and stand  
aloof, even to denying the elements of the  
body of Jesus, the one to the other. The  
ground we take is, if you can sever bonds  
of fellowship, of Christian brotherhood, of holy  
communion, and if you can so sectionalize  
the church that you can leave those great  
bodies divided—if you have great bands  
of Christianity and patriotism bound, welded  
together, and all are broken asunder, why  
should not merely political, social bonds, be  
broken asunder?

If, after all, the influence of the spirit of  
God, which change and enlighten the savage;  
if after the action of this religion, and af-  
ter man has felt its mollifying influence,  
we find things as they are, what is there  
to prevent the severing of the political bands  
which unite these States. The cause  
which does the one will do the other, and  
the cause which has done it is this day sever-  
ing these States. The question then is,  
what can be done to avert so great a calam-  
ity? And the cry is coming up in the  
morning, and it ceaseth not at night,  
“Watchman, what of the night?” It is ad-  
dressed to the men of God as they look  
forth from the turrets of the citadel of salva-  
tion, coming from the North, the East, and  
the West, and from the centre, and the  
answer is, “The morning cometh, and also  
the night. If ye will inquire, inquire ye  
return, come.”

I have already said that the dissolution of  
this Union would be a calamity. It would  
be a great one, because the dissolution

would not only be calamitous to ourselves,  
but to the world of man. Is there a philan-  
thropic heart on earth that is not beating  
and looking for our Union abiding? Is there  
a down-trodden man on earth who looks  
not for the day when the light of the Ameri-  
can republic shall fall on his benighted  
path? How then is this calamity to be  
prevented? I answer.

First, By a rigid and universal adher-  
ence to the letter and spirit of the Constitu-  
tion of the United States. Let the princi-  
ples thereof be carried out to the death, if  
necessary. Not only on the part of the  
civil authorities, but equally on the part of  
each citizen; for one citizen is as equal  
to obey the laws as another, and let this  
fact be impressed on the public mind.  
Who can deny this fact? Why have we  
this compact, why this agreement, why  
those fathers bowing, at the advice of Ben-  
jamin Franklin, before the divine presence  
for guidance? Was it not that each man  
was to obey the compact? The Constitu-  
tion is to you and to me, in a political light  
what the Bible is in a religious light, and  
you and I have no more the right to infringe  
on the Constitution and laws, than to array  
ourselves against the principles of this re-  
gion.

I remark, secondly, let all those States  
which have in any way, or to any extent,  
passed laws nullifying the Constitution,  
repeat them, and at once. They owe it  
to the nation and to God. If one State may  
legislate against the General Government,  
another may do so likewise, and we are  
in the midst of anarchy and bloodshed speedily.  
The question arises, have the States a right  
to legislate against the General Government?  
From whence do they derive this right;  
and if they have it not, and the repeal of  
those laws will tend to calm the political  
heart and be the pouring out of oil from  
the great horn of brotherhood on the trou-  
bled earth, will you wrong your brother,  
or wrong your brother, is it not charac-  
teristic of the very soul of the Christian and  
patriot to come forward, confess the error  
and shake hands in love?

Thirdly—Let all the States unite in the  
spirit of fraternal love, that each State as  
well as each citizen of each State, may have  
the full enjoyment of their Constitutional  
and legal rights, no more, no less. You  
expect, and rightly expect, that the rights  
guaranteed you by the Constitution and  
laws, shall be respected by the citizens of  
all the other States of this Union. What  
then you demand from others, you are  
bound to render to others. If by the Con-  
stitution and laws certain things are de-  
clared to be property, are you not bound to  
recognize it as such. For illustration, let us  
suppose you go to one of the Virginia  
springs, taking with you a carriage and  
horses, and a law had been passed in that  
State which would justify your horses and  
carriage in being seized as soon as you en-  
tered their borders—things which, by the  
Constitution and law, have been declared to  
be property. Would you not feel that your  
legal rights had been violated? Whatever,  
therefore, may be said to the contrary, so  
long as the right of the Southern States to  
hold slaves, and consider their time and  
service as property, is recognized by the  
Constitution and laws, just so long are the  
Free States bound to consider it such. If  
they are bound to rendition of what we  
legally claim as property, are we not bound  
to like rendition of what they, with equal  
justice, claim as theirs? Now I am address-  
ing my countrymen and fellow-freemen—  
I go for equal rights, and will stand by my  
determination, though I am hewn down by  
inches; and I maintain that we are bound  
to yield to the sister States what we de-  
mand of them. I am not a lawyer, but  
common sense teaches me that which is  
my property I can claim as such at any  
time or in any place. If I am mistaken in  
this, the mistake is of the head and not the  
heart. Hence, taking it for granted that  
what the Constitution recognizes as my  
rightful property is such, no State has the  
right to nullify or change that decision—  
Have they, my brethren—and what is it  
but rebellion on the part of those who do  
such things?

