# BY O. N. WORDEN AND J. R. CORNELIUS.

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TO SOUTH CAROLINA.

### (ALTERN FROM SOLUTION)

Roll your mail burds : Again upon your plain Most the provid baracted clog his book with blood? Most on p. - S. Pressent many year revers' taineted flood Exit to the execute shock his bacquet shain 9 Rold year next hands | What letters in prompts to reareal share the long the long of a long of a The arm is some haven't i'ven the first of pre-tained open a haven't i'ven the first of pre-With factors warmed by the sold on' first-The tender explanations. I Life high the spear? and the first stating whitewind's sweep, And the first containing whitty wind's sweep, France very on harts of any most in the deeper-fer the pair front, will be write the deeper-fer the pair front, will be write the deeper position big pair produced particulate after, And rails to shore the proj. His kinstered deepen Ward

# THE CRISIS OF THE UNION !

SPEECH OF HON, WM. H. SEWARD to the C.S. Sonate-Saturity, Jan. 12, 18(1)

Mr. President. Congress adjourned last momer amid auspices of national abundance, contentment, tranquility, and happicombinations to overthrow the Union. The alarm is appalling, for Union is not more the body than liberty is the soul of the same, and we, who have so long and admit the originality, the sovereignty, and with much complacency studied the end- the independence of the several States less agitations of society in the O.d. Word, believing ourselves exempt from such dis- eral Government to be equally original, turbaues, now in our turn seem to be sovereign and independent within its falling into a momentous and disastrous sphere. revolution.

# Declares for the Union.

I know how difficult it is to decide, in its limits from allegiance to the Union, and so many and so various counsels, than the Government of the Union can abwas ought to be, and even what can be solve them from allegiance to the State. done. Certainly, however, it is time for The Constitution of the United States, every Senator to declare himself. I, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, therefore, following the example of the no- are the supreme law of the land, paramount Meretore, tonowing the senessee, avow my al- to all legislation of the States, whether percents the Union in its integrity and made under the Constitution, or by even an all its parts, with my friends, with their organic conventions. The Union can syperty, with my State, with my coun- be descrived, not by secession, with or by, or without either, as they may deter- without armed force, but only by the volmue, in every event, whether of prace or untery consent of the people of the United of war, with every consequence of house. States, collected in the manner prescribed

p distonor, of life or death. Hitherto, the extitutions of spirit and eal itself before its presence can be realast I like best, also, the courage that to endure without complaint the passionthe ways ardness of political brethron so long as there is hope that they may come to a better mind. What will not save the Union. I think it easy to pronounce what measthe or conduct will not save the Union. area with the honorable Sepator from North Carolina, that mere eulogisms will Lot save it. Vet I think that as prever brings us nearer to God, though it can not move thim towards us, so, there is healing and saving virtue in every word of devotion to the Union that is stoken, and in every sigh that its danger draws forth.

tained political power in certain States, and they are using this authority to overthrow the Federal Government. They delude themselves with the belief that the State power they have acquired cushles them to discharge themselves of allegiance to the whole Republic. The honorable Senator from Illiudis, says we have a right to coerce a State, but we can not. The President save that no State bas a right to secole, but we have no constitutional power to make war against a State. The dilemma results from an assumption that those who, in such a case, act against the Federal Government, act lawfully as a State, although manifestly they have perness. It was reassembled this winter in verted the power of the State to an unconthe presence of derangement of business stirutional purpose. A class of politicians and disturbance of public as well as pri- in New England set up this theory, and rate credit, and in the face of seditious attempted to practice upon it, in our war with Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson did not hesitate to say that States must be kept within their constitutional sphere by the nation. The American citizen has impulsion, if they could not be held there been accustomed to believe the Republic by attraction. Secession was then held to immortal. He shrinks from the sight of be inadmissible in the face of a public encarulsions indicative of its sudden death. emy. But, if it is untenable in one case, The report of our condition has gone over it is necessarily so in all others. I fully

within their sphere. But I hold the Fed-

And the government of the State can

no more absolve the people residing with-

\*\*Persons making up Clabs for the biberal concessions apt to be given by an so, if we have indeed become degenerate. Stat & CHRONICLE, have until Feb. Court to add to their Lists and pay in. Among date who here Subscription Papers (beside

