

I. TODD HUTCHINSON, Publisher.

I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT .--- HENRY CLAY.

(S2.00 PER ANNUM. TERMS \$1.50 IN ADVANCE.

VOLUME 2.

DIRECTORY.

PREPARED EXPRESSLY FOR "THE ALLEGHANIAN."

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EBENSBURG, PA., THURSDAY, JULY 18, 1861.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES :- Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation. At the begining of the Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting only those of the Post Office Department. Within these States all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom houses and the like had been seized and were held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only forts Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, on and hear the Florida coast, and Fort Sumpter in Charleston Harbor, South Carolina, The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition. New ones had been built and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose. The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States were either beseiged or menaced by warlike preparations, and especially Fort Sumpter, which was nearly surrounded by well-projected hostile batteries with guns equal in quality to the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as perhaps ten toone. A cisproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them, had been seized for the same object. The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and navy resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning a large number 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 of these States declaring the States respectively to be separated from the National

provisions in the latter named fort.

lieve Fort Sumpter, which expedition was in- nize and protect as being in Virginia. tended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated resisted, there would be no effort to throw in | would be the building of an impassible wall a- | tablish them. defence on the part of the assailants. They them. They knew-they were expressly nobrave and hunrgy men of the garrison was all which could, on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They know that this Governin the fort, not to assail them but ting, as hereinbefore stated, to time, discusprecisely the reverse object-to drive out the | strictly legal. visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus force it to immediate dissolution.

well understood, and having said to them in with its surrounding circumstances, that the constitutional competency of Congress.

pedition, as well adapted as might be to re- al citizens this Government is bound to recog- seem ready to devote the whole.

obligation to maintain the Union; and while it is nevertheless very injurious in effect. Recurring to the action of the Government,

At this point the insurrectionists announced understand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter | is believed that nothing has been done beyond | complete destruction of the Union.

assailants of the Government began the con- considered a duty to authorize the Command- ional Constation, and therefore lawfully and choose to go, or to extort terms upon which flict of arms without a gun in sight or in ex- ling General in proper cases, according to his peacefully, withdraw from the Union, with- they will promise to remain. pectancy to return their fire, save only the discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writs out the consent of the Union or of any other | The Seceders insist that our Constitution law in the fort, sent to the harbor years be- of habeas corpus, or, in other words, to arrest State. The little disguise, that the supposed admits of secession. They have assumed to fore for their own protection, and still ready and detain, without resort to the ordinary pro- right is to be exercised only for a just cause, make a national constitution of their own to give that protection in whatever was lawful. cass and forms of law, such individuals as he because they themselves are to be the sole which of necessity they have either discard-In this act, discarding all else, they have for- might deem dangerous to public safety. This judges of its justice, is too thin to merit ed or retained the right of secession as they ced upon the country the distinct issue-im- authority has purposely been exercised but any notice. mediate dissolution or blood. And this issue very sparingly. Nevertheless, the legality With rebellion thus sugar coated, they ed it, they thereby admit that on principle it have been drugging the public mind of their ought not to be in ours. If they have re-States. It presents to the whole family of are questioned, and the attention of the counman, the question whether a Constitutional try has been called to the proposition of one at length they have brought many a good show that to be consistent they must second Republic or Democracy-a government of the who is sworn to take care that the laws be man to a willingness to take uparms against from one another whenever they shall find people by the same people-can or cannot faithfully executed should not himself violate the Government some days after an assem- it the easiest way of settling their debts, or mantain its territorial integrity against its them. Of course some consideration was blage of men have enacted the farcical pre- effecting any other selfish or unjust object.

left but to deal with it where it finds it, and apparently all are willing to engage, and in the world at the time as governmental In such a conjecture the Government had a | it has the less regret as the loyal citizens have | the sum is less than a twenty-third part of | powers, and certainly a power to destroy few days before commenced preparing an ex- in due form claimed its protection These loy- the money value owned by the men who the Government itself had never known as

