

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.

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DISUNION.

At a meeting of the Republican Association, yesterday evening, Geo. M. WATSON, Esq., of this city, delivered an address upon the subject of Disunion, of which we are enabled to present the following report:

Mr. Watson said: If we are to believe in the new philosophy of the present day, the Government under which we so long reposed in vain security, is a mere house of painted cards, beautiful to the eye, but destined to crumble at the slightest touch, or even at the lightest breath.

For myself, I believe that the Union will be perpetuated, peacefully if we can, but forcibly if we must; or, at any rate, that it cannot be destroyed without a convulsion so terrible and so bloody, that it will be conspicuous even on the long and dark record of human wars and revolutions.

Let us not be deceived by temporary appearances. The Executive authority, which is the natural rallying point of public opinion in troublous times, and which saved the country from war in 1852 by a reasonable and well-directed blow, now fails us with uncertain sounds.

It is loudly said, in respect to certain States, that they have been troublesome and unprofitable partners, and that the best way to be rid of them is to let them go. At the first blush, such a consummation presents an expected relief from the brawling clamors which have irritated and wearied us for an age.

Not only would it be difficult to keep States together, but even at this early day, we have propositions to divide States themselves. During this very week, the Representative in the House of the lower wards of New York city declares that that city will sever its connection with a State which he denounces as "puritanical."

If the dream of a Northern Confederacy is vain, the dream of a Southern Confederacy is even more palpably so. Covering an area so much larger than that of the free States, with a sparser population, with an equal rivalry of commercial interests, and with the same element of disagreement as between large and small States, the South would unite even less easily than the North.

The Protestant and Catholic Cantons of Switzerland never think of separating because they are always in a quarrel; and as to England and Scotland, they were induced to the act of Union, a century and a half ago, not by love, but by a long experience of such mortal hatred, as made separation a condition of almost perpetual war.

This American Union was not founded upon love, but upon interest. Our fathers, who established it, were not piling sentimentalities, but men of vigor and courage, and virile sense. They left us a strong Union, and we have made it stronger, by uniting the right to the left bank of the Mississippi, and by carry-

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No! The question is not of letting South Carolina go, but of letting the whole Union crumble into its elemental parts, and of sinking the power of the American Confederacy, not by degrees, but with a plunge, into the chaos and imbecility of Mexico.

The magnitude of the calamity of disunion is only to be measured by the happiness we have derived from union. That, we know, has been and is inestimable. National dignity, credit, and security, as regards the rest of the world, peace and freedom of trade and intercourse at home, with all the amazing development of wealth which has resulted from them, depend directly upon the Union.

The country will not yield in a moment, or without a struggle, what they know to be the bulwark of their security, the main-spring of their property, and the palladium of their rights.

Observe, that this question is to be adjudged by the country, not in the condition in which it was sixty days ago, but in the condition in which it will be sixty days hence, or six months hence, if events proceed in their present course.

Observe, further, that it is precisely from the classes and the localities, whence now proceeds the language of timidity, that will come at last the boldest notes of decision and energy. It is commerce and manufactures which suffer the quickest, in this smelted against the Union, and which are casting about for patch-work remedies for an evil, the nature of which is not comprehended in the first moment of alarm; but as it is commerce and manufactures which have suffered the quickest, so it is commerce and manufactures which will suffer most lastingly by the overthrow of the Union, and which will be foremost to resist that overthrow by force, if at last force proves to be the only remedy which is left.

The Republic, one and indivisible! That was settled by our fathers in the consultation at Albany, before the Revolution, maintained during the seven years' struggle, and consummated at Philadelphia in 1787. It was settled by us, and for our time, by that magnificent act of statesmanship, of patriotism, and of American nationality, the annexation of Texas.

It is said that we cannot live together under the same Government, because we hate each other. The fact is no fact, but the delusion of angry men, who mistake their own passions for the sentiments of communities. But if the fact is true, the inference will better commend itself to boarding-school misses, who believe that the world rests upon love, and poetry, and bouquets, than to statesmen, who understand the real basis of the social state.