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COUNTY STAR AND LEWISBURG CHRONICLE.

need not constitute an element of strife in versal suffrage and the absence of a standfact, a homogeneous people, chiefly of one our own. Canada leans on Great Britain, stock, with accessions well assimilated, not unwillingly, and Switzerland is guar-

their diplomatic acquaintance, have how arcariy those who are engaged in it have treaties with France, the Netherlands, canvassed with portentous freedom the Great Britain, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, possible recombinations of the States when Russis, Denmark, Mexico, Brizil, Austria, dissevered, and the feasible alliances of in the Medicerranean. All the world won-Turkey, Chili, Siam, Muscat, Vetezuela, those recombinations with European 64- dered at it, and talked of it. Salves of artif-Peru, Greece, Sardinis, Ecuador, Hanover, Portugal, New Grenada, Hesse Cassel, Wirtemburg, China, Bavaria, Saxony, Nassau, Satizeriand, Meeklenburg Seb-the Spaniards, who promised the Thiscalaus with Nassau, Satizeriand, Meeklenburg Seb-the Spaniards, who promised the Arteering the Arteering of the Spaniards, who promised the Arteering the Arteering of the Spaniards and the Spaniards a werin, Gustemala, the Hawaian Islands, upon their ancient enemies, the Aztecs. San Salvador, Borneo, Costa Rica, Peru, Scendly—The disunion movement ati-Bremen, the Argentine Confederation, ses partly out of a dispute over the com-thriteen surpes has been hauled down, and Los Choo, Japan, Branswick, Persia, Ba- mon domain of the United States. Hith. in its place a signal is run up, which flaunts rily into the foreground in resisting Disunion. Los-Choo, Japan, Brunswick, Porsia, Ba-den, Belgium and Paraguay. Neverthe-less, the United States, within the entire sy within the bounds of political debate, have had flagrant wars with only four ones, to the arbitrament of the ballat-box.

"tord are now at peace with the whole Thirdly-This movement arises, in matrix the solution of the first and almost and the line of the solution of the line o ow, from the sad ex- they have practically remained ignorant of But we kn do now perience of other nations, that disintegra- the controversy, especially of its bearing tion, once begun, inevitably continues un- on themselves. Can we hope that flagrant many parts. Each confederation that their very presence, and yet that they will shall ultimately arise out of the Union, remain stupid and idle spectators? Does will have necessity for as many treaties as history furnish us any satisfactory instruc-we now have, and will incur liabilities for tion upon the horrors of civil war among a war as often as we now do, by breaking people so brave, so skilled in arms, so car. war as often as we now up, by oreasing people so brave, so skilled in arms, so cal-them. It is the multiplication of treaties, and is on intent in put-and the want of confederation, that makes pose, as we? Is it a mere chimera which war the normal condition of resting in the source of these horizon. war the normal condition of society in suggests an aggravition of those horrors friend. Even the London Tomes, by no means Western Europe and in Spanish America. beyond endurance when, on either side, partial to us, says: "It is quite possible that It is union that, notwithstanding our world- there shall occur the intervention of an It is union that, notwinstanding our world-wide intercourse, makes peace the habit of uprising ferecious African Siave popula-spirit of folly selfishness and short-ighted every other political name and thing, all are forts if shall make to preserve the public tion of four, six, perhaps twenty millions?

