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THE UNION FOREVER ! A KENTUCKIAN SPEAKS.

BY S. J. ROW.

Letter from the Hon. Joseph Holt, Post-Master-General, and Secretary-of-War, dur-ing President Buchanan's Administration.

WASHINGTON, May 81, 1861. J. F. SPEED, Esq-My dear Sir : The recent overwhelming vote in favor of the Union, in Kentucky, has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant State have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to a Government which, for now nearly seventy years, has remained faithful to them. Still, it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that State a band of agitators, who, though few in number, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will continue to be, unceasing in their endeavors to force Kentucky to unite her fortunes with the rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this, and of the well-known fact that several of the seceded States have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false and fatal position, I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the political future of our native State without a painful solicitude. Never have the safety and honor of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If true to themselves, the stars and stripes, which, like angel's wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if, chasing the dreams of other men's ambition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the doom that awaits them. The Legislature, it seems, has determined by resolutions, that the State, pending the present unhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. I must say, in all frankness and without desiring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that in this struggle for the existence of our Govern-

ment, I can neither practice, nor profess, nor teel neutrality. I would as soon think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incendiary, arrested in an attempt to fire the dwelling over my head; for the Government whose overthrow is sought, is for me the shelter not only of home, kindred and friends, but of every earthly blessing which I can hope to enjoy on this side of the grave. It, however, from a natural horror of fratricidal strife, or from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the neutral attitude assumed for her by her Legislature, her position will still be an honorable one though falling far short of that full measure of lovalty which her history has so constantly illustrated. Her Executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, alike the popular and Legislative sentiment of the State, has by proclamation, forbidden the Government of the United States from marching troops across her territory. This is, in no sense, a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a Constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington, and could this prohibition be effective, it would not only be a violation of the fundamental law, but would in all its tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolution, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the Legislature so promptly refused to endorse this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of the State. Bat I turn away from even this to the ballot box, and find an abounding consolation in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in advance alike of Legislative resolve and of Executive proclamation. But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather scotched than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring, as briefly as practicable, whether, in the recent action or present declared policy of the Administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the results which must follow from it, if successful, there can be discovered any reasons why that State should sever the ties that unite her with a confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle fields she has won so much fame, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity. For more than a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the manifestations seemed unequivocal that his Administration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments to the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted States to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the border States, and in reassnring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. While affecting to despise these States as not sufficiently identified in their devotion to African servitude, they well knew they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipitate a collision of arms with the Federal authorities, in the hope that, under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the border States, following the bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government. Fort Sumter, occupied by a feeble garrison, and girdled by powerful, if not impregnable batteries, afforded convenient means for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also their favorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhausted, and the request made by the President, in the interests of peace and humanity, for the privilege of replenishing its stores, had been refused. The Contederate authorilies were aware-for so the gallant commander of the fort had declared to them-that in two days a capitulation from starvation must take place. A peaceful surrender, however,

the fortification became wrapped in flames, the besieging batteries, in violation of the usages of civilized warfare, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fires. A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any Government whose history has been written. Cotemporary with, and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was and still is actively pressed ; the property of the United States Government continued to be seized wherever found, and its troops, by fraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violation of a solemn compact with its authorities that they should be permitted to embark without molestation. This was the requital which the lone-star State made to brave men who, through long years of peril and privation, had guarded its frontiers against the incursions of the savages. In the midst of the most active and extended warlike preparations in the South, the announcement was made by the Secretary of War of the Seceded States, and echoed with press, that Washington City was to be invaded and captured, and that the flag of the Confedits Capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world-embracing necessarily the outcasts and desperadoes of every sea-to accept letters of marque and reprisal, to prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic ? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionists and trembled under their menances; he might upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun in its defence, and proceeding yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the "let-us-alone" policy insisted on in the South he might have ordered that the stars and stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel bunting that might appear. But he did none of these things, nor would he have done them without forgetting his oath and betraying the most sublime trust that has ever been confided to the hands of man. With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling the protection of the republic and its capital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies, he threw himself on the loy- When a man feels the poignard of the destroyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly these States, fifteen hundred thousand freemen cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last | derirg heap of ruins. Presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon tented field, this million and a half of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which not less the friends of the South than before ; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East or the West ; but is, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly permit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessing and glory of all. The great thoroughfares of the North, the East and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the capital, or to other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkindness. No excesses will mark the footsteps of the armies of the Republic; no institutions of the States will be invaded or tampered with; no rights of persons or property will be violated. The known purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guarantee the truthfulness of this statement. When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts regiment at once offered its services to suppress it. These volunteers have been denounced by the press of the South as "knaves and vagrants," "the dregs and offscourings of the populace," who would "rather filch a handkerchief than fight an enemy in manly combat ;" yet we know, here, that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and, I presume, it may be sately affirmed that a larger amount of social position, culture, fortune, and elevatian of character, has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the seceded States from the cruel domination by which it is oppressed and silenced : to unfurl the stars and stripes in the midst of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of peace, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their pathway. It is in vain for the revolutionists to exclaim that this is "subjugation." It is so, precisely in the sense in which you and I and all law-abiding citizens are subjugated. The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enacted by our joint are all parties, we only ask that they shall be their safety demands this; we know that ours does. We impose no burden which we ourselves do not bear; we claim no privelege or blessing which our brethren of the South shall not equally share. Their country is our country, and ours is theirs ; and that unity, both of country and of government, which the providence of God and the compacts of men have created, we could not ourselves without self