The Protestants and Catholics of Switzerland never think of separating because they are always in a quarrel; and as to England and Scotland, they were induced to the act of Union, a century and a half ago, not by love, but by a long experience of such mortal hatred, as made separation a condition of almost perpetual war.

ing our dominion to the Gulf of Mexico and the Straits of Florida, the true mouth of the Mississippi. Whether we love each other, or hate each other, we will maintain boundaries which nature has herself unmistakably indicated. When the American General, who first took possession of the left bank of the Rio Grande, found himself, from the want of interpreters, at a loss to explain how long his Government intended to hold what it had taken, he evaded the difficulty by dictating the word, "eternidad." That is the word to be inscribed upon the fortress upon the Dry Tortugas. We hold our line of coast upon the sea which that fortress commands, by honest purchases from the Crowns of France and Spain, and it will be time enough to give it up, when we can weigh the price of national honor and national security.

The question whether this Union is to be dissolved, is not a South Carolina question, but a National question. If this Union is a bargain, it takes two to unmake a bargain, as well as to make one. That is the law of the case, and what is more important, it is the fact of the case. It is not the telegraph from the Capitol of South Carolina which is to announce the fate of this Government. We are masters of our own actions and of our own destinies; and so far as liberty, property, and material interests, depend upon the stability of political institutions, we hold neither by the base tenure of anybody's sufferance.

No interference with State sovereignties, or collision with State authorities, is required. Under our admirable form of government, the people of each State manage their own affairs in their own way. In return for protection from foreign enemies, requiring the costly maintenance of armies and navies, moderate duties are levied at the ports upon goods entered for consumption. It will be no interference with the internal concerns of States, or with the legitimate sovereignty of States, to continue the collection of these duties at all ports of entry, and it is essential to the national authority that it should be continued.

But it is not essential that the administration of justice by Federal courts, or the Post Office system, should be continued in localities adverse to them. As to the latter system, indeed, it is a growing opinion, that it should be discontinued everywhere, and there can be no sort of difficulty in withdrawing it from any State which shall indicate a desire to that effect.

An obvious exception to this course of remark, is found in the case of Florida. If that State, which I will not anticipate, should enact an ordinance of secession, such a proceeding, whatever other effects it might have, would at least have the effect of giving her assent to the repeal of the act of Congress of 1845, admitting her into the Union. That act was unquestionably fraudulent and factious in its origin, as Florida never had, has not now, and without some radical changes never can have, the requisite numbers, wealth, and importance, to entitle her to membership in the Union.

It may prove a most opportune relief, if she herself voluntarily assents to and invites the repeal of the unwise act of 1845. Without proposing to govern her through a Governor invested with autocratic and dictatorial powers, as was done by President Monroe during the first period of her acquisition from Spain, an equally safe, and, on many accounts, a more acceptable process, would be to follow the model of the provisional administration originally devised for Louisiana by Mr. Jefferson, that is to say, to confide the direction of affairs to a Governor, assisted by a Legislative Council composed of discreet and well-affected citizens, to be designated by the President and Senate of the United States. The happiest consequences would unquestionably follow. It would not cost us the one-hundredth part of the money to expel the nullifiers from Florida, which it cost us to expel the Seminoles; and with a stable Government, sustained by national authority, a great population would flow into that really fine region. This flow of population might, if necessary, be aided by a revival of Col. Benton's armed occupation act, with proper modifications and adaptations. Florida, in the greater part, is not suited to plantations, but would support an immense population of farmers, gardeners, fruit raisers, and fishermen. I have myself no doubt that the most auspicious results, as well to the prosperity of Florida as to the consolidation of our national power in that quarter, may confidently be hoped from that change in social institutions which would result from remanding her to the Territorial condition, under present circumstances. It is hardly necessary to add, that all the motives which prompted the purchase of that country at an onerous price, and which have reconciled us to the still more onerous burden of defouling it from Indian hostilities, exist now, to induce us to retain it, and with a force increased and increasing with all the rapidity of the development of the commerce of the Mississippi valley.

Having thus briefly stated the measures which I believe will be adopted by the country to defeat itself against the handful of madmen who seek to deprive it of government and of union, it is proper to consider, by way of contrast, the measures suggested by the President, ostensibly with the same view, but which can have no other effect than to aggravate and embitter existing mischiefs.

