

BY SAMUEL J. ROW

CLEARFIELD, PA., JULY 10, 1861.

THE LATE ELECTIONS

The late elections indicate a disposition on the part of the people, to sustain the Administration in the most vigorous efforts to crush the Southern rebellion. Two elections have been lately held to fill vacancies in Congress; one in the Luzerne district to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Scranton, and one in Philadelphia to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. Morris. In the Luzerne district, the people generally, discarded any mere party issues, and Hon. Hendrick B Wright, a Douglas Democrat, accepted the nomination from both Democrats and Republicans, on the simple issue of sustaining the Administration in its efforts to put down rebellion. In his letter, accepting the Democratic nomination, Col. Wright declared his readiness, if elected to Congress, to vote any necessary amount of money out of the Federal treasury, and, if necessary, put half a million of men in the field. Mr. Wright's views were too patriotic for that portion of the Democratic party that sympathised with the Rebels, and they accordingly got out a candidate by the name of Randall. But it was no use. Wright was elected by such an overwhelming majority that Randall hardly knew he was a candidate.

In the 2d district of Philadelphia, the majority of all parties, gave a hearty and enthusiastic support to the war; and a great many thought that under the circumstances party should not be revived, but that the people should agree upon a suitable candidate without respect to his politics. The parties, however, did not follow this counsel. The Republicans nominated Charles O'Neill and the Democrats Charles J. Biddle, both men of high character. Mr. Biddle had, since the war broke out, acted a patriotic part. He was a Colonel in the army, and absent at the head of his regiment, when the nomination was made. When nominated, no pledges were asked and none were given. Biddle was elected. The vote was very close, and did not indicate any great change in parties. Very many did not vote nor seem to care which candidate was elected. Not much over half as many votes were polled as in October, when Mr. Morris was elected. In October the vote stood as follows: E. Joy Morris (People's party) 6,290, John Brodhead (Democrat) 5,493, Henry M. Fuller (American) 1,745-total vote 13,518. At this election it stood: Charles J. Biddle 3,947, Charles O'Niell 3,730-total vote 7,677. Such are the facts. And yet, we suppose, that all the papers over the country, in sympathy with the secessionists, will endeavor to make the public believe, that these elections are a rebuke to the policy of Lincoln and his administration. Just the reverse of this is true. It shows that the course of the present Administration meets the approval and support of the patriotic portion of all parties. It affords but little encouragement to secessionists and their allies. If Mr. Wright or Mr. Biddle had been of the Secessionist class of politicians, who are always whining and growling at every vigorous effort of our government to resist the traitors, neither the Democratic nor any other party would have dared to present either of their names as candidates before the people; or if they had, the candidates would have been left hopelessly behind.

THE MESSAGE .- We this week publish President Lincoln's first message. It is an able and dignified and interesting State paper. It will be read by all with much attention; for in no period of the history of the United States, have the views of the Chief Magistrate been a matter of so much moment. All have more or less interest in the maintaining of the government intact; and therefore the reading of this message will be a gratification to nearly all. It comes fully up to the general expectation. There is no lowering of the standard of the Inaugural. There is no talk of yielding to the traitors-no propositions for inglorious concessions to, or compromises with the rebels,-but the message is characterized by that bold, firm, decided tone which a brave and loyal people have a right to expect from their chief magistrate in the hour of the nation's peril. He stands by the flag, and will stand by it, until it floats in triumph over all the rebellious States, and the rebels have laid down their arms. The President having met the expectations of the public, it but remains for Congress to uphold the hands of the Executive by legalizing the acts of the. past, and making that abundant provision for the future without which the war cannot be carried to a successful conclusion. The President is ready to do his part; the army is prepared for its share of duty, and burning for the opportunity of doing it, and if Congress does its duty promptly in furnishing the sinews of war, we may reasonably look forward to the realization of hopes so long deferred.

FRAUDULENT SMALL NOTES .- Beware of one. two and three dollar bills on the Farmers' and Drovers' Bank of Waynesburg, Greene coun-That bank has, as vet. email bills, and all that are in circulation are forgeries.

COMORESS .- The House met and organized by electing G. A. Grow of Pa., Speaker; and Emerson Ethridge of Tennessee, Clerk.

