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

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WORDEN & CORNELIUS.

The Star and Chronicle.

MONDAY, MARCH 11, 1861.

Whittier on the Union.

The Union has found not a more eloquent defender than that staunch Republican poet, John G. Whittier. Glorying in the free nobility of our race, our system of government, our prosperity, our strength and greatness, he has a sort of inspiration when he wrote the following:

The blood that flowed at Lexington and crimsoned Bright Champlain,
[illegible] Walley
Mingles still along the Southern Gulf, and by the Lakes it flows
In some [illegible] Pauline's golden sands,
And [illegible] secure that love and grace by dark Allan Lovelace.

We hide to one vast brotherhood the truggers of the West
With men whose cities class themselves in Alva's mission breast;
And those to whom September brings the Greenie's annual [illegible]
With those who see December's brow all wreathed with [illegible]

From where Columbia laughs to greet the smiling Western [illegible]
Where Freedom sighs beside the Patriot Hero's grave,
And from the groaning Everglades to Hudson's [illegible] Wave,
The glory of a nation's past thrills through a hundred [illegible]

Whenever Arnold's tale is told, it draws the cheek with [illegible]
The glow with pride for Bunker Hill, and Monmouth's [illegible]
And each proud heart swells the fear the State of [illegible]
Upon the deck or at the duel is proven a common [illegible]

It is a sacred legacy ye never can divide,
Ye take from [illegible] [illegible] pride,
Ye bestow a white haired children who [illegible] [illegible]
Where [illegible] lakes are sparkling and where [illegible]

Grace drew his sword at Guilford, and [illegible] Southern [illegible]
Tread the march across the Delaware, amid the snow and [illegible]
And [illegible] upon the parchment, where our [illegible] record [illegible]
The burning page of Jefferson beats Franklin's [illegible]

Could ye divide that record bright, and tear the names [illegible]
That first were written boldly there with [illegible]
Dare ye erase a Hancock's name, even with the [illegible] edge?
It was not [illegible] with fraternal blood a Carroll's double pledge?

Say, can the South call all her share in Bunker's heavy [illegible]
[illegible]
Can the North give up her part in Yorktown's [illegible]
Can ye divide, with equal hands, the heritage of [illegible]
Or proof to [illegible] the starry ring that [illegible] proudly waves?

[illegible]

THE INAUGURAL of President Lincoln has ere this doubtless received a wider circulation and more critical scrutiny than any similar paper ever had. Omitting all stereotype common-places and matters-of-course, he addresses himself to the one engrossing national issue before us—Liberty and Union, against Anarchy and Disunion. It is, doubtless, wholly his own composition—every word and sentence—and is said to have been revised, and the concluding stirring paragraphs added, during the morning of the day it was read. Its contents were known only to himself...As a matter of course, it is assailed by all who are determined to be his foes, but is received with candor and hope by independent men, and, without any exception, has the hearty applause of the Republican press...We commend it to the serious, fair attention of every right-minded person. It is perfect in temper, and invincible in logic.

DO NOT BELIEVE one-half the Sensation Despatches sent from Washington as Political Topics. Many of them are waste-cloth lies, got up to fan the flame and make papers sell. Many of these are refer to pretended violent personal quarrels between prominent Republicans—all false, or so magnified as to be unreliable. The truth is, the friends of the different candidates have not begun to exhibit the fierceness and personal rivalry of the Democracy on the eve of Inaugurations. Foolish and warm words are always spoken on such occasions, but the Republican canvass has had less of it than usual.

MR. LINCOLN IS PRESIDENT—that is certain. But while he decides for himself where he is himself responsible, no one takes more pains to look at every side of a question; he hears all as far as he can, and treats each with respect. He designs to have no ruler—either of a single man, or of a cabal or clique—over him. Firm without stubbornness—gentle without weakness—he seems to have the personal qualifications most needed for his most arduous and responsible office.

THE OFFICES.—By next week, probably, the selection of Country Post Masters, &c., will commence, at Washington. "About this time" (as the Almanac says) look out for thunder!" Only one can be appointed in a place—that is certain. Who the favored one—where there are several candidates, all competent, worthy, each having peculiar claims and hopes, and perhaps needing the office—is uncertain. But one thing is sure, and that is, that the unsuccessful applicants, if true philosophers and patriots, will submit like men, and not get out of heart and temper and revenge themselves on the cause they have professed to love.