obstarie and has no end; invention that the Confederacy. Notwithstanding recent rehement expressions and manifestations of intolerance in some quarters, product and instanting State of that kind, or even by intense partisan excitiment, we are, in any confederation of such States, except high as initian genius can reach a and social large their ground. More than thirty years, remement worsing for the removation of the word. How could our successors prosecute there noble objects in the undst of brussize certain States, single near or around the dei-We have, practically, only one language, one religion, one system of gorerament, and manners and customs common to all Why, then, shall we not remain heac-ition of new States, the influence of each is safety or scenity, for which, it need be, of travel; but history indicates with uner-they will, and they must, socilice every ring certainty the end which the several the prize of the nation that can command the the prize of the nation that can command the several the prize of the nation that other. This security is of two kinds-other. This security is of two kinds-one, exemption from foreign aggression new would render life intolerable; and ine Indian will again lark around his dwell. and influence; the other, excuppion from they would somer or inter purchase transing. Let the pioneer come back into our dom-stie tyranny and sedicion. quility and domestic safety by the surren-Foreign wars come from either viola- der af liberty, and yield themselves up to post read, and the telegraph, advance not tions of treaties or domestic violence. The the protection of mititary despotism. Union has, thus far, proved itself an al-Indulge me, sir, in one or two details Union has, thus far, proved itself an al-most perfect shield against such wars. The United States, continually enlarging days since this disunion movement began; their diplomatic acquaintance, have now already those who are engaged in it have

comemprishe to all beside : how long will it then with or without others in a distinct Con-be before, on the plea of public safety, they rederacy, as a means of advantage to them-

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you, and weep with all the bitterness of an- then, become all of a sudden unnatural, as i could vote to authorize the organization and guish, who are just stepping on the threshold well as unpatrious? and will they distuberit admission of two new States which should in-The present danger discloses itself in ensisted amplifies manufactures and com-the form: Discontented eithers have ob-tained political power in certain States where the system of turb. ved by art, furnish us a system of high-ways unequaled in the world. The diffu-ent forms of labor, if shavery were not need not constitute an element of strife in haust the argument, at least to exhibit the such a measure. But, if the measure were practicable, I should prefer a different course, namely : when the eccentric movements of Secession and Disunion shall have ended, in whatever form that end may come, and the angry eacitements of the hour shall have subthere has existed a considerable-though not herein tore a formulable-mass of critices in sided, and calmness once more shall have resumed its accustomed sway over the public mind, then, and not until then-one, two or three years hence-I should cheerfully advise a convention of the people to be assembled in pursuance of the Constitution, to consider the governed, and that it is as necessary as it the stave States, there is restiveness resulting from the resistance which has been so deteris wise, to resort to the peopletar revisions of the organic law when the troubles and danminedly made within the last few years, in gers of the State certainly transcend the powthe free States, to the extension of slavery in ers delegated by it to the public authorities Nor ought the suggestson to excite surprise. Government, in any form, is a machine ; this is the most complex one that the mind of man has ever invented, or the hand of man has ever framed. Perfect as it is, it ought to be exspeech or through the press, in the slave States; while its policy, principles and senti-ment, and even its temper, have been so mispected that it will, at least as often as once in a century, require some modification to adapt it to the changes of society and alternations represented as to excite apprehensions that it of empire. dentes important constitutional obligations.

#### Incasions of the States.

Fourthly, I hold myself ready nuw, as al-ways heretofore, to vote for any properly-guarded laws which shall be deemed necessary to prevent invasions of States by the citizens of other States, and punish those who shall aid and abet them.

Pacific Railroad. Fifthly. Notwichstanding the arguments of the gailant Senator from Oregon, I remain of though written on parthment or engraved up-on iton. I remain, therefore, constant to my have had flagrant wars with only four States, two of which were insignificant powers on the coast of Barbary, and have had direct hostilities, amounting to repri-had direct hostilities, amounting to repri-sals, against only two or three more; and the dissolution, be invoked? Thirdly—This movement arise, in

> what to many respects would harmony with cherished convictions of my I learned early from Jefferson that in impossible of execution, when the purpose is understood, that I domiss it with the discus-seems to be absolutely best. Those with seems to be absolutely best. Those with ston I have already incidentally bestowed up-on it. The case is different, however, in re-different views, have the power and the right different views, base the power and the right We must be content to lead when we can, and to follow when we can not lead : and if we can not at any time do for our country all the good that Having submitted my own opinions on this great crists, it remains only to say that I shall conciliation

The Union can not be saved by mutual consistions concerning our respective state of responsibility for the present evils. He whose conscience acquits him, will Diurally be slow to accuse others whose cooperation he needs. History only can adjust the great account.