Before considering these Presidential suggestions, it is pertinent to observe that the only States whose voluntary concurrence with South Carolina in the act of secession is feared by anybody, are the Gulf States, it being conceded that the border slave States are opposed to secession, and will be dragged into it, if they go into it at all, by a supposed necessity of union with communities identified with them by a leading institution. The matter in hand, then, is the apprehended secession of the Gulf States.

Now, the President assigns as the causes of this menacing disruption, two grievances, in which, from the nature of them, the Gulf States can by no possibility be concerned. They are, first, the failure of the free States to return fugitive slaves escaping into them; and, second, the resistance to the occupation of the territories of the Union, by slaveholders. As to the first matter complained of, it is notorious that it does not affect the Gulf States at all; and as to the second matter, it is equally notorious that those States, instead of desiring more territory to work their slaves upon, desire more slaves to cultivate the territory they already have, and to procure them in sufficient numbers, and at prices low enough, are well inclined to reopen the African slave trade. There is,

therefore, not only no truth, but not a color of probability, that the States threatening secession are influenced in the least degree, by either of the causes so strangely suggested by the President, or that they would be pacificated in the least degree by the removal of both those causes. The things complained of affect Virginia, it is true; but it is not Virginia which is inclined to secession, even if she may be possibly dragged into it. But the things complained of do not injure South Carolina in the slightest degree, and their existence throws no light whatever upon the policy which South Carolina proposes to pursue. If we ever have a secession of South Carolina, or its Gulf associates, and a recital by them of their own wrongs, it is not conceivable that they will insult the common sense of mankind by any such enumeration of impossible sufferings as we find in the President's message. As no such grievances affect the complaining States, as are vainly pretended by the President, so the remedy which he proposes, of the removal of those grievances, fails to hit the mischief at all. The President is simply beating the air.

If there is anything connected with slavery, of which the Gulf States really do complain, it is the acts of Congress prohibiting the slave trade. The President does not propose to repeal those acts, but the Gulf States do, by the movement of going out of the Union.

But the indubitable fact is, that the present effort at secession has no connection whatever with any aspect of the slavery question. Intelligent advocates put it upon wholly different grounds. It originates in the nullification theories which were in full development thirty years ago, and long before slavery, in itself a matter of local concern, became mixed up in national politics. This is the great historical fact which the President ignores in his message, but which he cannot efface from the records of the country, or obscure in the recollection of the living generation of men.

What we have to deal with to-day, is the same South Carolina nullification which Gen. Jackson scotched, but not killed, in 1832. Saved then from a bloody extinction by the postponement of a compromise, it has been for a generation poisoning the Southern mind, with vain theories of Southern independence and aggrandizement outside of a Union which is the only efficient protection of Southern institutions. The evil has burst upon us in a day, but it has been gathering head for long years.

It must now be met, not by the holiday parade, but by the stern resolves of patriotism. It is idle to indulge in the illusions of hope. A danger so terrible, that we are even yet, if not incredulous of its existence, unable to gauge its proportions, is actually upon us. We are menaced with that loss which involves all other losses, the loss of our country. There is scarcely any form of property which is not threatened with ruinous depreciation, while many forms of property are trembling on the brink of total extinction. Business in numerous departments is already visited with paralysis, and this paralysis is only the forerunner of death, if the disease is not arrested. It is in vain that we delude ourselves with the idea that we can safely let ourselves go of a few querulous partners by letting them go. If we could have a bond of limits as now defined, we might acquiesce, with regret, to be sure, but without serious alarm. But no such hope. With the loss of a single stone, the arch tumbles to the ground. The withdrawal of a part of the States destroys the cohesion of all that remain. A Northern and a Southern Confederacy are equally chimeras, and the permitted secession of South Carolina is the signal of a catastrophe which will leave scarcely any two States in political combination.