Delivered July 5th, 1861, at an Extra Session of

resentatives :

ago, the functions of the Federal Government | to time, discussion and the ballot box, for a were found to be generally suspended within | final adjustment, and they assailed and rethe several States of South Carolina, Georgia, duced the Fort for precisely the reverse ob-Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Office Department. Within these States, the forts, arseincluding the moveable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and were held in open hostility to this Government, ex- the aggressors-he took pains not only to cepting only forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, South Carolina. The forts thus seized had been put in an improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were | point was reached. Then, and thereby the asorganizing all avowedly with the same hostile purpose. The forts remaining in the posses- of arms without a gun in sight or in expecsion of the Federal Government in and near those States were either besieged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort own protection, and still ready to give that Sumter was nearly surrounded by well protected hostile batteries, with guns equal in ing the latter as perhaps ten to one. A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into those States, and had been seized to be used | tion whether a Constitutional Republic or | and that the public safety does require the against the government. Accumulations of Democracy, a government of the people by the public revenue lying within them had been | the same people can or cannot maintain its seized for the same object. The navy was territorial integrity against its own domestic it is insisted that Congress, and not the Exescattered in distant seas, leaving but a very | foes. It presents the question, whether dissmall part of it within the immediate reach of the government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large proportion had taken up arms against the government. Simultaneously and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose an ordinance had been adopted in each publics this inherent and fatal weakness? of those States declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined government of these States had been promul- viewing the issue, no choice was left but to gated, and this illegal organization in the character of the Confederate States, was already invoking recognition, aid and interven- destruction, by force for its preservation. tion from foreign powers. Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty on the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made and was declared in the inaugural address. The policy others of those States by individual enterprise, chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger course the seceded States, so called, and to ones. It sought only to hold the public pla- which Texas had been joined about the time ces and property not already wrested from the of the Inauguration, gave no troops to the government and to collect the revenue, rely- cause of the Union. The border States, so ng for the rest on time, discussion and the called, were not uniform in their action, some mails at Government's expense to the very others, such as Virginia, North Carolina, Tenturbance to any of the people or any of their taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, constitutionally and justifiably do in such a elected by the people of that State, to considcase. Everything was forborne, without which | er this very question of disrupting the Federit was believed possible to keep the government on foot. On the fifth of March, the ginia when Ft. Sumter fell. To this body the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter from Major Anderson, commanding at | sed Union men. Soon after the fall of Sum-Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, | ter, many members of that majority went over and received at the War Department on the fourth day of March, was by that department placed in his hands. This letter expresses the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that | Fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of holding possession of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject were made enclosures of Maj. Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieutenant General Scott, who at once concurred with Maj. Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers both of the army and the navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly, but decidedly, to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that there was not a sufficient force then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisions in the Fort would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view this reduced the duty of the Administration, they permitted the insurrectionary governin this case, to look to the mere matter of ment to be transferred to their capital at Richgetting the garrison safely out of the Fort. It | mond. was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous, and the necessity under which it was to be done would not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure to the latter a recognition abroad; that, in fact, it would be our national destruction con- middle States, there are those who favor a summated. This coald not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached, Fort Pickens might be the Union forces passing one way or the disreinforced. This last would be a clear indi- union the other, over their soil. This would cation of policy, and would better enable the be disunion completed; figuratively speaking, country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a military necessity. An order was at | along the line of separation, and yet not quite once directed to be sent for the landing of the an impassable one, for, under the guise of troops from the steamship Brooklyn into Fort | neutrality, it would tie the hands of the U-Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea. The first return news from the order was received but one week hefore the fail of Fort | would take all the trouble off the hands of se-Sumter. The news itself was that the officer | cession, except only what proceeds from the commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the external blockage. It would do for the distroops had been transferred from the Brook- unionists that which of all things they most lyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late administration, and of the existence of without a struggle of their own. It recogniwhich the present administration, up to the zes no fidelity to the Constitution, no obligatime the order was dispatched had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions | 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this, a in the latter named Fort. In precaution a- proclamation was issued for closing the ports gainst such a conjuncture, the Government of the insurrectionary districts, by proceedhad, a few days before, commenced preparing | ings in the nature of a blockade. So far all an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was resolved to send it forward, as had been intended. On this contingency it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision that Fort, and if the at- | mand and a public necessity, trusting then, as tempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms or ammuni- It is believed that nothing has been done betion without further notice, or in case of an