A continuance of the debate on the enstitutional power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories, will but save the Union. The opinions of parthe and sections on that question have besome degmistical.

The Union can not be saved by proving that Spession is illegal or unconstitution-I Persons bent on that fearful step, will hat stand long enough on forms of law to be dislodged; and loyal men do not need such astrow ground to stand upon. I fear that little more will be gained from discussing the right of the Federal Government to corres seconding States into obedience. If distantion is to go on, this questiss will give place to the more practical one, whether many seconding States have a fight to cherce the remaining members to equissee in a dissolution. I dread, as is my innermost soul I abbor, civil war. I to not know what the Union would be worth if saved by the use of the sword. Yet, for all this, I do not agree with those who, with a desire to avert that great cal-Sparation, with a view to what they call re-construction. It is enough for me, fist, that in this plan, destruction goes before re-construction ; and, secondly, that the strength of the wase in which the hopes of the nation are held, consists

But it is essential to its success, in any case, that there be found a preponderating

Provident with all the means necessary to maintain the Union in the full exhibition nessionly under the pressure of severe and discrect exercise of its authority. provention. If it he a curistian daty to Beyond this, with the proper activity on forgive to the stranger even seventy times the part of the Executive, the responsibileren affences, it is the highest patriotism ity of saving the Union belongs to the peopie, and they are abandantly competent to discharge it.

by the Constitution of the United States.

and the states

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

Union a Habit of the People. Union is an old, fixed, settled habit of the American people, resulting from con-

victions of its necessity, and therefore not States, while existing as colonies, were ty of all is the safety of each of the States. European States were engaged in transfer combined, though imperfectly, through a While they remain united, the Federal ring negro slaves from Africa to this hem-When that allegiance ceased, no one was and all the forces of the several States; firmly set in hostility to the extension and the newly rising confederacies. so presumptuous as to suppose political ex- organizes their defences on one general even to the practice of slavery. Oppositherefore, on the same day that they de-therefore, on the same day that they de-them with one system; watches for them clared themselves independent, they pro-claimed themselves also confederates, and moves all agents under the States. Experience in war and in the contents a free of the formation of the states who is unacceptable to a state of the Linted States who is unacceptable to a invoking revolutionary action. If they de-them with a single eye, which it turns in all di-claimed themselves also confederates, and moves all agents under the states of the Linted States who is unacceptable to a invoking revolutionary action. If they do-the states who is unacceptable to a invoking revolutionary action. If they do-states is a single eye, which it turns in all di-claimed themselves also confederates and moves all agents under the states of the States who is unacceptable to a invoking revolutionary action. If they have not to what invoking revolutionary action is the election of a treat the states invoking revolutionary action. If they have invoking revolutionary action is the election of a treat the states invoking revolutionary action. If they have not to what is peaceful forms of administration, whith it is peaceful forms of administrating whith it is peaceful forms of administratio istence compatible with disunion; and, principle; barmonizes and assimilates tion to it takes two forms : one European, States. Experience in war and in peace, control of one executive head. A nation slave trade, and rosist the entrance of dofrom 1776 until 1787, only convinced so constituted is safe against assault or mestic slavery into Territories where it is result was ann unced. loose confederacy into a more perfect and dy exhaustion of money, and a severe strain tion of existing slavery to the considerate been elected, while the success of either one with concession which succession which succession to the succession which succession succession succession which succession successi them of the necessity of converting that even insult. War produces always a spee- yet nuknown, while it leaves the disposi- assigned coolness very different from the intemper- of small confederacies would often prove ed. It is the Union that restricts the op-

continuance of the Union as a subject lations which must arise between the concomprehending nothing less than the safe- federacies themselves. They would be compromising hostility to slavery which ty and welfare of all the parts of when the small and inconsiderable nations, border- elsewhere pervades the world, and of thirty three parts ; and the empire embra- ers, and the causes of war which they would cos, instead of only four millions, no less give by violating them, each of the confedthan thirty millions of inhabitants.

tional, or American interest. On the con- have different interests resulting from trary, they confessed with deep sensibility their establishment of different policies of that it seemed to them to have been reser- revenue, of mining, manufactures, and anity, advise a conventional or unopposed wed for the people of this country to decide navigation, of imigration, and perhaps the whether societies of men are really capable slave trade. Each would stipulate with of establishing good government upon re- foreign nations for advantages peculiar to flection and choice, or whether they are itself and injurious to its rivals. for ever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force. Union should be broken up, it would be feeble, glimmering and forid lights. Nor will

One Government or Many.