helpless garrison for hours without reply, and spurned, and the only Southern right now in become a part of the Constitution; but the when, in the progress of the bombardment, sisted on is that of dismemberment of the re- secession of the eleven States leaves but twentempted exercise of this right neither States which is three less than the constitutional nor statesmen will be "let alone." Should a number.

ruffian meet me in the streets, and seek with his axe to hew an arm and a leg from my body, I would not the less resist him because, as a dishonored and helpless trunk I might perchance survive the mutilation. It is easy to perceive what fatal results to the old confed- stead of co-operating with their sister States eracy would follow should the blow now struck at its integrity, ultimately triumph. We can well understand what degradation it would bring to it abroad, and what weakness at home ; what exhaustion from incessant war that it was not the safety of the South but its this reason for a dissolution of the Union ? and standing armies, and from the erection of fortifications along the thousands of miles of new frontier; what embarassments to commerce from having its natural channels encumbered or cut off; what elements of disintegration and revolution would be introduced from the pernicious example; and above all, what humiliation would cover the whole American people for having failed in their great taunts and insolent bravados by the Southern mission to demonstrate before the world the capacity of our race for self-government.

While a far more fearful responsibility has erate States would soon float over the dome of fallen upon President Lincoln than upon any of his predecessors, it must be admitted that he has met it with promptitude and fearlessness. Cicero, in one of his orations against Cataline, speaking of the credit due himself for having suppressed the conspiracy of that surrender of an entire military department by arch traitor, said, "If the glory of him who founded Rome was great, how much greater should be that of him who had saved it from overthrow after it had grown to be the mis-tress of the world ?" So it may said of the glory of that statesman or chieftain who shall snatch from the vortex of revolution this republic, now that it has expanded from ocean to ocean, has become the admiration of the world, and has rendered the fountains of the lives of thirty millions of people, fountains of In this declaration is found the key which unhappiness.

> The vigorous measures adopted for the safety of Washington and the Government itself of public men in all ages and lands, has been may seem open to criticism, in some of their the rock on which republics have split. Such details, to those who have yet to learn that men have arisen in our midst-men who, beever of severity, or even of irregularity, may

public. It is perfectly certain that in the at- ty-three whose vote can possibly be secured,

Thus we have the extraordinary and discreditable spectacle of a revolution made by certain States professedly on the ground that are denied them, and at the same time, inin obtaining these guarantees, they designedly assume a hostile attitude, and thereby render it constitutionally impossible to secure them. This protound dissimulation shows severance from the Confederacy, which was sought from the beginning. Cotemporary, with, and, in some instances, preceding these acts of secession, the greatest outrages were committed upon the Government of the United States by the States engaged in them. Its forts, arsenals, arms, barracks, Custom houses, Postoffices, moneys, and, indeed, every species of its property within the limits of these States were seized and appropriated, down to the very hospital stores for the sick soldiers. More than half a million of dollars was plundered from the mint at New Orleans. United States vessels were received from the defiled hands of their officers in command, and as if in the hope of consecrating official treachery as one of the public virtues of the age, the a General, to the keeping of whose honor it had been confided, was deemed worthy of the commendation and thanks of Conventions of several of the States. All these lawless proceedings were well understood to have been prompted and directed by men occupying seats in the Capitol, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a Government which they could not control. locks the whole of the complicated machinery of this revolution. The profligate ambition