Fellow Citizen of the Senate and House of Rep- tempted, unless themselves, by resisting so Having been convened on an extraordinary | this Government desired to keep the garrison occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, in the fort; not to assail them, but to merely your attention is not called to any ordinary maintain visible possession, and thus to presubject of legislation. At the beginning of serve the Union from actual and immediate the present Presidential term, four months dissolution, trusting, as hereinbefore stated, ject, to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to an immediate dissolution. That this was their object can have no conflict without being yourselves case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that sailants of the Government began the conflict tancy to return their fire, save only the few in fort, sent to that harbor years before for their protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon solution or blood-and this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States; it presents to the whole family of man, the quescontented individuals, too few in numbers to control the Administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretences made in this case or on any other pretenses or arbitrarily without any pretense, break up their government and thus practically put an end to free governments upon the earth. It forces us to ask, is there in all re-Must a Government of a necessity be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence? So call out the war power of the Government, and so to resist the force employed for its The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some and received into the government service. Of people had chosen a large majority of profesto the original disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether this change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day then somewhat more than a month distant. The Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if the State was already out of the Union. They pushed military preparations vigorously forward, all over the State; they seized the United States Armory at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy Yard at Gosport, near Norfolk; they received, perhaps invited, into their State large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States; they formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and co-operation with the socalled Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery; and finally

The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders, and this government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it; and it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this government is bound to recognize and protect, as being in Virginia. In the border States, so called, in fact the policy which they call an armed neutralitythat is, an arming of those States to prevent it would be the building of an impassable wall nion men and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. At a stroke, it desire-feed them well and give them disunion many who have favored it are doubtless loyal it is, nevertheless, very injurious in effect. Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for was believed to be strictly legal.

At this point the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering. Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years unless sooner discharged, and, also, for large additions to the regular army and navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular denow, that Congress would readily ratify them. yond the constitutional competency of Con-

expressly notified that the giving of bread to theless the legality and propriety of what has substance or in name, outside of the Union. They have adopted a temporary national con the few brave and hungry men of the garrison | been done under it are questioned, and the was all which would, on that occasion, be at- attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to take much, should provoke more. They knew that care that the laws be faithfully executed should not himself violate them. Of course some consideration was given to the questions of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted and failing of execution in nearlowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law made in such extreme tenderness of said to them in the inaugural address-you more of the guilty than of the innocent, should to a very limited extent be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the keep this declaration good, but also keep the laws but one to go unexecuted and the govthe public safety may require it, is equivalent be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or was decided that we have a case of rebellion, writ which was authorized to be made. Now instrument intended that, in every case, the at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General. Whether there shall be any legislation on the subject, and if any, the early destruction of our National Union to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world. The reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, War and the Navy will give the information in detail, deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and all the ballot box. It promised a continuance of the of them being almost for the Union, while in Departments will stand ready to supply omismaking this contest a short and decisive one; That number of men is about one tenth of those of proper ages within the regions where sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole. A debt of six hundred millions of dollars now is a less sum per head than was the debt of our Revolution when we came out of that struggle, and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then, than does the population. Surely each man has as

times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal sauction, and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster thon provided for them. In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself difference whether the present movement at the South be called secession or rebellion. ference at the beginning; they knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies a violation of law; they knew their people possessed as much moral sense, as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in its reverence for the history and government | minority, may rightfully do what the others, of their common country as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly they commenced by an insidious debauchery of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the Union. The sophism itself is that any State of the Union may, consistently with the National Constitution, and therefore lawfully and peacefully withdraw from the Union, without the consent of the Union, or of any other State. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for a just cause, because they themselves are to be sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice. With rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to a willingness to take up arms against the Gov ernment the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking the powers and improved the condition of their State out of the Union, who could have been brought to no such thing the day before. This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State-to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have nei- But more than this, there are many single ther more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution, no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original ones passed into the Union even before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ores each came into the Union directly from a condition of independence, except Texas, and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence. Therein the united colonies were de- us, should not be broken up. Whoever, in clared to be free and independent States. But any section, proposes to abandon such a Govattack upon the fort. This notice was accord- gress. Soon after the first call for militia, it even then the object plainly was, not to de- ernment, would do well to consider in deferingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked was considered a duty to authorize the com-and bombarded to its fall, without even await- manding General, in proper cases, according of the Union; but directly the contrary, as What better he is likely to get in its stead; and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

The following denotes the following de It is thus seen that the assault upon, and the reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense on the part of the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew they were

as each man had then to establish them.