Of course, there are now (as ever) many applicants for every station, and each naturally considers himself best entitled to the preference. The appointing power rarely knows anything of the contestants. He, doubtless, may mistake, yet he always endeavors to do as near right, for the persons and the party, as he can; and the number and influence of the friends of the applicants generally determine his decision. Our Member, Mr. Killinger, no doubt designs to give all a fair chance. The close of the Quarter (31st March) is a convenient time for changing Post Offices, but all may not be reached as soon as that.

"Every Difference of Opinion is not a Difference of Principle."

This is a motto to be treasured up in the hearts and acted out in the life of the friends of Lincoln at the present time. They were formerly of different parties, and are of different temperaments and localities. While all agree substantially in the ends to be reached, it may often happen that they may differ in their estimate of the best modes and times of accomplishing a given thing.

In his Cabinet, there are Messrs. Seward and Chase, original Anti-Slavery men—Cameron, Blair, and Welles, old-time Democrats, who sustained Fremont—and Bates and Smith, old-line Whigs, who supported Fillmore in 1856. Each of these may have peculiar views of policy and of expediency, and yet harmonize in essentials, and each yield where the sense of the majority is clearly against him on any question not involving vital principles.

Washington and his Cabinet, with Four Millions of People on the Atlantic Coast to govern, had no harder task before them than Lincoln and his Cabinet have in administering the Laws to Thirty-One Millions of People scattered from Ocean to Ocean, with Three or Four Millions in open, armed rebellion, encouraged and cheered on by thousands of the leaders of a late powerful dominant party! With such difficulties before them, Republicans—both in and out of power—should be generous, conceding, and allow much latitude of opinion where so vast questions are before them. The Patriots of the Revolution of ten differed materially on measures, and were at times estranged from each other—yet we all now agree they meant to plan for the best. So let us act in view of their examples, and learn wisdom from their sad experiences. Bear in mind the golden maxim—"*In non-essentials, Liberty; in essentials, Unity; and in all things, Charity.*"

Amending the U. S. Constitution.

The written Bill of Rights and Agreement of Government denominated the *Constitution of the United States*, is not a Divine ordinance, like the Ten Commandments engraven on stone, or the Golden Rule of the Savior of men. It is merely the work of human beings, by counsel among themselves, to secure every person in his natural privileges, and to settle cases of dispute that might arise. In our spreading country, and amid the changing circumstances of business, it is not to be expected that no variation would ever be needed—and accordingly, that Constitution itself has one Article providing for its own amendment. It is as follows:

ART. V. Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress: *Provided*, That no Amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

With this privilege of frequent changes, it is a most remarkable fact that over half a century has elapsed since any Amendment to this Consitution has been made. There were amendments in 1793, 1799, and 1803—the last, fifty-eight years ago! Is not the simple fact a proud proof of the virtue and efficacy of that instrument—so long a time, in such an expanding, thriving land, without one change in its fundamental law?

—But, at the recent session of Congress, *one* Amendment (moved by Thomas Corwin, a leading Republican from Ohio) was proposed, as follows:

JOINT RESOLUTION to Amend the Constitution of the United States.

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two thirds of both Houses concurring,) That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, as part of the said Constitution; namely:

ART. 13. No amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere, within any State, with the domestic institutions thereof, including that of persons held to labor or service by the laws of said State.

In the House, this amendment was approved, by a vote of 133 Yeas to 65 Nays, and in the Senate by 24 Yeas to 12 Nays—two-thirds of each House voting for it. It is, therefore, duly presented as an additional Article of our National Constitution, and as such is, by the choice of Congress, submitted, for ratification or rejection, to the Legislatures of the several States—most of which, in the North, are now in session.