The census returns show that during the year 1860 the Fugitive Slave Law was executed more faithfully and successfully than it had been during the preceding ten years. Since the installation of President Lincoln, not a case has arose in which the fugitive has not been returned, and that too, without any opposition from the people. Indeed, the figuarantees for the safety of their institutions delity with which it was understood to be the policy of the present Administration to enforce the provisions of this law, has caused a perfect panic among the runaway slaves in the free States, and they have been escaping in multitudes to Canada, unpursued and unreclaimed by their masters. Is there found in

That the slave States are not recognized as equal in the Confederacy, has for several years, been the cry of demagogues and conspirators. But what is the truth ? Not only according to the theory, but the actual practice of the Government, the slave States have ever been, and still are, in all respects, the peers of the free. Of the fourteen Presidents who have been elected, seven were citizens of slave States, and of the seven remaining, three represented Southern principles, and received the votes of the Southern people ; so that, in our whole history, but four Presidents have been chosen who can be claimed as the special champions of the policy and principles of the free States, and even these, so only in a modified sense. Does this look as if the South has ever been deprived of her equal share of the henors and powers of the Government ? The Supreme court has decided that the citizens of the slave States can at will, take their slaves into all the Territories of the United States; and this decision, which has never been resisted or interfered with in a single case, is the law of the land and the whole power of the Government is pledged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present Administration, I entertain no doubt. A Republican Congress, at the late session, organized three new Territories, and in the organic law of neither was there introduced, or attempted to be introduced, the slightest restriction upon the rights of the Southern emigrant to bring his slaves with him. At this monot only has war like peace its laws, but it cause unable to permanently grasp the helm ment, therefore-and I state it without quali-has also its privileges and its duties. What- of the ship, are willing to destroy it in the fication-there is not a Territory belonging to fication-there is not a Territory belonging to hope to command some one of the rafts that the United States into which the Southern justly that these obligations charged him with have arisen, will find its justification in the may float away from the wreck. The effect people may not introduce their slaves at pleaspressure of the terrible necessity under which is to degrade us to a level with the military the Administration has been called to act. bandits of Mexico and South America, who, Kentucky should consider this great and unwhen beaten at an election, fly to arms, and deniable fact, before which all the frothy rant er at his bosom, he is not likely to consult seek to master by the sword what they have of demagogues and disunionists must disappear as a bank of fog before the wind. But were it otherwise, and did a defect exist in war, and might all have been treated as such our organic law, or in the practical adminisrights of Southern slaveholders in the Territories, still the question would be a mere abstraction since the laws of climate forbid the establishment of slavery in such latitudes; and to destroy such institutions as ours for such a cause, instead of patiently trying to remove it, would be a little short of an act of national insanity. It would be to burn the house down over our heads, merely because States leaped into the contest clad in full there is a leak in the roof; to scuttle the ship in mid ocean, merely because there is a difference of opinion among the crew as to the point of the compass to which the vessel should be steered; it would be, in fact, to apply the knife to the throat instead of to the cancer of the patient. But what remains? Though, say the disunionists, the Fugitive Slave law is honestly enforced, and though, under the shelter of the Supreme Court, we can take our slaves Government. It is true that slavery has been very intemperately discussed in the North, and it is equally trrue that until we have an Asiatic despotism, crushing out all freedom of speech and of the press, this discussion will probably continue. In this age and country all institutions, human and divine, are discussed, and so they ought to be; and all that cannot bear discussion must go to the wall, where they ought to go. It is not pretended, however, that the discussion of slavery, which than forty years, has in any manner disturbed the seceded States that their slaves were never more tranquil or obedient. There are zealdemnation. Those who assert that slavery should be extirpated by the sword, and those who maintain that the great mission of the far apart in the folly and atrocity of their sen-