A debt of \$600,000,000 now is a less sum In the Border States so called, in fact the per head than was the lebt of our own revo-Middle States, there are those who favor a lution, when we came out of that struggle; case for using it was now presented, and it policy which they call armed neutrality ; that and the money value in the country now was resolved to send it forward, as had been is, an arming of those States to prevent the bears even a greater proportion to what it intended in this contingency. It was also re- Union forces passing one way and the Disun- was then than does the population. Surely solved to notify the Government of South | ion the other, over their soil. This would be dis. | each man has as strong a motive now to pre-Carolina that if the attempt should not be union complete. Fguratively speaking it serve our liberties as each had then to es-

men, arms or ammunition without further no- long the line of separation, and yet not quite A right result at this time will be worth tice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. an impassable one, for under the guise of neu- more in the world than ten times the money. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon trality it would tie the hands of the Union The evidence reaching us from the country applied the principle with exact accuracy is the fort was attacked and bombarded to its men, and freely pass supplies from among leaves no doubt that the material for the fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the them to the incurrectionists, which it could work is abundant, and that it needs only by that defining without question. What is provisioning expedition. It is thus seen that not do as an open enemy. At a stroke it the hand of legislation to give it legal sauc- now combatted, is the position that secesthe assault upon and the reduction of Fort would take all the trouble off the hands of tion, and the hands of the Executive to give sion is consistent with the Constitution, is Sumpter, was in no sense a matter of self- secession, except only what proceeds from it practical shape and efficiency. One of lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that the external blockade. It would do for the the greatest perplexities of the Government there is any express law for it, and nothing well knew that the garrison in the fort could Disunionists that which of all things they is to avoid receiving troops faster than pro- should ever be implied as law which leads by no possibillity commit aggression upon most desire -- feed them well, and give them viding for them. In a word, the people will to unjust or absurd consequences. disunion without a straggle of their own .- save the Government if the Government it- The nation purchased with money the tified-that the giving of bread to the few I recognizes no fidelity to the constitution, no self will do its part only indifferently well. countries out of which several of these It might seem at first thought to be of States were formed. Is it just that they very many who favored it are doubtless loyal, little difference whether the present move- shall go off without leave and without rement of the South be called secession or re- funding? The nation paid very large sums bellion. The movers however well under- in the aggregate, I believe, of a hundred ment desired to keep this garrison it may be stated that at first a call was made stand the difference. At the beginning millions-to relieve Florida of the aboriginfor seventy five thousand militia, and rapidly they knew that they could never raise their al tribes. Is it just that she shall now go merely to maintain visible possession, trus- following this, a proclamation was issued for treason to any respectable magnitude by off without consent or without making closing the ports of the insurrectionary dist- any name which implies violation of law .- any return? The nation is now in debt for sion, and the ballot-box, for final adjustment. rists, by proceedings in the nature of a block- They knew that their people possessed as money applied for the benefit of these so-And they assailed and reduced the fort for ade. So far, all this was considered to be much of moral sense, as much of devotion to called seceded States in common with the

reverence for the history and Government of go unpaid, or the remaining States pay the their purpose to enter upon the practice of their common country as any other civilized whole? Part of the present National debt That this was their object, the Executive privateering. Other calls were made for vol. and patriotic people. They knew they was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas. unteers to serve for three years, unless sooner | could make no advancement directly in the Is it just that she shall leave and pay no the Inaugural address, "you can have no discharged, and also for large additions to the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. part of it herself? conflict without being yourselves the aggres- regiar army and navy. These measures wheth. Accordingly they commenced by an insidious | Again, if one State may secede, so may an. sors," he took pains not only to keep this dec- er strictly legal or not, were ventured upon debauching of the public mind. They in- other, and when all shall have secended, none laration good, but also to keep the case so | under what appeared to be a popular demand | vented an ingenious sophism, which, if con- is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to free from the power of ingenious sophistry and a public necessity, trusting then, as now, cceded, was followed by perfectly logical creditors? Did we notify them of this as that the world should not be able to mis- that Congress would readily ratify them. It steps all through the incidents to the sage view of ours when we borrowed

governmental, a merely administrative pow-

This relative matter of national power and State rights as a principle is no other than the principle of generality and locality.

Whatever concerns the whole, should be confided to the whole, to the General Government; while whatever concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. This is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution in defining boundaries between the two, has not to be questioned. We are also bound

law and order, and as much pride in and rest. Is it just either that creditors shall

their money? If we now recognize this doc-The sophism itself is, that any State of trine by allowing the Seceders to go in peace

Calvinistic Methodist-Ruy, Joun WILLIAMS, Pastor .- Preaching every Sabbath evening at 2 and 6 o'clock. Subbath School at 10 o'clock, A. M. Prayer meeting every Friday evening, at 7 o'clock. Society every Tuesday evening at 7 o'clock.