The only question, as we view it, respecting the adoption of this Article is, *Is it "NECESSARY?"* Its *expediency* or its *rightfulness* may be granted, but its *necessity* may not be so apparent. Those who voted against it, believed it to be unnecessary, and therefore inexpedient. The Constitution, it is thought by many, is already sufficiently explicit on that point. This is merely a repetition, in less forcible language, of one of the doctrines of the Chicago Platform, which reads thus:

"*Resolved*, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depend; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

Moreover, a few weeks ago, on motion of another Republican, the same sentiment as that embodied in the proposed Amendment passed the House by a *unanimous* vote. To repeat the vote, seemed child's play. To gravely state a self-evident fact, was as silly and foolish as for a congregation of divines to vote that men are not at liberty to kill and eat their mothers!

We do not suppose one of the Republicans denies the proposition contained in the Amendment—a part of their own platform—yet the singular spectacle was presented of a majority of the Members present voting against one of the fundamental articles of their creed, and every slave-holder and apologist voting for it! So strange are the workings of legislative forms.

Another objection to its acceptance was, that it seemed one of a series of attempted menaces and efforts to degrade the Republicans, on the part of the Slaveocracy. Following the Secession robberies and treasons, they were not willing to look at anything like negotiating with traitors. They deemed it a piece of useless and unnecessary tautology.

Our own opinion is, that the main body of the Republicans in Congress, and their allies not strictly of the party, have sufficiently demonstrated their courage and their faithfulness to principle, in the face of all threats and snares to entrap them. Therefore—not out of fear, or with regard to the rebels in arms, but for other reasons—we think it would be well for the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and of all the other States, to ratify this Amendment. It may not be "necessary" in one sense, and yet may be in another. Some few extreme persons in the North have argued against the principle involved in the Amendment, which would decide and plainly guard the point. Very many honest men in the South have been led to believe that the Two Millions of Republicans, now coming into power, are in favor of abolishing Slavery among them—for they have been so told by thousands of Democratic speakers and newspapers, and Presidents and Governors have for years past, in official Messages, spread the same cruel and infamous falsehood. But Republican orators and journals generally have been shut out from those States—so that the great majority of well-meaning men there are really laboring under that great delusion, and are thereby causelessly embittered against their Northern brethren. To disabuse these people it may be *necessary* to put this Amendment into the Constitution, "in black and white."

Besides these, in the great contest between Anarchy and Law, waging in several slave holding States, there are many good and true public men, fighting a desperate battle for the General Government in its integrity, who claim that such a decision, from the great mass of the States, embodied in the highest and most permanent legal authority, is *necessary* for their standing and triumph.

As the Amendment, then, is a mere iteration of a well-known and admitted Republican principle—and as it may do something to dissipate the evils which wicked and designing men have created in the South, and thus greatly strengthen the hands of the better classes—we should, as at present advised, vote for its ratification. If the Slave States choose to neglect or reject it, upon them be the responsibility. We shall have shown our willingness to go to every extent possible to satisfy all reasonable men. We shall stay the ravages of Treason. We shall aid the true men, among the common people of the South, who compose the nucleus of Republicanism there.

There are 34 States legally in the Union. The Amendment may be rejected by 8 States—by 1 over the number that have "seceded" and declare that they have no wish or intention ever to return, and probably (until a better spirit prevails) will not even take it into consideration. One of the loyal States, then, voting (the Seceders silent or averse) against the Amendment, it would fail. But as there is no time fixed within which favorable action may not be taken, a little patience may bring them all in.

THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, Ill., President.
HANNIBAL HAMLIN, Me., Vice Pres.
Wm. H. Seward, N.Y., Secretary State.
Simon Cameron, Pa., Secretary War.
Gideon Welles, Ct., Secretary Navy.
Salmon P. Chase, O., Secre'y Treasury.
Caleb B. Smith, Ind., Secre'y Interior.
Edward Bates, Mo., Attorney General.
Montgomery Blair, Md., Post M. General.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, born in Kentucky, Feb. 12, 1809—little or no schooling—farmer's boy, flat-boatman, store keeper, surveyor—Captain in the Black Hawk war—lawyer—and Whig Member of the Illinois Legislature and of Congress...is too well known to require any personal introduction.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN, born in Maine, Aug. 27, 1809—printer, lawyer, and farmer—was 4 years in the State Legislature, once Governor, twice elected Member, and twice a Senator in Congress...also needs only this allusion to his history.

Sketches of the New Cabinet.