A right result at this time will be worth more

Whence this magical omnipotence of State stitution in the preamble of which, welke onrights, asserting a claim of power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? Much is said about mit "we the people," and substitute "we the the sovereignty of the States, but the word deputies of the sovereign and independent even is not in the National Constitution, nor, States." Why? why this deliberate pressing as is believed, in any of the State constitu- out of view the rights of men and the author as is believed, in any of the Glate tions. What is a sovereignty in the political ty of the people? This is essentially a peosense of the term? Would it be far wrong to ples contest. On the side of the Union, it is a define it a political community without a political superior? Tested by this, no one of and substance of government whose leading ly one-third of the States. Must they be al- our States, except Texas, ever was a sover- object is to elevate the condition of men. eignty, and even Texas gave up the character lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to on coming into the Union, by which act she clear the paths of laudible pursuit for all, to acknowledged the Constitution of the United afford all an unfettered start, and a fair chance States, and the laws and treaties of the Uninals, docks, yards, custom houses and the like, the Executive well understood. And having the citizens' liberty that practically, it relieves ted States made in pursuance of States, have their status in the Union made in pursuance is the leading object of the government, for of the Constitution, to be for her the supreme law. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they ernment itself go to pieces lest that one be break from this, they can only do so against law violated? Even in such a case would not the and by revolution. The Union and not themofficial oath be broken if the government selves, separately, procured their independ-should be overthrown when it was believed ence and their liberty by conquest or purthat disregarding the single law would tend to chase. The Union gave each of them whatevpreserve it? But it was not believed that this er of independence and liberty it had. The U- not one common soldier or common sailor is question was presented. It was not believed nion is older than any of the States, and in ksown to have deserted his flag. Great him that any law was violated. The provision of fact it created them as States. Originally or is due to those officers who remain true the Constitution, that the previlege of the some dependent colonies made the Union, writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, and in turn the Union threw off their old deunless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, pendence for them, and made them States, such as they are. Not one of them ever had a of the common soldiers. To the last man so quality to the best of its own, and outnumber- the country the distinct issue-immediate dis- to such a provision that such privilege may | State constitution independent of the Union. far as is known they have successfully resist. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new invasion, the public safety does require it. It | States formed their constitutions before they entered the Union; nevertheless, dependent npon and preparatory to coming into the U- plain poople, they understand without an arqualified suspension of the privilege of the nion. Unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by ment which was made by Washington means the national Constitution. But among these | no good to them. Our popular Government cutiv, is vested with this power; but the Con- surely are not included all conceivable powers has often been called an experiment. Two stitution itself is silent as to which or who is however mischievous or destructive; but at points in it our people have already settled to exercise the power, and as the provision | most such only as were known in the world at | the successful establishing and the successful was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, the time as governmental powers, and certain- ful administering of it. One still remains it cannot be believed that the framers of the ly a power to destroy the Government itself |-its successful maintenance against a forhad never been known as governmental. As a midable internal attempt to overthrow it. It danger should run its course until Congress | merely administrative power, this relative mat- | is now for them to demonstrate to the world could be called together, the very assemblage | ter of National power and State rights as a | that those who can fairly carry an election of which might be prevented, as was intended principle, is no other than the principle of gen- can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are in this case by the rebellion. No more ex- erality and locality. Whatever concerns the the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets tended argument is now offered, as an opinion | whole should be confided to the whole of the | and that when ballots have fairly and constigenaral government, while whatever concerns tutionally decided there can be no successful only the State, should be left exclusively to appeal back to bullets, and that there can be the State. This is all there is of original prin- no successful appeal except to the ballots what, is submitted entirely to the better judg- ciple about it. Whether the National Con- themselves at succeeding elections. Such ment of Congress. The forbearance of this stitution, in defining boundaries between the will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men Government had been so extraordinary and so | two has applied the principle with exact accu- that what they cannot take by an election. long continued, as to lead some foreign na- racy is not to be questioned. We are all bound neither can they take it by war, teaching all tions to shape their action as if they supposed by that defining without question. What is the folly of being the beginners of war. Lest now combatted is the position that Secession | there be some uneasiness in the minds of canwas probable. While this, on discovery, gave is consistent with the Constitution, is lawful did men as to what is to be the course of the attempts to destroy the Federal Union, a Slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment | the Executive some concern, he is now happy | and pesceful. It is not contended that there | Government toward the Southern States at is any express law for it, and nothing should ter the rebellion shall have been suppressed. ever be implied as law which leads to unjust the Executive deems it proper to say it will or absurd consequences.