Disciples-Rev. W. LLOYD, Pastor .- Preachiag every Sabbath morning at 10 o'clock. Particular Baptists-Ruy, DAVID JENEINS, Pastor .- Preaching every Sabbath evening at so clock. Sabbath School at at 1 o'clock, P. M. Catholic-Rev. M. J. MITCHELL, Pastor .--Services every Sabbath morning at 101 o'clock and Vespers at 4 o'clock in the evening.

EBENSBURG MAILS. MAILS ARRIVE.

12 o'clock, noon. Eastern, daily, at 12 o'clock, noon. Western, " at MAILS CLOSE.

6 o'clock, A. M. Eastern, daily, at 6 o'clock, A. M. Western, " at Der The mails from Butler, Indiana, Strongs-

town, &c., arrive on Thursday of each week, at 5 o'clock, P. M.

Leave Ebensburg on Friday of each week, at 8 A. M.

159. The mails from Newman's Mills, Cartolltown, &c., arrive on Monday, Wednesday and Friday of each week, at 3 o'clock, P. M. Leave Ebensburg on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, at 7 o'clock, A. M.

Post Office open on Sundays from 9 to 10 o'clock, A. M.

RAILROAD SCHEDULE. WILMORE STATION

1000	WILLWOILE.		
West-Express Train leaves at			8.33 A. M
**	Fast Line*	45	9.07 P. M
- 64	Mail Train	- 441	8.02 P. M
East-	-Express Trair	44	3.42 A. M
	Fast Line	16	7.30 P. M
- 15	Mail Train	1.46	9.45 A. M
	The Fast Line We	st does no	t stop.]

COUNTY OFFICERS.

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Burgess-David J. Evans.

O. Evans.

Borough Treasurer-George Gurley. Weigh Master-William Davis.

Hugh Jones, David J. Jones.

Treasurer of School Boardthe existence of which the present Adminis- bers to their Congress at Montgomery, and It is now recommended that you give into the Union. Constable-George W. Brown. omit the words, "All men are equal." Why? tration, up to the time the order was despatch- finally, they permitted the insurrectionary the legal means for making this contest a Unquestionably, the States have the pow- They have adopted a temporary national Tax Collector-George Gurley. Government to be transferred to their capi-Judge of Election-Meshac Thomas. short and decisive one; that you place at ers and the rights reserved to them in and constitutionin, the presemble of which, unlike ed, and only too vague and uncertain rurgors the control of the Government for the work by the National Constitution; but among our good old one, signed by Washington, tal at Richmond. Inspectors-Robert Evans, Wm. Williams | to fix attention, had refused to land the troops. The people of Virginia have thus allowed at least 400,000 men and \$400,000,000 .- these, surely, are not included all conceive- they omit, "We, the people," and substitute Assessor-Richard T. Davis. To now reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumpter was impos- this giant insurrection to make its nest within That number of men is about one-tenth of able powers, however mischevious or des- "We, the deputies of the sovereign and indesible, rendered so by the near exhaustion of her borders and this Government has no choice those of proper ages within the regions where tructive, but at most, only such as are known pendent States." Why? Why this delib-THE ALLEGRANIAN-\$1.50 in advance

Union. A formula for instituting a combined Government of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization in the character of Confederate States was already invoking recognition, aid, and intervention from foreign Powers.

Finding this condition of things, and beleving it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable. This choice was made, and was declared in the Inaugural Address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all perceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenue, relying for the rest on time, discussion and the ballot-box. It promised a continuance of the mails, at the Government's expense, to the very people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbances to any of the people, or any of their rights. Of all that which a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forberne, without which it was believed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter of Major Anderson commanding at Fort Sampter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the" 4th of March, was, by that Department placed in his hands. This letter expressed 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 ophion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memoranda on the subject was made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter. The whole was immediately laid before Lieut, General Scott, who at once concurred in that opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with other officers, both of the army and 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 no such sufficient force was then in control of the Government, or could be raised and brought to the ground within the time when the provisious would be exhausted. In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position, under the circumstances, would be utterly ruinous; that 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 a voluntary policy; that at home it would discourage the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to insure the latter recognition abroad; that, in fact it would be our National destruction consummated. This could not be allowed. Starvation was not yet upon the gatrison, and ere it would be reached Fort Pickens might be reinforced. This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable Justices of the Peace .- David H. Roberts, the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumpter as a military necessity. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing Town Council-Evan Griffith, John J. Evans, of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn into William D. Davis, Thomas B. Moore, Daniel Fort Pickens. This order could not go by