WILLIAM HENRY SEWARD is a native of Orange county, New York, born 16th May, 1801. Graduated at Union College, 1820—taught a select school for a time in Georgia—but, about 1822, settled as his home in Auburn, N. Y., where he has since resided. In 1830, he was elected a State Senator—in 1838 and 1840, Governor of the State by the Whigs—and has since served two terms, with most distinguished ability, in the Senate of the United States. He was a particular personal friend of Henry Clay. His eminent fitness for the office of Secretary of State, is universally admitted at home and abroad. In learning, knowledge and industry, he is unsurpassed. His son, Fred W. Seward, late an Editor of the Albany Evening Journal, is his chief Assistant in the office.

SIMON CAMERON was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, about the year 1799, but his parents—his father a Scotchman, his mother a German—soon removed to Northumberland county. His father dying while he was but a boy, and with no inheritance from him but a virtuous, manly will, at the age of 16 or 17 Simon Cameron put all his worldly goods in a pack upon his shoulder, and footed it to Harrisburg, where he bound himself as a printer to James Peacock. Graduating in due time, he worked at his trade as a journeyman in Washington City—where now he acts as Secretary of War of one of the mightiest Nations of the Earth! ("Seest thou a man diligent in business? he shall stand before kings.") In 1824, declined a flattering nomination for Congress, as it interfered with some business plan, but was appointed Adjutant General by Gov. Shulze in 1828, and was State Printer for a time. In 1831, Gen. Jackson (unsolicited) appointed him a Visiter at West Point. No man has done more than Gen. Cameron to develop the resources and stimulate the industry of this his native State, as his Executive connection with various Railway and Canal enterprises has happily exhibited. His financial ability, developed as Cashier of the Middletown Bank for some thirty years, was conspicuous, and his liberality and faithfulness to friends are proverbial. Always a Protective Tariff man and against the spread of Slavery, in 1856 he was forced, with hundreds of thousands of others, to leave the Democratic party-shell, and identified himself with the Republicans. He has twice represented Pennsylvania in the National Senate, (his second term being yet unexpired,) and was the expressed choice of the State for President at the Chicago Convention. His industry, energy, and sagacity in knowing men may be of great service in his Department.

SALMON PORTLAND CHASE, born at Cornish, New Hampshire, in 1808, lost his father when nine years of age, studied for a time with his uncle, Bishop Chase, at Worthington, O., but graduated at Dartmouth in 1826. Read law with William Wirt, in Washington City, where he was admitted to the bar, and also conducted a Select Boys' School—but settled for life in Cincinnati. He was twice Governor of Ohio, during which time he detected the defalcation of a State Treasurer, and put the finances of the State in a satisfactory and greatly improved condition. He served one term in the U. S. Senate, and was elected, again, for six years from the 4th inst. Without either the wish or solicitation of himself, he was tendered the post of Secretary of the Treasury by the President, and accepted in accordance with the urgent advice of friends, while yet avowing his preference for the Senatorship. Although once a Democrat, he is not a Free Trader as charged by some against him, but will act with the Republicans on the Tariff question. No man has more ardent personal friends than Salmon P. Chase; and his integrity is undoubted.

GIDEON WELLES, of Connecticut, we suppose to be a native of that State. He is a hale-looking man, of about sixty years—was some time Post Master at Hartford, and connected with the Press—and confessedly is one of the most influential and sagacious politicians of New England. As the sole representative of that section in the Cabinet, he has charge of the Navy Department, and can thus do justice to one of the great "peculiar institutions" of the Yankees. He is styled "Governor," but we think is only entitled to that distinction by having been a candidate. He served in the Navy Department with honor under President Polk, but the Repeal of the Missouri Compromise dissolved his connection with the authors of that atrocious deed, "and the end is not yet." Lincoln made the acquaintance of Welles while on a visit to Hartford some time before his nomination, and the intimacy then formed doubtless led to the appointment.