Some form of government is indispense. Bass of citizens, so far neutral on the is ble, here as elsewhere. Whatever form the which separates parties, that they can we have, every individual citizen and evcompel au accommodation. Moderate rights, to invest the Government with the sion. Jeslousies would bring on frequent the majestic drama of national progress, gladly, how proudly, would the people of any the formation in Europe accept, on such terms as we requisite power. The simple question, and retaliatory wars, and all these wars, Perhaps it is to be arrested because it sub-farte with its gans in battery; nor are therefore, for us now to decide, while lay. from the powellar circumstances of the limity is inespable of continuance. Let it be

the American people. Common Safety in Union.

If, indeed, it were necessary that the

will surrender all this mestimable and une serves, so certainly unwise and so obviously own. qualed liberty, and accept the hateful and in-What Causes the Survifice

And now, Mr. President, what is the cause The opinious of mankind change, and likely to be hastily discarded. The early forefathers' maxim, that the common safe- bundred years ugo, all the commorcial rit, and all at once collapsed into a liferess should be so if the question were sare nemphrially, than ever.

were east. Disunion began as soon as the as it depends on me, have the eacuse that I s announced. The justification it obstinutely left myself to be misoneterstood, was that Abraham Lincoln had In such a case, I can afferd to meet prejudice guarantee shall there be against the full development here of the fearful and un-Chief Magistrate otherwise designated than Chief Magistrate otherwise designated than ident will usurp despotic powers ! while he is of all men the most unamb

> senals to defend his own person. Ground of Discontent.

What, then, is the ground of discontent ? dure, they could severally for the Union. If the It is that the disuntentists and were urged of the common pretige of the Union. If the stars, conclusive the arguments which were urged constellation is to be broken up, the stars, in behalf of the successful candidate in the successful candidate in the successful candidate in the successful candidate in the successful candidate out arguments. smaller clusters, will thenceforth shed forth canvass. This is all. Were their own arguments against him more satisfactory They feared, therefore, that their failure in the last degree important that the new great achievements be rossible for the few con- supporters? Of course they were not; they to continue and perfect the Union would confederacies to be formed should be as federacies. Dissolution would signalize its could net be. Does the Constitution, in letter Congressional compromises are not like. It to save the Union. I know, indeed, that tradition favors this form of remedy But it is resential to be Compromised are not like. Decompromises are not like. The compromises are not like. The compromi against mutual offence. But such equali- when the dome is tising over our heads that faction ? Renewed debate, and ultimate re ty could not long be maintained; one con-federacy would rise in the scale of politi-esl importance, and the others would view it thenceforward with envy and apprehen-sion. Jeslousies would bring on frequent

and aims even at interference with slavery

people. Republicantsm and Lution are, there-lite, not convertible terms. Republicantsm he problem of a democratic republic may be is subordinate to Union, as everything else is cheerinity lend to the Government my best ness." Has the Federal Government become subordinate, and they ought to disappear in peace and to maintain and preserve the Union; its practice as far as pos-Mr. President, no one will dispute our with them the policies of nations. One unscound? Has the Constitution lost its spin So far as 1 am concerned, it shall be so; it sible the utmost moderation, forbearance and letter? Not, the Federal Government smiles used as it ought only to be determined, by the

more benignoidy, and works to-day more peaceful ordeal of the ballot. It shall be so all pencherally, than ever. The Constitution is the more since there is on one side preparedthe more since there is on one side prepared mmon allegiance to the British Crown. Government combines all the materials isphere. To day, all those States are even the cho-en model for the organization of mess to refer it to the arbitrament of civil war.