The only thing which is possible, short of the anarchy of Mexico, is the Republic, one and indivisible. The public judgment, stunted by the rapid march of great events, hesitates and vacillates as yet, but the conclusion to which it will arrive is inevitable. Nothing, not even civil war, can be so ruinous to men's interests as the dissolution of the Union. I repeat it, the Republic, one and indivisible, at all costs, even if such a struggle as that which France made those words good against La Vendée, if there is no other escape for us from the horrors of disunion, will be the rally-cry of the country. The alternative is terrible, but we cannot escape the necessities of our position. No man's property, no man's liberty, no man's life, is safe, if we do not maintain the Government of our country. We cannot elude danger by running away from it. We must confront it.

Thank God! If the danger is great, the resources of defense are still greater, and the inducements multiply that the bow of promise will soon span the vault of the heavens, now blackened by the storm-cloud. We never really knew how strong the Union was, until this moment of fierce assault. The main body of the South is as true as steel. The great States upon the Chesapeake, the Ohio, and the Missouri, containing more than four millions of people, may be indulgent to erring sisters, but, in the end, they will be governed by patriotism and enlightened self-interest.

Kentucky, which, two generations ago, made the acquisition of the mouth of the Mississippi the well-understood condition of her own adherence to the Union, and which, in 1814, sent down her riflemen, famous in history and song, to the defence of New Orleans, will not yield her free outlets either to the ocean or the Gulf. Missouri, hopeful of central empire, and with the reality of it not far distant, will not sink patiently to the condition of a dismembered and isolated province. On this side of the mountains, Virginia and Maryland are loyal to the core to a Government, located upon their own majestic Potomac, identified with the rest of their present interests. If, for a moment, a suspicion has attached to the "mother of States and statesmen," from the language of men, who, making good their individual escape from the overthrow of the heresy of 1832, have availed themselves of an indulgent amnesty and popular forgetfulness to creep into high places, the suspicion is allayed by the assurances of that crowd of citizens, who come up here, day by day, to protest their devotion to institutions which Virginia herself, more than any other State, gave to the country.

Even in that portion of the South which now seems to be disloyal, there is ground to hope that reason will yet prevail over passion. Secession cannot be successful, if at all, without civil war, and civil war will be followed by the extinction, utter and in blood, of negro slavery upon this continent. Such a solution of that question will be gratifying to fanaticism in America and in Europe; but wise men will recoil from it with unspeakable horror. It is not the language of menace, to point out the inevitable results of conduct, and it is not the part of brave men to maintain a useless struggle with fate. The courage of the horse, rushing into the battle, of which he knows not the perils, is not a fit object of emulation by rational men. That is a strange confusion of ideas, which esteems it cowardice for men to regard consequences, in actions which involve all the interests of themselves and of their children.

Not only will the disloyalty which exists, yield to time and reflection, but the present extent of it is enormously exaggerated. Even in South Carolina, it is a safe conclusion, from the hot haste with which matters have been pushed on, that the managers of the disunion movement had no confidence that the deliberate judgment of that State was on their side. Theatrical effect and surprise, have been the instruments relied upon, aided, where necessary, by actual terror and intimidation. The resignation of Federal officials and of Senators Chesnut and Hammond, the raising of Palmetto flags, and military processions, were concerted and contrived to stun and bewilder the public mind, while legislative unanimity was secured by the threat of dissenting members should be to the present moment, the conspirators feel so little security of the popular support of the people, that the retiring Governor of South Carolina declares that the delay of even a single week, in the proclamation of secession by the State Convention, will be fatal to the enterprise. Such hot haste assures us of the existence of an opposition at home, only needing the support of the national force, to coerce an acquiescence in an eventual accommodation.

The Union, let us hope, will be preserved without a struggle, but, at all events, it will be preserved. The emergency will call out the qualities and inspire the conduct which will carry the country through the danger, great as it undoubtedly is. Firmness in repressing treason, and conciliation in harmonizing the sound elements against the conspirators, are both needed, and in an equal degree. It will not be permitted, that what is really a contest between the Government and the old nullification of South Carolina, shall be artfully converted into a conflict between the free and slave States, for which there is no cause, and of which no man can foresee the issue. The nullifiers are themselves beyond the reach of conciliation, but they can be weakened and isolated, by depriving them of pretexts for complaints, which give them the sympathy of otherwise well-affected citizens. For some of these complaints, not merely a pretext, but probably good cause, is to be found in the legislation of some of the States, directed against a fugitive slave law, believed to have been made purposely offensive in its provisions. But whatever excuse there may be for the legislation referred to, and even if it does not go beyond the letter of the technical right of the States which have enacted it, the prudence and patriotism of the people may be relied upon to remove everything which either in reality or in appearance conflicts with the undisputed claim of the slave States to the return of fugitives from labor. With that claim recognized in a spirit of fraternal and constitutional duty, the Southern mind will be prepared to believe what is true, that no interference of any kind threatens an institution which is incorporated with the whole framework of Southern society. Nullification must be crushed, but it will be crushed with ease and safety, by thus depriving it of the power to alarm the fears of fifteen States at a vital point. And this, which is an urgent policy at the present time, is a duty of patriotism at all times, required by the ordinary relations of amity between the States, and much more by the intimate relations of a Federal Union.