formed. Is it just that they should go off with- of the powers and duties of the Federal Gor. out leave and without refunding? The nation erument relative to the rights of the States paid very large sums in the aggregate, I be- and the people under the Constitution, than lieve a hundred millions to relieve Florida of that expressed in the inaugural address. He the aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she should desires to preserve the Government that it sions or to communicate new facts considered | now go off without consent, or without making | may be administered for all as it was administered for all a people who were resisting the Government, nessee and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was important for you to know. It is now recom- any return. The nation is now in debt for tered by the men who made it. and it gave repeated pledges against any dis- nearly repressed and silenced. The course mended that you give the legal means for money applied to the benefit of these so called Loyal citizens every where have the right seconded States in common with the rest. Is to claim this of their government, and the rights, of all that which a President might perhaps the most important. A convention, that you place at the control of the govern- it just, either, that creditors shall go unpaid, Government has no right to withhold or no ment for the work at least four hundred thou-sand men and four hundred millions of dollars. of the present National debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. Is it just that subjugation, in any just sense of these terms. she shall leave, and pay no part of this herself? The Constitution provided, and all the States apparently all are willing to engage, and the Again, if one State may secede, so may anoth- have accepted the provision, that the United er, and when all shall have seceded none is States shall guarantee to every State in this left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to Union a republican form of Government, but creditors? Did we notify them of this sage if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, view of ours when we borrowed their money? having done so it may also discard the Repub If we now recognize this doctrine by allowing lican form of Government, so that to prevent the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to its going out is an indespensable means to the see what we can do if others choose to go, or to | end of maintaining the guaranty mentione'. extort terms upon which they will promise to When an end is lawful and obligatory, the inremain. The seceders insist that our Consti- dispensable means to it are also lawful and otution admits of secession. They have as bligatory. It was with the deepest regret samed to make a national Constitution of their own, in which, of necessity, they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have form this duty or surrender the existance of discarded it, they thereby admit that on prin- the government. No compromise by public ciple it ought not to be in ours. If they have servants could in this case be a cure. Not retained it, by their own construction of ours, they show that to be consistent they must se- that no popular government can long survive cede from one another whenever they shall a marked precedent, that those who carry and find it the essiest way of settling their debts; or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. immediate destruction by giving up the main The principle itself is one of disintegration point upon which the people gave the elecand upon which no government can stand. It will do its part only indifferently well. It all the States save one should assert the pow- servants, can safely reverse their own delibermight seem, at first thought, to be of little er to drive that one out of the Union it is ate decisions. As a private citizens the Expresumed the whole class of seceder politicians would at once deny the power and de- institutions shall perish, much less could be, nounce the act as the greatest outrage upon in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as State right. But suppose that precisely the same act, instead of being called driving the he dad no moral right to shrink, nor even to one out, should be called the seceding of the count the chances of his own life in what others from that one, it would be exactly what might follow. In full view of his great rethe seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound in the rights of the minorities, they are not partial to that power which made the con- rights of a certain and speedy restoration to stitution, and speaks from the preamble, calling itself: "We, the people." It may well having thus chosen our cause without guile be questioned whether there is to-day a ma- and with pure purpose, let us renew our trust jority of the legally quallified voters of any the incidents to the complete destruction of State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in fa- manly hearts. vor of disunion. There is reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other one of the so called seceded States, the contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tenuessee, for the result of an election held in military camps, where the bayonets are all one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election all that large class who are at once for the Union, and against coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union.

our whole people beyond any example in the

world. Of this we now have a striking and

impressive illustration. So large an army as

before known, without a soldier in it but who

had taken his place there of his own tree choice.

regiments whose members, one and another,

ernment itself, nor do I say this is not true

also in the army of our late friends, now ad-

versaries in this contest, but if it is, so much

better the reason why the Government, which

has confered such benefits on both them and

good old one, signed by Washington, they oin the race of life, yielding to the partial and to temporary departure from necessity. This whose existence we contend. I am most happy to believe that the plain

people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that, while in this, the Government's hour of trial, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices, have resigned and proved false to the hand which pampered them, despite the example of their treacherous associates. But the greatest honor and most important fact of all, is the unanimous firmness ed the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before they obeyed as ab solute law. This is the patriotic instinct of gument that the destroying of the Governbe his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by The Nation purchased with money the coun- the Constitution and the laws, and that he tries out of which several of these States were | probably will have no different understanding

that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defence of the government forced upon him. He could but perthat compromises are not often proper, but election can only save the government from tion. The people themselves, and not their ecutive could not have consented that these these people had confided to him, he felt that sponsibility, he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now according to your own judgments perform yours. He sixcerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their them under the Constitution and laws; and in God, and go forward without fear and with ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Washington, July 4th, 1861.

NEW ADVERTISEMENTS

Advertisements set in large type, outs, or out of uses style will be charged double price for space occupied

CAUTION.—All persons are cautioned against purchasing a note of hand calling for about two hundred dollars, dated sometime last May and given by S. B. Taylor (in the name of James Irwin) to Wm. McCarkle of Girard township The undersigned never having received value therefore, will not pay said note unless compelled by due course of law. JAMES IRWIN. It may be affirmed, without extravagance, that by due course of law. the free institutions we enjoy have developed July 10, 1861-3tp.

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