The prevalence of this pernicious heresy is mainly the fruit of that farce called "State rights," which demagogues have been so long playing under tragic mask, and which has done more than all things else to unsettle the foundations of the republic, by estranging the people from the Federal Government, as one to be distrusted and resisted, instead of being, what it is, emphatically their own creation, at all times obedient to their will, and in its ministrations the grandest reflex of the greatness and beneficence of popular power that has ever ennobled the history of our race. Said Mr. Clay: "I owe a supreme allegiance to the General Government, and to my State a subordinate one." And this terse language dis-poses of the whole controversy which has arisen out of the secession movement in regard to the allegiance of the citizen. As the power of the State and Federal Governments are in perfect harmony with each other, so there can be no conflict between the allegiance due to them; each while acting within the sphere of its constitutional authority, is entitled to be obeyed ; but when a State, throwing off all constitutional restraints, seeks to destroy the General Government, to say that its citizens are bound to follow it in this career of crime, and discard the supreme allegiance they owe to the government assailed, is one of the shallowest and most dangerous fallacies that has ever gained credence among men.

Kentucky, occupying a central position in the Union, is now protected from the scourge of foreign war, however much its ravages may waste the towns and cities upon our coasts or the commerce upon our seas; but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, she would be a frontier State, and necessarily the victim of those border feuds and conflicts which have become proverbial in history alike for their fierceness and frequency. The people of the South now sleep quietly in their beds, while there is not a home in infatuated and misguided Virginia that is not filled with the alarms, and oppressed by the terrors of the war. In the fate of this ancient Commonwealth, dragged to the altar of sacrifice by those who should have stood between her bosom and every foe, Kentucky may read her own. No wonder, therefore, that she has been so coaxingly besought to unite her fortunes with those of the South, and to lay down the bodies of her chivalric sons as a breast-work, behind cy she would be weak for all the purposes of self-protection, as compared with her present position. But amid the mutations incident to such a helpless and self-disintegrating league, Kentucky would probably soon find herself adhering to a mere fragment of the Confederacy, or, it may be, standing entirely alone, in presence of tiers of free States with populations exceeding by many millions her own. Feeble States thus separated from powerful and warlike neighbors by ideal boundaries, or by rivers as easily traversed as rivulets, are as insects that feed upon the lion's lip-liable at every moment to be crushed. The recorded doom of multitudes of such has left us a warning too solemn and impressive to be disregarded. Kentucky now scarcely feels the contribution she makes to support the Government of the United States, but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, of whose policy free trade will be a cardinal principle, she will be burdened with a direct taxation to the amount of double, or it may be triple or quadruple what she now pays into her own treasury. Superadded to this will be required of her her into the territories, yet the Northern people | share of those wast outlays necessary for the will presist in discussing the institution of creation of a navy, the erection of forts and slavery, and therefore we will break up the custom houses along a frontier of several thousand miles; and for the maintenance of that large standing army, which will be indispensable at once for her safety, and for imparting to the new government that strong military character which, it has been openly avowed, the peculiar institutions of the South will inexorably demand. Kentucky now enjoys for her peculiar institution, the protection of the Fugitive Slave Law, loyally enforced by the Government; and it is this law, effective in its power of rehas been continued in our country for more capture, but infinitely more potent in its moral agency in preventing the escape of slaves, or weakened the foundation of the institution. | that alone saves that institution in the border On the contrary, we learn from the press of States from utter extinction. She cannot carry this law with her into the new Confederacy. She will virtually have Canada brought to her ots-happily few in number-both North and doors in the form of powerful free States, South, whose language upon this question is whose population, relieved of all moral and alike extravagant and alike deserving our con- | constitutional obligation to deliver up fugitive slaves, will stand with open arms, inviting and welcoming them, and defending them, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. Unwhite man on earth is to enslave black, are not der such influences, slavery will perish rapidly away in Kentucky, as a ball of snow would melt in a summer's sun. Kentucky, in her soul, abhors the African slave trade, and turns away with unspeakable horror and loathing from the red altars of King Dahomey. But although this traffic has been temporarily interdicted by the seceded States, it is well understood that this step has been taken as a mere measure of policy for go, and WHERE am I going ? In view of what the purpose of impressing the border States, and of conciliating the European powers. The ultimate legalization of this trade, by a Rethe second part is patent to all, as are the public professing to be based upon African consequences which would follow the move- servitude, must follow as certainly as does the conclusion from the premises of a mathematical proposition. Is Kentucky prepared to see Confederacy, Kentucky might prolong the the hand upon the dial-plate of her civilizadesolating struggle that rebellious States are tion rudely thrust back a century, and to the Northern mind, or for any adjustment on tative of her spirit? Must she not first forget making to overthrow a Government which stand before the world the confessed champithey have only known in its blessings; but on of the African slave-hunter ? Is she, with the triumph of the Government would never. her unsullied fame, ready to become a pander theless be certain in the end. She would a- to the rapacity of the African slave-trader, who burdens the very winds of the sea with tect her, for one that is weak and that con- the moans of the wretched captives whose tains in the very elements of its life, the limbs he has loaded with chains, and whose hearts he has broken? I do not, I cannot, believe it. For this catalogue of what Kentucky must suffer in abandoning her present honored and secured position, and becoming a member of the Southern Confederacy, what will be her indemnity? Nothing, absolutely nothing. States and prominent Statesmen now insisting The ill-weaved ambition of some of her sons may possibly reach the Presidency of the new

