

MARSHALL COUNTY REPUBLICAN.

A National Republican Newspaper. Devoted to Constitutional Liberty, Union, and every true Interest of the Country.

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PLYMOUTH, INDIANA, THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1861.

[WHOLE NO. 220.]

BUSINESS CARDS.

D. T. PHILLIPS,
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW.
Will practice and make collections in the counties of Marshall, Putnam, Adams, Shelby, Jackson, Porter, and Wayne, Ind. Office in Room No. 3, West-side of Public Square, PLYMOUTH, IND.

WASHINGTON TUTTLE,
Justice of the Peace,
General Collection Agent,
Bourbon, Marshall Co., Ind.

A. N. WISE,
Justice of the Peace,
General Collection Agent,
Bourbon, Marshall Co., Ind.

L. H. SHATTO,
Attorney at Law,
Collection Agent,
Bourbon, Marshall Co., Ind.

JAMES O. PARKS,
Attorney at Law,
Land and Collection Agent,
Bourbon, Marshall Co., Ind.

LAW NOTICE.—T. S. STANFIELD,
of South Bend, Ind., & A. J. JOHNSON, of Plymouth, Ind., have associated themselves together for the purpose of practicing law in all the courts of Marshall County, Ind. They will personally assist in the management of all litigated business.
Office up stairs in Park Building.
[Jan 13 1861]

CORBIN & OSBORNE,
Attorneys at Law,
OFFICE IN BANK BUILDING.

DR. B. A. GROVER, having located at BALDWIN'S MILL, six miles north of Rochester, on the Michigan Road, will receive public patronage.
References:
Dr. C. Beckwith, Rochester, Ind.;
Dr. J. G. Jones, Valparaiso, Ind.;
Dr. T. H. Evers, LaPorte, Ind.
[Jan 13 1861]

DR. J. C. JONES, late of Miami Co., Ind., has removed to the southeast corner of the Public Square.
[Jan 25 1861]

DR. A. O. BORTON, SERGEON DENTIST.
I have the honor to inform you that I have removed to the southeast corner of the Public Square, and will receive public patronage.
References:
Dr. J. G. Jones, Valparaiso, Ind.;
Dr. T. H. Evers, LaPorte, Ind.
[Jan 13 1861]

HENRY G. THAYER,
WHOLESALE DEALER IN
PRODUCE, PORK, SEEDS, &c.
Office in Charles Palmer's Store.
No. 2 LaPorte Street,
PLYMOUTH, IND.

LIVERY! LIVERY! LIVERY!
BUCKEYE
LIVERY STABLES,
PLYMOUTH, INDIANA.

Howe's Standard Scales.
FOR SALE BY
THOS. S. DICKERSON
In the Flat Warehouse,
No. 45 Wabash Avenue, Chicago
Weight out of order. No check Book.
All Rights Reserved on Ball.
[15]

FAIRBANKS' PATENT
SCALES OF ALL KINDS.
Fairbanks & Greenleaf,
55 Lake St. Chicago.
[17] Be careful to buy only the genuine.
[April 15 1861]

DR. F. A. CADWELL,
Operator on the Eye & Ear.
For Deafness, Blindness, and all diseases of sight and hearing.
Dr. C. being a regular Physician, with TWENTY YEARS' exclusive practice in the treatment of diseases of the EYE AND EAR, will be found fully qualified to give relief or effect a cure in any case within the limits of human nature.
No charge for an examination or opinion, nor for successful operations.
Dr. C. has treated the Eye and Ear of 2000 persons, including Deafness, Blindness, Strabismus, Dislocation of the Iris, Cataract, and other eye diseases, and has cured them all, to the great gratification of the afflicted, and the praise of the community.
Office Dr. Cadwell, 21 Randolph St., corner DuSable, Chicago, Ill.
[Oct. 1860—1861]

PORT WAYNE WHOLESALE GROCERY HOUSE,
No. 55, Columbus Street, PORT WAYNE, IND.

WILLIAMS & MUESTIS,
WHOLESALE GROCERS
Commission Merchants.
We will call the attention of our old customers, and of other dealers in Northern Indiana, to their stock of
GROCERIES,
which is the largest and best to be found in any other establishment in Port Wayne, and at prices defying competition.
[1861]

THE REPUBLICAN.

**SPEECH OF
HON. WM. H. SEWARD,
OF NEW-YORK.**

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, SATURDAY, JANUARY 12, 1861.

His Views on the Existing Crisis.

Mr. President: Congress adjourned last summer amidst the auspices of national abundance, contentment, tranquility and happiness. It has re-assembled this winter in the presence of derangement of business, and disturbance of public, as well as private credit, and in the face of seditious combinations to overthrow the Union.

GRAVE CAUSE FOR APPREHENSION.
The alarm is appalling, for the Union is not more the body than liberty is the soul of the nation. The American citizen has been accustomed to believe this Republic immortal. He shrinks from the sight of convulsions indicative of its sudden death. The report of our condition has gone over the seas, and we who have so long studied the endless agonies of society in the Old World, believing ourselves exempt from such disturbances, now in our turn seem to be falling into momentous and disastrous revolution.

THE PRESENT TIME FOR DELIBERATE ACTION.
I know how difficult it is to decide amid so many and so various counsels, as to what ought to be done, and even what can be done. Certainly, however, it is time for every Senator to declare himself. I, therefore, following the example of the noble Senator from Tennessee (Mr. Johnson), avow my adherence to the Union in its integrity and in all its parts.