Fourth—As Christians, it is our duty to  
follow the advice of Jesus, as given in the  
21st verse of the XXII chapter of Matthew.  
No man can follow the injunctions of Christ  
and his Apostles without obeying the pow-  
ers that be, as ordained by God. They were  
endeavoring to ease the Son of God who,  
from the time he entered upon the  
duties of life until he left the world, walked  
upon the straight lines of right and justice.  
They brought him a penny. “Whose is  
this image and superscription?” They say  
unto him, “Cæsar's.” Then said he, “Ren-  
der unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,  
and unto God the things that are God's.”  
Mark the wisdom of the Son of God. If we  
but follow his example and teachings, nine-  
teen-twentieths of our troubles would be  
blotted out. I deplore to say, also, had the  
pulpit but done its duty, the country would  
not have been in this state. If the Chris-  
tian community would but comply with the  
very spirit of this command, render—that is  
yield—to the requirements of the powers  
that be, such confusion would not prevail  
as we now see; and I urge upon you, and  
particularly upon the brotherhood of this  
church, to adhere to the death to the Con-  
stitution and laws. I have planned my feet  
on this rock, and it would require a thunder-  
bolt of heaven's lightning to move me. Of  
all people on earth, we should obey the  
laws of our land. Men of as pure minds,  
as patriotic hearts as God ever implanted

within the human frame—men who loved  
peace, far-sighted, noble-hearted men, made  
them, and that, too, under the auspices of  
God. Who amended that Constitution?—  
The sons of those honored sires, assembled  
in solemn convocation. Then let each  
State carefully mind its own business, and  
perform it constitutionally, legitimately, and  
in the spirit of reciprocity. If we find com-  
pliance uncomfortable, it is ours to modify  
and change, but so long as the fourth ar-  
ticle, or any other article, is on the page of  
the Constitution, let us see, as Pennsylvan-  
ians, as brothers, that article complied  
with and carried out.

Once more—let us remember we are a  
nation of brothers. Let a thought! That  
when the Revolutionary struggle was made,  
which burst the political fetters which  
bound us to Great Britain, no blood flowed  
more freely or more patriotically than the  
blood of our Southern fathers. There was  
no spot where the Southern was to be seen  
blending his lot with those of the North  
and East and West. Remember, too, that  
their blood flows in our veins, and our  
blood in their veins. In God's name, then  
I ask, shall this fraternal blood rush in dead-  
ly conflict, into one river of death, to wash  
out forever every hope of political, civil  
and religious liberty? Shall brother imbue  
his hand in brother's blood, and the moth-  
ers of this nation weep over the slain of  
their own household? Shall one star be  
lost from that proud national banner, or one  
stripe be torn from its consecrated folds?—  
or shall that noble American eagle, which  
for threescore years and ten—aye, more—  
has soared over this happy, this wonder-  
fully prosperous country, as he rises from his  
eye to gaze upon the sun, be compelled to  
utter one wild shriek of horror as he bids  
farewell! farewell! to this land of the free,  
this home of the brave? God of our fathers,  
forbid it. May you not wrap yourselves  
in our flag, as in a coat of mail, and stand  
by your Constitution? As the sons of the  
Adames, the Handocks, the Pinckneys, the  
Carrolls, with one hand on the ark of our  
national covenant, and with the other bear-  
ing aloft the standard of Union, pledge  
“your lives, your fortunes and your sacred  
honor” in their defence.