EDWARD BATES, the new Attorney General, was born near the James River, in Virginia, in 1793. His parents were Quakers, but his father lost his standing in that Society by bearing arms under Lafayette at the capture of Cornwallis: he died in 1805, leaving a very small estate among twelve children. Edward managed to secure a respectable although not a collegiate education. In 1813, he served in a company raised to resist an anticipated attack of the British upon Norfolk. An older brother having migrated to Missouri (of which Territory he was Secretary from 1807 to 1820,) Edward also settled in St. Louis, and in a few years reached independence, and eminence, in the legal profession. He was a Judge in St. Louis—presided over the River and Harbor Convention at Chicago—was nominated and confirmed as Secretary of War under President Fillmore, but declined from domestic considerations—was President of the Whig National Convention that nominated Gen. Scott—and himself received a handsome vote at Chicago for President. He is probably the oldest man in the Cabinet.

MONTGOMERY BLAIR, of Maryland, is a gentleman in the prime of life, son of Frs P. Blair, editor of the Globe and bosom friend of Gen. Jackson during the latter's Administration—brother of Frank P. Blair of Missouri—and son-in-law of the late Hon. Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire. Montgomery Blair graduated from West Point, afterwards studied law and settled in Missouri, where he was elevated to the bench. President Pierce appointed him one of the Judges of the Court of Claims, which sits at Washington, but his Republican principles resulted in his dismissal by Buchanan. Judge Blair is a favorite of his party in the South and West, and well adapted, it is claimed, for the office of Post Master General. His residence is at Montgomery Castle (near his father's hospitable mansion at Silver Spring,) in Montgomery county, not far from Washington City.

CALEB B. SMITH, Secretary of the Interior, a native of Massachusetts, was a Whig Member of Congress from Indiana, 1843, and was appointed one of the Commissioners of Mexican Claims by Gen Taylor or Mr. Fillmore. He is represented to be a man of vigorous intellect and considerable administrative tact and ability. He was one of the most effective speakers during the recent canvass in Indiana, and altho' less known to the country than his fellow Members of the Cabinet, is understood to have much of Mr. Lincoln's confidence.

It is understood that all these gentlemen were the President's own selection—none were forced upon him by outside arrangements, or compulsion. They represent all classes of his supporters, and embrace two or three Ex-Governors, three U. S. Senators, and three Ex-Judges. By nativity or settlement, the individuals of the Administration illustrate the heart and vertebræ of the nation—the strong, populous, vital business States of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and Missouri.

The Cabinet, as sub-executives and intimate agents of the President, will do much to make or mar the Administration. They are statesmen of decided talents, capable of winning additional honors. Or they may, by their own carelessness, ambition, greediness for family favors, or more gross corruption, (such as have eternally disgraced some of their predecessors) tarnish not only their own but their President's reputation. Mr. Buchanan's worst deeds were under the influence of his Cabinet. Mr. Lincoln is not to be moulded thus. We rejoice to read that he will hold to a personal responsibility every Member in his own Department, for his appointments and management: and while, as President from the outset, he desires and respects the opinions of all, he decides for himself.

At dinner at Erie, some gentleman offered Mr. Lincoln some wine, and rather forced it upon him. Mr. Lincoln replied: "I have lived fifty years without the use of any liquor, and I do not think it worth while to change my habits now."

The United States forts built in Southern waters cost the country nearly $19,000,000. All in the rest of the Union cost a little over $11,000,000.

Dr. Foster, who tore down and trampled upon the American flag, at Covington, Ky., a few days since, has been fined $20 for that offence.

The Prodigal Son was a Scripture case of Secession. He commenced with arrogance and ended in a pig pen!

THERE MUST BE LAW AND GOVERNMENT!

From the Binghamton (N.Y.) Standard.

We commend the following article from the pen of Rev. P. S. Worden, to the attention of our readers. It is a calm and able review of the question, from a sufficient standpoint than most of the speculations which appear in the newspapers. The article is contributed by the unanimous request of the Ministers of the Literary and Theological Association of Binghamton District present in the session at which it was read.—Feb. 2, 1861.

THE CRISIS.

Amid a general uncertainty and confusion of ideas on questions of public expediency, it is well that there are certain fixed principles around which the scattered thoughts and unsettled judgments of men may rally. To meet this or that emergency of the time in which we live, may be difficult; but to recognize truths which do not vary through all time, and to feel the claims of duty towards interests of paramount sacredness and utility, is comparatively easy. Those who have the momentous work of forming and guiding public opinion at the present time, can not do better than to fix these great and indisputable facts firmly upon the minds of men, and thus promote their toward peace and calmness, and prepare them faithfully and promptly to perform their duty.