a perpetual Union. They noted with a upon credit. The treasuries and credits action of the States by which it is refailt-colness very different from the intemper-ate conduct of those who now on one side. These of the Union are al-position to slavery in this country within ally elements. Is the candidate person-ally elements of these who now on one side. These of the Union are al-position to slavery in this country within ally elements. Is an an of united and the country. Whatever dangers there shall be, these limits. If dissolution prevail, what ushed write and annable manners. Is an mon whether, by the Constitution of the Unily defy, disunion. They considered the I have thus far kept out of view the re- guarantee shall there be against the full election of President an unfrequent or extra-led States, the bond-man, who is made such whatever sacrifices, private or public shall be

ty and weither of all the parts of when the small and inconsiderable nations, border, and before as country was composed, and the fate of an compretion many respects the most interesting in the world. Instead of only thir-ting in the contry is now composed of thirty-three parts; and the empire embra-thirty-three parts; and the empire embra-the has escaped from that State into another, the constitution regards him as a bondying to become where and before accor-the has escaped from that State into another, the constitution regards him as a bondying to become where and before accor-the fast escaped from that State into another, the constitution regards him as a bondying to become where and before accor-the fast escaped from that State into another, the constitution regards him as a bondying to become where and the constitution regards him as a bondying to become where and before accor-the fast escaped from that State into another, the constitu-tion is struct. This Union has not yet accomplished what good for mankind who may treaties the treat and the empire embra-tion, is attraction? The founders of the Constitution, more-over, regarded the Union as no mere nawhich must follow in its fram. But practi-cally, the loss of salety involves every other form of public calimity. When once the grandian angel has taken flight, everything treaty or procure the passage of a law, and treaty or procure the passage of a law, and can hardly draw a musket from the public ar- which relate to this class of persons, or any It is that the disuntonists did not accept as of Congress passed in conformity thereto, the one which last its foundations in the eter-

noght to be repealed. No Interference with State Institutions. Secondly-Experience in public affairs has confirmed my opinion, that domestic slavers, existing in any State, is wisely left by the Constitution of the United States exclusively to the care, management, and disposition of that State ; and if it were in my power, I received, at an obscure town, by an utley would not alter the Constitution in that respect. If misapprehension of my position eds so strong a remedy. I am willing to vote for an amendment to the Constitution, declaring that it shall not, by any fotore amendment, delighted him. He had lost sight of him he so altered as to confer on Congress a power for some time, but read with interest his abolish or interfere with slavery in any State.

Abiding Faith in Union

And now, Mr. President, what are the auspices of the country ! I know that we are in the midst of alarms, and somewhat exposed to the newly rising confederacies. The Election of President. The eccasion is the election of a President The necession is the election of a President The nece can people remains unshaken. Coolness, calmness, and resolution, are elements of their character. They have been temporarily displaced, but they are re-appearing. Soon enough, I trust, for safety, it will be seen that sedimon and violence are only local and temthere will be the determination to meet them ; by such election, and that form of choice is laws on that subject are supreme; that, when great nation to fall. This people, which has renewed every four years. Does any one ev- he has escaped from that State into another, heen studying to become wiser and better as the States, whether free States or slave States, madig lifts his hand segment it. It shall con-which relate to this class of persons, or any time and enlare; and men, in later times, others recently coming from or resident in shall declare that this generation, which saved other States, and which laws contravene the the Union from such sudden and unlooked-Constitution of the United States, or any law for dangers, surpassed in magnationity even nal principles of liberty, justice and humanity.

> MARTIN VAN BUREN was always & shrewd observer. Recently, in a public company, he stated that during a trip to Illinois while President, he was publicly stranger, whose sense and spirit, on making his sequeistance, not only surprised but delighted him. He had lost sight of him Senatorial contest in 1858, and now found Thirdly-while I think that Congress has him to be the acustitutionally elected Prea-

Dissolution would not only arrest, but ex-

tinguish, the greatness of our country. Even if separate confederacies could exist and endure, they could severally preserve no share