Come, then, mothers—for you, too, have  
an interest—come, men, come to-day, and  
speak kindly, and when in the spirit of ac-  
cusation, they bring you a penny, desiring  
to tempt you, ask “Whose image and su-  
perscription is this?” and they answer,  
“Thy brother's in the Carolinas or the Old  
Dominion”—oh! how my heart feels when  
I speak of this brotherhood of States!—say  
“Render it to him to whom it rightfully be-  
longs?” and then, my brethren, should we  
be permitted to stand on the threshold of an-  
other Thanksgiving, may it be under the  
unsullied flag of our Union; and when the  
question comes, “Watchman, what of the  
night?” the reply shall ring out in loudest,  
clearest tones, or mounting top and thro'  
deep valley—“The morning has come, the  
night forever fled!”

### SPEECH OF THE HON. WILLIAM BIGLER, IN THE SENATE DEC. 11, ON THE STATE OF THE UNION.

I took the floor, Mr. President, yesterday  
afternoon for the purpose of making a few  
remarks on the present unhappy condition  
of the country. I intended then only to say  
what was necessary to indicate my own  
position on the great question which is agi-  
tating the people of this country. That is  
my only purpose this morning. I shall  
reserve for some subsequent occasion, when  
perhaps this whole subject will be more  
fully before us, the discussion of the main  
question which I unnecessarily presented.

Sir, it was too truly remarked by the Sen-  
ator from Mississippi (Mr. Davis) yester-  
day, that we have fallen on evil times. It  
is too sadly apparent that this great re-  
public of ours is in imminent danger of dis-  
solution. The whole political, social, and com-  
mercial system is seriously disturbed, and  
shows unmistakable evidences of depression  
and distress. Commerce, trade, and  
finances, are disturbed. The banks have  
ceased to redeem their notes in specie, and  
the Treasury of the United States is unable  
to meet the current demands upon it. In-  
deed, sir, a general gloom seems to have  
spread over the entire country. Why is all  
this? Have the great elements of pros-  
perity, progress, and general thrift in the  
country, become suddenly exhausted? No,  
sir; these were never more abundant than  
now. What is it, then? Why, sir, dis-  
guise it as you may, this sad picture is the  
result of a political panic. I almost shrink  
from enunciating the precise cause, obvi-  
ous as I think it is to every Senator, and to  
every intelligent man in the land. The  
starting cause is, that men are beginning  
to doubt the integrity and future existence  
of this Union. State after State has taken  
steps on the subject of withdrawing from  
this Confederacy. We hear of Legislatures  
being assembled, conventions of the people  
being ordered, all to consider the grave  
question whether our relations are to con-  
tinue or not. It is not singular, then, that  
we have seen manifestations of deep con-  
cern and distress in the land.

Sir, this is a startling picture; but it  
seems to me it is the part of patriot-  
ism and duty to look it fully in the face.—  
My own impressions first were, that the  
less that was said here the better. I have  
changed that impression. I believe that  
the times require that the public men, the  
selected men of the nation here, should

come up to this great question. Let the  
people understand what view is taken of it  
by me. For one, I am prepared to separate  
myself as far as possible from past prej-  
udice and party allegiance, and consider the  
condition of the country in a spirit of de-  
votion to its interest. I most heartily com-  
mend the noble position of the Senator  
from Connecticut, [Mr. Dixon.] Without  
understanding the desires of the men of his  
own party, as he has told us, regardless of  
his connection with them, of his party pre-  
judices—for I believe he is a friend of the  
President taken—he has come boldly for-  
ward and taken his position for the Consti-  
tution for the Union as made by the Con-  
stitution for the equality of the States, and  
for the justice among the citizens of the States.  
Sir, I extend to him the hand of fellowship,  
and I meet him in the same spirit, and un-  
der the same circumstances, for I have no  
idea how my views will be received on this  
side of the Chamber. In the spirit of the  
Senator from Illinois on this side, [Mr.  
Douglas.] I go with men of any party, and  
men of every party who will devote them-  
selves to the great work of rescuing the  
country from the impending danger.