Law and Government have their foundations in the deepest principles and necessities of both the Divine and human minds. They are founded on the will of God, on conscience, and their adaptation to promote the highest happiness of all beings. There is nothing more sacred or more precious, among human interests, than those which are involved in the maintainance of Law and Government. There is nothing more benign, more vital, or more glorious among divine things than the law and government of God. There is no surer symptom of a depraved nature, a nature utterly lost to good, than contempt of these things. Rebellion against the will of God, violence to the plain dictates of conscience, and disregard to the highest happiness of man, are all bound up in such a state. If, then, government, which is perfect in its justice—infinitely benevolent in its tendencies and workings—and perfect in its administration—is contumned and resisted, that contempt and resistance becomes heinous and malignant; and deserve to be, and ere long will be, visited with fearful penalties. Let it be remembered, also, that "whosoever offendeth in one point, is guilty of all."

The best human governments are necessarily imperfect in structure, and defective in execution. If the wisest statesman can not establish a system of government that shall be free from defect in its organization or working, what a blind and selfish mistake is that which too often keeps the best men in a community from active participation in the affairs of state, and thus, through a faulty administration, unnecessarily multiply its evils! But necessary imperfection of human government, does not rob it of its sacred character, nor release us from obligation to obey it.

Nevertheless, loyalty to government does not prohibit, but rather encourages us to labor for the removal of its defects, and the general improvement of its character. This patriotic work can be done in the truest spirit of obedience, and with an honest desire to make it still more nearly conformed to its high purposes, and thus worthier of a deeper reverence from its subjects. Rebellion against such a government, is an unmitigated crime. It is a grievous offence against society—against posterity. It is treason to the human race. When, indeed, a government is totally perverted from its true ends, so as to entail only evil upon its subjects—when it tramples upon conscience, and compels men to violate the plain commands of God, it has lost its foundations of support, and forfeited its claim either to reverence or obedience. It is no longer government, but usurpation. Resistance then, becomes justifiable; and just so far as it has prospect of success, and of the establishment of a righteous rule, it is a duty.

The Government of these United States was established by wise, patriotic, pure-minded, God-fearing men. It has grown up under the fostering care, and been purified by the moulding influence, of Christian principles. For freedom, for elasticity, for a wise adjustment of checks and balances, it is probably the best government the sun ever shone upon.

Though it has been in operation less than a single century, under it a community of thirteen colonies in the remote borders of the world has risen in power, wealth, and intelligence, until it is second to no nation on the globe. Millions of the subjects of other governments less peaceable, less prosperous, less just, have sought its benign protection, and have not been disappointed. Millions more are waiting this moment to follow in their steps. Under these circumstances, language, conception even, fails us in attempting to portray the enormity of those acts which aim at its overthrow. What unheard-of delusion must possess the minds of men who think they have found such intolerable evils in the character and workings of this government, as to call for its destruction by violence! What low, inadequate, and demoralizing views of the sacredness of law, and the majesty of government, must they have, who are willing to lay violent hands upon both, for the sake of avoiding evils only remotely expected, and sure to be infinitely aggravated by this process when they come, if they come at all! What a fearful account will they have to render to posterity, whom they will have certainly thrust down from the very forefront of Christian civilization and progress, and made the prey of internal feuds, the ambition of military leaders, or perhaps subjected again to European domination!

Our Federal Government, preserved and administered in its integrity, is wise, strong, and good. If it be not worthy of obedience, reverence and support, as approximating to the demands of conscience, the will of God, and the requirements of society, then there is no Government worthy of it upon earth, and loyalty is but an empty name! The brightening hopes of philanthropists must perish, every people should be stirred up to instant rebellion, and anarchy would be proclaimed around every throne and every executive chair on the globe. Nothing is sacred! nothing is safe! What infatuation! what extremity of folly! Whatever else be uncertain, whatever other evils come upon us, one truth is indisputable—one duty is plain. Our government is perfect enough to challenge all the instinctive reverence of the soul for rightful authority, and every citizen should prefer to die in its defence, rather than see it dishonored and overthrown. And, amidst the gathering clouds of darkness, here is our hope. The people love our Government, revere our Constitution, and cherish our Laws. They will obey them. They will enforce them. They will never see them ruthlessly overthrown.