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Even in that portion of the South which now seems to be disloyal, there is ground to hope that reason will yet prevail over passion. Secession cannot be successful, if at all, without civil war, and civil war will be followed by the extinction, utter and in blood, of negro slavery upon this continent. Such a solution of that question will be gratifying to fanaticism in America and in Europe; but wise men will recoil from it with unspeakable horror. It is not the language of menace, to point out the inevitable results of conduct, and it is not the part of brave men to maintain a useless struggle with fate. The courage of the horse, rushing into the battle, of which he knows not the perils, is not a fit object of emulation by rational men. That is a strange confusion of ideas, which esteems it cowardice for men to regard consequences, in actions which involve all the interests of themselves and of their children.

PUBLISHERS' NOTICES.

Subscriptions, advertisements, and communications, intended for this paper, may be left at Adamson's periodical store, on Seventh Street, opposite the General Post Office, where copies of the paper may also be had immediately on its issue.

Advertisements should be sent in before twelve o'clock, M., otherwise they may have to lie over a day.

Communications upon all subjects, particularly with reference to our city affairs, will receive respectful attention.

HENRY JANNEY, No. 348 Pennsylvania Avenue, between Sixth and Seventh Streets, Washington, D. C., MANUFACTURER OF GENTLEMEN'S FASHIONABLE BOOTS & SHOES.

HAS at all times a sufficient force of the most experienced hands to make promptly to order every variety of work in his line. He has on his shelves a very good supply of work of his own make. Also, a general supply of Northern work, direct from the Manufacturers, as well as from Auction, and assures the public that no house in this or any other city can supply, WHOLESALE or RETAIL, at lower rates. nov 26

PHILADELPHIA CONFECTIONERY. ICE CREAM, Water Ices, Wedding Cakes, Pound Cakes, Mince Pies, Pastry, Crusts for Oyster Pies, Jellies, and a general assortment of nice things in the Confectionery line, at FUSSELL'S, corner of Twelfth and F Streets, at the lowest prices. nov 30-1m

GAS FIXTURES! THE BEST ASSORTMENT EVER OFFERED IN THIS CITY.

THOSE who desire to select from new patterns, with the advantage of a reduction in price, will call early and examine. We would also call the attention of persons about introducing gas into their dwellings to our increased facilities, and consequent low prices, for this branch of our trade. Inviting all who desire their work done promptly, and free from gas leakage, to call at 269 Pennsylvania Avenue, between Tenth and Eleventh Streets, south side. nov 26 J. W. THOMPSON & CO.

THE ROYAL TURKISH TOWELS. Bathing Sponges, Velvet Sponges, Bath Gloves. Brown Windsor Soap, Honey Soaps. Lubin's Soaps and Extracts. Genuine German Cologne, all sizes, wick-ers and plain bottles. Bazin's Soaps and Extracts. Phalon's Soaps and Extracts. Pomades of all kinds. Hair Tonics, &c. With a full assortment of new Perfumery. Hair Brushes, Combs, Tooth Brushes. Fresh Medicines, Pure Chemicals, &c. Just received at GILMAN'S New Drug Store, 359 Penn. Av. Congress, Empire, Saratoga, Bedford, Blue Lick, and White Sulphur Waters, always on hand, as above. dec 3-3t