Mr. President, for weal or woe, I am  
for the Union as made by our fathers. I am  
for the constitutional Union as it is, and, in  
the spirit of the remark of the Senator from  
California yesterday, I expect to be of and  
for the Union as it is to be. Whatever an  
humble individual like myself can do, or  
suffer, or sacrifice, in the cause of the Union,  
I shall be freely offered up.

But, sir, what can be done? I think  
the motion of the Senator from Kentucky; to  
refer so much of the President's message  
as refers to this subject to a select com-  
mittee, is a movement in the right direction.  
I think the Senator for it, and I shall cheer-  
fully vote for his adoption. [Mr. Mason.]  
That honorable Senator said he would vote  
for the resolution as a mere matter of Par-  
liamentary courtesy, because the message  
should be referred to a committee. He said  
that much, lest his vote might be misun-  
derstood by his constituents, that they should  
be under the impression that he had con-  
cluded that a remedy for the present diffi-  
culties which beset the country could be  
instituted, while, in his judgment, Con-  
gress could do nothing on that subject.—  
That honorable Senator must know that, in  
some way or other, any adjustment that  
may be made on this subject must to some  
extent, be connected with Congress. Con-  
gress must necessarily be connected with it  
unless it be the question of secession, which  
belongs to the States only. If it be possi-  
ble to agree upon an adjustment in the  
shape of a law, then Congress and the Ex-  
ecutive will perform the whole work. If  
the committees should find that it required  
an amendment to the Constitution, then  
Congress must either adopt that amendment  
and submit it for the approval of the States,  
or else, when two thirds of the States peti-  
tion Congress, provision must be made for  
a convention of the States; so that, in any  
event, Congressional action will be neces-  
sary. That is a reason why there should be  
no hesitation whatever in considering the  
question here, and inquiring calmly, soberly  
and earnestly of each other what can be  
done to rescue the country.

Sir, I have a word or two to say specially  
to my friends on this side of the chamber.—  
I mean those from the far off south; those  
with whom I have so long and cordially  
co-operated here; for whose rights I zealous-  
ly contended long before I met them on  
this floor; whose cause, to some extent, in  
the late contest for President, fifteen hun-  
dred thousand Northern men embraced.—  
I scarcely become me to undertake to  
judge of their case. I confess, I am, per-  
haps, incapable of appreciating their pre-  
cise position and feelings. I acknowledge  
that there has been kept up a war of ag-  
gression upon their feelings, well calcu-  
lated to alienate them from the people of  
the North; that in some instances their clear  
constitutional rights have been vexatiously  
embarrassed, and at times defeated; and  
furthermore, that the party about to assume  
the reins of Government, in the late con-  
tested avowed doctrines which, in my judgment  
are inconsistent with the equality of the  
States; for so I regard the doctrine of the  
exclusion of the owner of a slave from the  
common Territories unless he leaves his  
property behind him. But, Mr. President,  
is dissolution a remedy? Is that the best  
and wisest of all the alternatives left? Has  
the time come to embrace that remedy? I  
think not. I said before, that it was not for  
me to speak of what concerned them and  
their interests; but I say no more fatal step  
can be taken for the interests of the great  
State which I represent here, and, as I  
truly believe, for every other State in this  
Confederacy.

I know, sir, it may be said—it was said  
yesterday by the Senator from Mississippi,  
[Mr. Brown.]—that war, and even death,  
are to be preferred to dishonor, and that a  
State remaining in the Union less than an  
equal, denied of its constitutional rights, is  
in some measure dishonored; but my  
friend from Mississippi, and those who act  
with him, should view this question in a  
more hopeful light.