be destroyed by others. principle of indefinite disintegration, cuts up Republic ; that is all. Alas ! for the dream of Equally vain is it for them to declare that the ultimate aim of the Republican party. if called upon, find material for an indictment they only wish "to be let alone," and that in But even this amendment, and all others which in any or in all the pages of the history of the all confederate governments by the roots, and the Presidency of a Southern Republic, which establishing the independence of the secenced to furnish the guarantees de-States, they do those which remain in the old confederacy no harm. The Free States, if alwould not have subserved their aims. They sought the clash of arms, a border States, and they sought the humilia-tion of the Government and the dishonor of its fag as a means of giving prestige to their the slightest provocation, a heavy cannonade was opened upon the fort, and borne by its the effus

the law books as to the mode or measure of has that appeal been responded to. States his rights of self-defence. What is true of incontaining an aggregate population of nine- dividuals is in this respect equally true of teen millions have answered to the appeal as Governments. The man who thinks he has by the late Administration; but the Presi- tration of the Government, in reference to the with the voice of one man, offering soilders become disloyal because of what the Admin- dent patriotically cultivated peace-how anxwithout number, and treasure without limita- istration has done, will probably discover, aftion, for the service of the Government. In ter a close self-examination, that he was disloyal before. But for what has been done, Washington might ere this have been a smoul-