Of course it is not forgotton, that all ple? There are some foreshadowings on this while the Executive and all the departments They formally entered into a treaty of will stand ready to supply omissions, or to the new States framed their Constitutions subject. Our adversaries have adopted some loyd, Morris J. Evans, Thomas J. Davis, which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyng acting upon some quasi temporary alliance and co-opearation with communicate new facts considered import- before they entered the Union; nevertheless declarations of Independence in which, unlike armistice of the lat : Administration, and of the so called seceded States, and sent mem- ant for you to know. dependant upon, and preparatory to coming the good old one, penned by Jefferson, they

whether discontented individuals, too few in | before this matter was acted upon. numbers to control the Administration according to the organic law in any case, can to be faithfully executed were being resisted, government, and thus practically put an end fail of execution, even had it been perfectly to the freest government upon the earth .- | clear, that, by the use of the means necessary to mantain its own existence ?

structionby force for its preservation.

Government's resistance to that assault, is Congress. not definitely known. Although they sub- The forebearance of this Government had mitted the ordinance for ratification to a been so extraordinary and so long continvote of the people, to be taken on a day ned as to lead some foreign nations to shape then somewhat more than a month distant. their action as if they supposed the early the Convention and the Legislature, which | destruction of our National Union was probwas also in session at the same time and able. While this, on discovery, gave the place with leading members of the State Executive some concern, he is now happy not members of either, immediately com- to say that the sovereignty and rights of menced acting as if the State were already out of the Union. They pushed their mili-tically respected by foreign powers, and a tary preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, and the navyed, perhaps invited, into their State farge bodies of troops, with their warlike appoint.

The whole of the laws which were required thing the day before. always, upon the pretences made in this and failing in execution in nearly one-third of limited extent, be violated ?

general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treas land, but must take the lorger and slower roate by sea. The first return news from the yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They receiv-States, such as they are. Not one of them better he is likely to get in its stead ?-ury, War and the Navy, will give the infor-Clerk to Council-T. D. Litzinger. ever had a State Constution independent of Whether the substitute will give, or be inmation in detail deemed necessary and conorder was received just one week before the the Union. fall of Fort Sumpter. The news itself was venient for your deliberation and action, tended to give, so much of good to the peo-School Directors-William Davis, Reese S. that the officer commanding the Sabine, to ments, from the so-called confederate States.

section for more than thirty years, and until | tained by their own construction of ours, they domestic foes. It presents the question given to the questions of power and propriety, tence of taking their State out of the Union, The principle itself is one of disintegration, who could have been brought to no such | and upon which no government can possibly