NOTICE! I wish all gentlemen to bear in mind that the plan which I adopted, six years ago, of selling HATS and BOOTS at greatly reduced prices, for cash, is in successful operation. Just received, a full supply of the latest New York styles of DRESS HATS. The very finest Hat at \$3.50; a first-rate Hat, \$3; and very good, fashionable Hat, \$2.50. All of the latest styles of soft HATS and CAPS, at the very lowest prices. I am constantly supplied with a very large stock of those fine DRESS BOOTS, at \$3.75—which I have been selling for many years—as well as the very best quality of Patent Leather GAITERS, at \$3; and Fine French Calfskin Gaiters, from \$2 to \$3.50. Terms cash. No extra charge in order to offset bad debts. ANTHONY, Agent for the Manufacturers, Seventh Street, second Hat Store from the corner, opposite Avenue House, No. 540. nov 26

G. W. DUTTON, BUTCHER AND VICTUALLER, F Street, (north side,) near Eleventh.

THE subscriber has opened a regular Family Market on F Street, near Eleventh Street, where he is prepared to furnish Meats of all kinds, Vegetables, Oysters, Butter, Eggs, and every description of Family Provisions, for family use, and respectfully solicits a share of the public patronage. He still continues to carry on the Butchering business at his stands, No. 7 in the Centre Market, and No. 46 in the Northern Liberties Market, where he will always be found on market days, ready to supply his customers with choice Meats. nov 26 G. W. DUTTON.

G. W. GOODALL, Plumber and Gas and Steam Fitter, 564 Seventh Street, near Canal Bridge, Washington.

ALL orders executed at the shortest notice, in the most substantial manner, and on reasonable terms. Personal attention given to every department of the business. nov 26

JOHN R. ELVANS, 309, PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, Between Ninth and Tenth Streets, DEALER IN COACH AND CABINET HARDWARE, BAR-IRON, STEEL, &c. SIGN OF THE ARM AND HAMMER. nov 26-1meod.

STRAY SHEEP. CAME to the premises of the subscriber, on Thursday last, a stray SHEEP, which the owner can have by proving property and paying all expenses incurred. JAMES GORMAN, 696 G Street. dec 11

MERCHANT TAILORING. THE advertiser respectfully invites the attention of his friends and the public in general to his new stock of Cloths, Cassimeres, and Vestings. He has always on hand goods suitable for the season, which he would be pleased to make up to order on as liberal terms as any other establishment in this city. E. M. DREW, Agent, C Street, next to Bank of Washington. nov 26

TO HOUSEKEEPERS OF WASHINGTON, GEORGETOWN, AND VICINITY.

WE invite the attention of housekeepers to our very large and beautiful stock of China, Glass, and Earthen Ware, which is now rendered complete in every department by our recent importations. We deem it unnecessary to enumerate articles, as we have everything that is usually kept in the China business, from rich decorated French China Dinner and Tea Sets, to the ordinary Earthen Ware; and, as we import the majority of our goods, we are prepared to furnish the best quality, either to the wholesale or retail trade, as low as any of the importing houses of Baltimore. English and American Cutlery of superior quality. Also, Horn, Buck, and Cocoa-handled Cutlery, from the same factories. Silver-plated Ware on fine alabaster, warranted. A large stock of Coal Oil Lamps, numerous patterns. Parlor Lamp-shades and Chimneys. Cut Glass Globes. Hyacinth Glasses, Fancy Articles, Toys, &c. C. S. FOWLER & CO., dec 4-50 504 Odd Fellows' Hall, 7th Street.

W. KRZYZANOWSKI, Seventh Street Crockery Depot, 383 Seventh Street, (under Dorsey's Hotel,) "Sign of the Plates," Washington, D. C.

CROCKERY, Glass, Cutlery, Coal-Oil Lamps, Kerosene and Coal Oil, at lowest prices. nov 26

MRS. N. L. DONALDSON

BEGS leave to inform the public of Washington that she has opened a PHOTOGRAPHIC GALLERY, No. 18 Centre Market Space, Penn. Avenue, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, where she is prepared to take Pictures of all sizes and styles; Photographs and Spherotypes, with neatness and dispatch; also, Copies from Daguerotypes and Pictures of all kinds, either in clear or gloomy weather.

My rooms are conveniently situated—but one short flight of