After all, Mr. Lincoln is in a minority of  
nearly nine hundred thousand votes, and  
in his election the people of the United  
States have not passed judgment against  
the claims of the South to equality and jus-  
tice.

of those Senators and of their friends at  
home to a particular point in this case. I  
do not care to inquire into the question of  
the right of secession. Whether it be a  
right, or whether, when a State withdraws,  
it is revolution, the consequence to the se-  
ceding State and to the remaining States  
will be essentially the same, and the rem-  
edy, if remedy there be, will be the same.—  
But the point I wish to make is this: even  
if it be a right, is it just to the other States  
to resort to that remedy until redress has  
been sought and denied at the very foun-  
dation of political power and authority, and  
through the precise channels in which this  
Confederacy was formed? I think not.—  
Such precipitate action is not just to their  
friends. Let the Southern States ask the  
people of this Confederacy, separate and  
aside from ordinary political considerations  
to consider and adjust this question. Let  
them ask redress for their grievances at the  
hands of those who have the power to grant  
it, and in the form prescribed in the com-  
pact under which we live. If redress be  
denied, if two thirds of the States refuse to  
call a convention, if three fourths of the  
States decline to approve such amendments  
to the Constitution as they deem essential  
to the protection of their rights and to the  
maintenance of their equality in the Union,  
then the time will have arrived for con-  
sidering this question of dissolution. But until  
all other means have been exhausted, it  
should not, cannot be, seriously entertain-  
ed.

Mr. President, I am one of those who be-  
lieve that the remedy for the present dis-  
tressed condition of the country, after all  
more sooner or later, come from the peo-  
ple, if it is to come at all and be permanent.  
I do not say that amendments should not  
be submitted here, or that no amendment can  
pass Congress that will meet this case. It is  
hardly to be expected that the politicians or  
partisans of the country brought into posi-  
tion in the midst of party struggles, com-  
mitted to one side of other of the contro-  
verted points, are prepared for this delicate  
work. It must go into other hands. Let  
the people select representatives on this  
single subject alone, and to remedy the de-  
fects which experience has shown, and if  
needs be, give new guarantees to the ag-  
grieved States. Then, sir, you will have a  
singleness of purpose, and our Southern  
friends will ascertain the real sentiment of  
the Northern people in reference to their  
rights and position in the Union; and while  
I confess that all the evidence seems to be  
on the other side, I have a belief that in  
such a test the conservative element of the  
North would prevail—that the South would  
be met in a spirit of justice, fraternity, and  
even generosity.

But it may be asked, as it has been al-  
ready, what is to become of the country in  
the meantime? What measures shall be  
adopted to arrest the progress of dissolution?  
I confess, Mr. President, I am not prepared  
to answer that question. That is more es-  
pecially for our friends from these States  
which are moving for secession. If they  
know no means of arresting the progress of  
separation, then, sir, we are truly in a hope-  
less condition. But I am not so despondent.  
I have still hope that if there were such in-  
dications from the North of a disposition to  
deal kindly on the subject; to hear their  
Southern brethren fairly and fully, and an-  
swer, if possible, favorably their demands,  
there would be a feeling of reaction in the  
South; that men would rise above the  
madness of the hour, and stay the fatal  
step, at least for a brief season, and another  
effort would be made to save the Govern-  
ment, and to satisfy the southern States  
that they can maintain their rights within  
the Union.

Sir, I am not of those who view this dis-  
ease lightly. I am sensible that it is deep-  
seated, and to some extent malignant, but  
not incurable. It is not my purpose to talk  
of distinctive propositions now; but I do  
say that the best possible remedy that would  
be applied, silence forever the war of crimina-  
tion in the North, would be to separate  
this question of slavery, as far as possible,  
from the popular elections in the non-  
slave holding States. There are a class of  
men, we all know, in the North, who are  
zealous and sincere enemies of slavery,  
and so long as they can discover the slight-  
est opportunity of interlining to perform  
what they call a duty, they will keep upon  
these assaults and an unjust war upon the  
feelings of the citizens of the Southern  
States. Separate them entirely, so that they  
can have no connection with it, can in no  
way influence the question of where slavery  
should be or where it shall go, or whether  
it shall be carried into our new Territories,  
or even from the question of the admis-  
sion of a State, whether it be free or slave.