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency, from the assumption case or any other pretence, break up their the States. Must they be allowed to finally that there is some omnipotent and sacred supremacy pertaining to a State, to each ticians would at once deny the power, and State of our Federal Union. Our States | denounce the act as the greatest outrage up-It forces us to ask. Is there in all Republics to their execution, some single law, made in have neither more nor less power than that on State rights. But suppose that precisely this inherent and fatal weakness? Must a such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liber- reserved to them in the Union by the Con- the same act, instead of being called driving government of necessity be too strong for ty that practically, it relieves more of the stitution, no one of them ever having been the one out, should be called the seceding of the liberties of its own people, or too weak guilty than of the innocent, should, to a very a State out of the Union. The original ones | the others from that one, it would be exactly passed into the Union even before they cast what the seceders seem to do, unless in-So viewing the issue, no choice was left but To state the question more directly, are off their British colonial dependence, and deed they make the point that the one beto call out the war power of the Government all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the new ones each came into the Union di- cause it is a minority, may rightfully do what and so to resist the force employed for its de- the Government itself go to pieces lest that rectly from a condition of dependence, ex- the other because they are a majority may one be violated ? Even in such a case, cepting Texas, and even Texas, in its tem- not rightfully do. These politicians are sub-The call was made and the response of would not the official oath be broken if the porary independence, was never designated the and profound on the rights of minorities; the country was most gratifying, surpassing Government should be overthrown, when a State. The new ones only took the desig- they are not partial to that power which in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine it was believed that disregarding the single | nation of States on coming into the Union; | made the Constitution, and speaks from the expectations. Yet none of the States com- law would tend to preserve it ? But while that one was first adopted for the old preamble, calling itself "The People." It monly called slave States, except Deleware it was not believed that the question was ones in and by the Declaration of Indepen- may well be questioned whether there is to gave a regiment through regular State organ- presented. It was not believed that any dence. Therein the United Colonies were day a majority of the legally qualified voters izations. A few regiments have been organ- law was violated. The provision of the Con- declared to be free and independent States. of any State except.perhaps, South Carolina, ized within some others of those States by stitution, that the privilege of the writ of But even then the object plainly was not in favor of disunion. There is much reason individual enterprise, and received into the habeus corpus shall not be suspended unless to declare their independence of one another to believe that the Union men are the major-Government service. Of course the secended when in case of rebellion or invasion, the or of the Union, but directly the contrary, ity in many, if not in every other one, of the States so called, and to which Texas had public safety may require it, is equivalent as their mutual pledge and their mutual so-called seceded States. As the contrary been joined about the time of the inaugura- to a provision that such privilege may be action, before, at the time, and afterwards, has not been demonstrated in any one of them tion, gave no troops to the cause of the suspended when, in case of rebellion or in- abundant'y show. The express plighting of it is ventured to affirm this, even of Virginia cause of the Union. The border States so vasion, the public safety does require it. It faith, by each and all the original thirteen, in and Tennessee, for the result of an election called, were not uniform in their action, was decided that we have a case of rebellion the articles of Confederation, two years held in military camps, where the bayonets some of them being almost unananimous and that the public safety does require later, that "the Union shall be perpetual," were all on one side of the question voted upon, for the Union, while in others, as Virginia the qualified suspension of the privilege of is most conclusive. Having never been can scarcely be considered as a demonstration and North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkan- the writ, which was authorized to be made. States either in substance or name outside of popular sentiment. At such an election sas, the Union sentiment was nearly repres- Now it is insisted that Congress and not the of the Union, whence this magical omnipo- all that large class who are not at once for sed and silenced. The course taken in Vir-ginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the the Constitution itself is silent as to which or power to lawfully destroy the Union itself? the Union and against the Union. most important. A convention elected by who is to exercise the power, and as the Much is said about the sovereignty of the It may be affirmed, without extravagance the people of that State to consider this provision was plainly made for a dangerous States, but the word, even, is not in the that the free institutions we enjoy have devery question of disrupting the Federal Union emergency, it cannot be believed that the National Constitution, nor as is believed, in veloped the power and the condition of was in session at the capital of Virginia framers of the instrument intended, that in any of the State Constitutions. What is a our whole people beyond any example in when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the every case the danger should run its course. soversignty in the political sense of the the world. Of this we now have a people had chosen a large body of professed Congress could be called together, the term? Would it be wrong to define it "a striking and impressive illustration. So Juion men. Almost immediately after the very assembling of which might be prevent- political community without a political su- large an army as the Government has now fall of Sumter, many members of that ed, as was intended in this case by the re- perior?" Tested by this, no one of our States on foot was never known, without a soldier majority went over to the original disunion bellion. No more extended argument is now except Texas, ever was a Sovereignty, and in it but who had taken his place there of majority went over to the original distantion better. It is prace there of minority, and with them adopted an ordi- offered, as an opinion of some length will even Texas gave up the character on coming his own free choice. But, more than this, nance for withdrawing the State from the probably be presented by the Attorney Gen- into the Union, by which act she acknowl- there are many single regiments whose mem-Union. Whether this change was wrought eral. Whether there shall be any legisla- edged the Constitution of the United States, bers, one and another, possess full practical by their great approval of the assault upon tion on the subject, and if any, what, is sub- and the laws and treaties of the United States, knowledge of all the arts, sciences, profes-Sumpter, or the great resentment at the mitted entirely to the better judgement of made in pursuance of the Constation, to be sions, and whatever else, whether useful or

Union, and in turn, the Union threw off their old dependance for them and made them

insist it exists in ours. If they have discard-

With rebellion thus sugar coated, they | ed it, they thereby admit that on principle it endure.

If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of seceder poli-

for her the supreme law of the land. The elegant, is known in the world; and there is States have their status in the Union, and scarcely one from which there could not be they have no other legal status. If they selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, break from this, they can only do so against, and perhaps a court abundantly competent law, and by revolution. The Union, and to administer the Government itself. Nor not themselves separated, procured their do I say this is not true also in the army of independence and their liberty. By conquest our late friends, now adversaries in this conor purchase, the Union gave each of them test. But if it is, so much better the pason whatever of independence and liberty it has. | why the Government which has conferred The Union is older than any of the States, such benefits on both them and us should and in fact it created them as States. Orig- not be broken up. Whoever, in any section inally some dependant colonies made the proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider in deference to what principle it is that he does it. What