Reverence for law is a deep and abiding sentiment in the hearts of American freemen. The almost uniform and universal obedience of our nation of sovereigns, to rightful authority, is the standing marvel of the old world, and has done more than all other causes combined to give our country its proud pre-eminence. It is no natural instinct, but the outgrowth of stern suffering and firm resolve, of long experience and patient endurance. It is one of the highest and best developements of the human conscience and understanding. Its very operation shows the difficulty of its acquirement. It unites personal freedom with public order, and renders the supremacy of authority compatible with individual right. It exposes the Constitution to assault, and, even as we often see in our State governments, tears it down and builds it up again at pleasure, yet recognizes the same Constitution as a permanent rule of action, and denounces every one who lifts his hands against it in an unconstitutional manner as a public enemy, and brands him as a traitor. Surely, the sentiment that has done this and is still doing it, and which has wrought out for us the freest system of national government the world has ever seen, is a thing of profoundest origin, and rarest growth. How sacredly then should it be cherished, with what sleepless vigilance should it be guarded!

The darkest sin of the present Secession movement is, that it is breaking down this vital principal of Constitutional government. It is loosening the firmest bonds of society. It is profaning the sanctity and subverting the authority of the Law. In doing this, it disturbs every element of public order and security, and there is no wonder that a reign of terror is inaugurated in its train! Its very first step is the repudiation of the Federal Constitution, which declares itself on its very face to be "The supreme law of the land." It is a revolutionary—a treasonable step! It is attempt at national suicide! It is indicative of the sheerest madness, and every sane person should aid in securing the unfortunates until there are clear indications of returning sanity. To yield, is to give up every principle of government authority, and introduce a state of things where nothing can be secure—where revolt and anarchy will hold perpetual struggle with law and order. It is not merely a question, as some have supposed, whether the American Union shall consist of this or that number of States. That is but a secondary consideration. The Gulf of Mexico might swallow up every State that has seceded, and the United States would still live and grow, and present the happy and magnificent spectacle of a free and prosperous nation. It is not the mere loss of so many people, or of so much territory, that makes the disaster, but the introduction of a *lawless precedent*, which would make all reliable, free government, impossible on this continent.

Were these Seceding States incurably disaffected toward the present Union—could it be established, that the settled and unchangeable will of their people was for separation—we should not be for retaining them, provided they discharged their obligations faithfully until they could legally be discharged from them by an amendment of the Constitution. Even this would be a hard necessity, but it might be honorably and patriotically submitted to, and the remaining Union still thrive and spread as does the iron hearted oak, though some of its branches are lopped off—the sweet, pure sap, within, soon healing the wounds, and diffusing new vigor. But this violent and reckless rending away of these States in the lawless way in which it is attempted to be done, is not to be tolerated. It is not simply destruction to every principle of government—it corrupts the very sap, it kills the root, it destroys the whole tree!

There is, therefore, no alternative. The separation which is against law, which violates every organic principle of our existence, must not be allowed. It is a matter of life and death, and must be resisted by every means at the command of the Government, and to the last extremity. But is not this counselling war? No; in no proper sense of that word. It is only asking that the government shall not tamely submit to its own death! That it shall, as heretofore, exercise its authority over these States, calmly, steadily maintaining its jurisdiction over them—faithfully, firmly, unflinchingly, executing the laws. "But this will lead to war." Then every act of the enforcement of law is a declaration of war. It is war to compel a man by law to pay his debts. It is war to arrest and imprison a house-breaker. It is war to catch a pirate, or hang a murderer. If blood must be shed, as seems now inevitable, in the enforcement of constitutional obligations, let the responsibility rest where it belongs. Whatever inconveniences and evils opposition to this disorganizing spirit may entail, they are as nothing in comparison with the untold, immeasurable calamities of yielding. I repeat it, therefore—there is no alternative. Lawlessness must not triumph. The Constitution must be preserved. The laws must be enforced.

P. S. WORDEN.