They have noted the course of public affairs to little advantage, who suppose that the election of Mr. Lincoln was the real ground of the revolutionary outbreak that has occured. The they rally to their country's flag. They are roots of the revolution may be tracked back for more than a quarter of a century, and an unholy lust for power is the soil out of which it sprang. A prominent member of the band of agitators declared in one of his speeches, at Charleston, last November or December. that they had been occupied for thirty years in the work of severing South Carolina from the Union. When General Jackson crushed nul- To these confiscations will probably succeed, lification, he said it would revive again under the form of the slavery agitation, and we have the citizens of loyal States; and, indeed, the lived to see this prediction verified. Indeed apprehension of the step is already sadly disthat agitation, during the last 15 or 20 years has been almost the entire stock in trade of Fortunately, however, infirmity of faith, Southern politicians. The Southern people, known to be as generous in their impulses as they are chivalric, were not wrought into a ecuted by the Confederate States in a temper phrenzy of passion by the intemperate words of a few fanatical abolitionists; for these terises conflicts between the most hostile nawords, if left to themselves, would have fallen tions. Letters of marque and reprisal are beto the ground as pebbles into the sea, and would have been heard of no more. But it coasts will soon swarm with these piratical was the echo of those words, repeated with cruisers, as the President has properly deexaggeration for the thousandth time by nounced them. Every buccaneer who desires Southern politicians in the halls of Congress, to rob American commerce upon the ocean, and in the deliberative and popular assemblies, can, for the asking, obtain a warrant to do so, and through the press of the South that pro- in the name of the new republic. To crown duced the exasperation which has proved so all, large bodies of Indians have been musterpotent a lever in the hands of the conspirators. ed into the service of the revolutionary States The cloud was fully charged, and the juggling | and are now conspicuous in the ranks of the revolutionists who held the wires and could at Southern army. A leading North Carolina will direct its lightnings, appeared at Charles- journal, noting their stalwart frames and unton, broke up the Democratic Convention as- erring marksmanship, observes, with an exulsembled to nominate a candidate for the Presi- tation positively fiendish, that they are armed dency, and thus secured the election of Mr. not only with the rifle, but also with the scalp-Lincoln. Having thus rendered this certain, they at once set to work to bring the popular mind of the South to the point of determining in advance that the election of a Republican sullied this revolution at every step of its pro-President would be, per se, cause for a dissolution of the Union. They were but too successful, and to this result the inaction and indecision of the Border States deplorably contributed. When the election of Mr. Lincoln was announced, there was rejoicing in the unholy ambition of her public men would bring streets of Charleston, and doubtless at other to her lips? Can she, without laying her face points in the South; for it was believed by the conspirators that this had brought a tide in the current of their machinations which would bear them on to victory. The [drama of secession was now open, and State after the corsair on his way? Has the war whoop State rushed out of the Union, and their mem- which used to startle the sleep of our frontiers, bers withdrew from Congress. The revolution was pressed on with this hot haste in order that no time should be allowed for reaction in the slavery issues by the action of Congress, authority, and keep a compact to which we or of the State Legislatures. Had the Southern members continued in their seats, a satisrequired to do the same. We believe that factory compromise would, no doubt, have been arranged and passed before the adjournment of Congress. As it was, after their retirement, and after Congress had become Republican, an amendment to the Constitution was adopted by a two-thirds vote, declaring that Congress should never interfere with Slaimmolation, destroy, nor can we permit it to ously wrung in the ears of the Southern people, that the abolition of slavery in the States was

been unable to control by the ballot box. The atrocious acts enumerated were acts of

iously and how patiently, the country well knows. While however, the revolutionary leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, they did not the less diligently continue to whet their swords behind his back. Immense military preparations were made, so that when the moment for striking the Government of the United States arrived, the revolutionary armor.

As if nothing should be wanting to darken this page of history, the seceded States have already entered upon the work of confiscating the debts due from their citizens to the North and Northwest. The millions thus gained will doubtless prove a pleasant substitute for those guarantees now so scornfully rejected. soon, those of lands and negroes owned by turbing the fidelity of non-resident proprietors. springing from such a cause, is not likely to be contagious. The war begun is being prosas fierce and unsparing as that which charac ing granted to all who seek them, so that our ing-knife and tomahawk.

Is Kentucky willing to link her name in history with the excesses and crimes which gress? Can she soil her pure hands with its booty? She possesses the noblest heritage that God has granted to his children; is she prepared to barter it away for that miserable mess of pottage, which the gratification of the in the dust for very shame, become a participant in the spoliation of the commerce of her neighbors and friends, by contributing her star, hitherto so stainless in its glory, to light so died away in her ears that she is willing to take the red-handed savage to her bosom as the champion of her rights and the represenher own heroic sons who perished, butchered and scalped on the disastrons field of Raisin ? The object of the revolution, as avowed by all who are pressing it forward, is the permanent dismemberment of the confederacy. The dream of reconstruction-used during the last winter as a lure to draw the hesitating or the hopeful into the movement-has been formally abandoned. If Kentucky separates herself to justify, on her part, an act so solemn and so perilous? Could the wisest of her lawyers,

Before proceeding further, Kentucky should measure well the depth of the gulf she is approaching, and look well to the feet of her guides. Before forsaking a Union in which her people have enjoyed such uninterrupted and such boundless prosperity, she should ask herself not once but many times, way do I has been said, it would be difficult to answer the first branch of the inquiry, but to answer ment. In giving her great material and moral resources to the support of the Southern bandon a Government strong and able to proseeds of distraction and early dissolution. She would adopt, as the law of her existence, the right of secession-a right which has no that Congress should never interfere with Sla-very in the States and declaring, further, that this amendment should be irrevocable. Thus there aught in the organization or administra-there aught in the organization or administrawas faisified the clamor so long and so insidi- tion of the Government of the United States ed; which has been denounced by most of the upon its exercise; which, in introducing a

timents.