How can that be done? Sir, I do not  
wish to be understood as presenting any  
view to which I shall adhere with tenacity.  
I threw out general views for what they are  
worth. I am so convinced of the wisdom  
and the true policy of maintaining this  
Confederacy entire, that I will resort to any  
honorable expedient, any reasonable mea-  
sure to save it. I think the people of the  
North would go very much further than  
their representatives on the Republican  
side believe, in order to accomplish this  
desirable end. If needs be, sir, let the ter-  
ritory be divided from ocean to ocean;  
north of which slavery shall not go, south  
of which it shall not be disturbed. Let us  
have a deep gulf or a high wall between

that will not ally the demon of discord,  
then, instead of the present provision that  
Congress may admit States into the Union—  
which alone will induce a certain class of  
people to be anxious to elect anti-slavery  
men, in order that they may keep out a  
slave State—I say, let the Constitution de-  
scribe a State, fix its population and other  
elements, and provide for its admission by  
a Proclamation of the President upon the  
establishment of the facts. Then, sir, the  
North would be separated from this ques-  
tion; the North and the South, on this dis-  
turbance, would be entirely free of  
each other; while all the other relations  
would remain, and this great Government  
go on performing its functions. We should  
retain its power, its prowess, its dignity,  
and its influence in the world. Perhaps  
less radical changes may do. If so, all the  
better.

The President of the United States, with  
patriotic desire to settle this question, has  
suggested what he supposed would be suf-  
ficient for the exigency. I must say, and I  
must say it with regret that I do not think  
his remedies will meet the case. I think  
the disease is deeper and wider than the  
remedy, in the first place, the points pre-  
sented by him embrace the controverted  
points over which parties have struggled  
for years, the very source over which the  
bitter struggle for ascendancy was made in  
the late Presidential contest. And I can  
see no reason to anticipate their adoption  
by the dominant party in the North. Nor  
do I think they would reach the seat of the  
disease, if they were adopted; for my be-  
lief is, this war of extermination and retri-  
bution is the seat of this disease; and if  
you want permanent peace, you must strike  
at the seat of the disease, in the North-  
ern mind.

Honorable Senators yesterday said the  
hearts of men must be changed. The hearts  
of men ought to be changed. I trust in  
God's name that many of them will be  
changed; but that is no work for politicians  
or Senators. It will be idle to hope for an  
escape in that way. You must separate the  
agitating cause, if you expect those men  
who are bitterly anti-slavery to drop the  
subject. I am one of those who think they  
ought to have done so long ago. No man  
has given that feeling less countenance  
than myself. I have never been in a polit-  
ical struggle in my life that the rights of the  
South were not a leading issue; and never  
fallen that I did not fall by the weight of a  
Southern issue.

But, Mr. President, I do not know that I  
can usefully pursue this subject further. I  
desire to say, however, in reference to our  
State, notwithstanding its vote for the Re-  
publican candidate at the late election, that  
it is a conservative and a just State; that our  
Southern friends can rely with confidence  
upon the future action of that State. If  
they ask redress in the form in which I  
have indicated, or any other on which the  
people can act separate from other consid-  
erations I have not a doubt that they would  
give all the guarantees which any reason-  
able Southern man would demand.

It may be said that, in a minority, as I  
am, I am not warranted thus to speak, for I  
should not be regarded as authority; but,  
sir, every man of intelligence in my State  
knows that other potent influences than the  
more distinctive principles of the Republi-  
can party weighed in the late election.—  
There were a complication of influences  
against us, and among them the most po-  
tent, next to this slavery agitation, was the  
question of the tariff. The operatives in  
the manufacturing establishments and the  
mines away down in the earth had felt and  
believed that the policy of the Democratic  
party was prejudicial to their interests; and  
at the late election, though they were nat-  
urally with the Democratic party, they vot-  
ed in a body against us. I do not think  
that vote was forty thousand in the State.  
No man is warranted, therefore, in assum-  
ing that the State of Pennsylvania will ad-  
here to the distinctive doctrines of the Re-  
publican party. I do not believe a distinc-  
tive issue on the “irrepressible conflict,”  
as usually interpreted in that State, would  
get one hundred thousand votes. No war  
of aggression is intended by the people of  
that State. She will respond promptly to  
any demand for consideration and for red-  
ress made in the proper spirit by her sis-  
ter States; and I doubt not she will avail  
even the appearance of wrong by discarding  
certain of her statutes, which, though in  
the main a