With my friends, with my party, with my State, with my country, or without either, as they may determine; in every event, whether of peace or war; with every consequence of honor or dishonor; or life or death; although I lament the occasion, I hail with cheerfulness the duty of lifting up my voice among distracted debates, for my whole country and its inextinguishable Union.

DISUNION RAMPANT.
Hitherto the exhibitions of spirit and resolution, here at elsewhere, have been chiefly on the side of disunion. I do not regret this. Disunion is so unexpected and unnatural, that it must plainly reveal itself before its presence can be realized.

I like best also the courage that rises slowly under the pressure of severe provocation. If it be a Christian duty to forgive a stranger even seventy times seven offenses, it is the highest patriotism to endure, without complaint, the passionate waywardness of political brethren, so long as there is hope that they may come to a better end.

WHAT WILL NOT SAVE THE UNION.
I think it is easy to pronounce what measures or conduct will not save the Union. I agree with the honorable Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Clingman), that mere eulogiums will not save it, yet I think as prayer brings us nearer to God, though it cannot move Him toward us, so there is healing and saving virtue in every word of devotion to the Union that is spoken, and in every sigh that its danger draws forth. I know at least that like virtue it derives strength from every irreverent act that is committed, and every blasphemous phrase that is uttered against it. The Union cannot be saved by mutual animosities concerning our respective shares of the responsibility for the present evils. His whose conscience acquits him will naturally be slow to accuse others whose co-operation he needs. History only can adjust the great account.

USELESSNESS OF DISCUSSING THEORIES.
A continuance of the debate on the constitutional power of Congress over the subject of slavery in the Territories will not save the Union. The opinions of parties and sections on that question have become dogmatical, and it is this circumstance that has produced the existing alienation. A truce, at least during the debate on the Union, is essential to reconciliation.

The Union cannot be saved by proving that secession is illegal or unconstitutional. Persons bent on a fearful step will not stand long enough on forms of law to be dislodged, and loyal men do not need such narrow ground to stand upon.

I fear that little more will be gained from discussing the right of the Federal Government to coerce a seceding State into obedience. If disunion is to go on, this question will give place to the more practical one, whether many seceding States have a right to coerce the remaining members to acquiesce in a dissolution.

IMPROBABILITY OF PEACEFUL SECESSION AND SUBSEQUENT RECONSTRUCTION.
I read, as in my inmost soul I abhor, civil war, I do not know that the Union would be worth, if saved by the use of the sword. Yet for all this, I do not agree with those who, with a desire to avert that great calamity, advise a conventional or unopposed separation, with a view to what they call a reconstruction. It is enough for me, first, that in this plan, destruction goes before reconstruction; and secondly, that the strength of the case in which the hopes of the nation are held, consists chiefly in its remaining unbroken.

COMPROMISES OF NO AVAIL.—CONGRESSIONAL COMPROMISES NOT LIKELY TO SAVE THE UNION.
I know, indeed, that tradition favors this kind of remedy, but it is essential to its success in any case that there be found a preponderating mass of citizens so far removed from the issue which separates parties, that they can intervene, strike down clashing weapons, and compel an accommodation. Moderate concessions are not customarily asked by a force with guns in their battery, nor are liberal concessions apt to be given by an opposing force not less confident of its own right and its own strength. I think, also, that there is a prevailing conviction that legislative compromises which sacrifice honestly cherished principles, which they anticipate future exigencies even if they do not assume ex present constitutional powers, are less sure to avert imminent evils than they are cer-

tain to produce ultimately even greater dangers.

Indeed, Mr. President, I think it will be wise to discard two prevalent ideas or prejudices, namely: First, that the Union is to be saved by some body in particular; and secondly, that it is to be saved by some cunning and insincere compact of pacification. If I remember rightly I said something like this here so long ago as 1850, and afterwards in 1854.

CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT CRISIS.
The present danger discloses itself in this form: Discontented citizens have obtained political power in certain States, and they are using this authority to overthrow the Federal Government. They delude themselves with the belief that the State power they have acquired enables them to discharge themselves from allegiance to the whole Republic.

CONFLICTING VIEWS.
The honorable Senator from Illinois (Mr. Douglas) says we have a right to coerce a State but we cannot. The President says that no State has a right to secede, but we have no constitutional power to make war against a State. The dilemma results from an assumption that those who, in such a case act against the Federal Government, act lawfully as a State, although manifestly they have perverted the power of the State to an unconstitutional purpose. A class of politicians in New England set up this theory and attempted to practice upon it in our war with Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson did not hesitate to say that States must be kept within their constitutional sphere, by impulsion if they could not be held there by attraction. Secession was held to be inadmissible in the face of a public emergency.

SECESSION CONSTITUTIONALLY IMPOSSIBLE.
But if it is inadmissible in one case, it is necessarily so in all others. I fully admit the originality, the sovereignty and independence of the several States within their sphere; but I hold the Federal Government to be equally original, sovereign and independent within its sphere, and the Government of the State can no more abrogate the people residing in its limits from allegiance to the Union, than the Government of the Union can abrogate them from allegiance to the State.

The Constitution of the United States, and the laws made pursuant thereof, are the supreme law of the land, paramount to all legislation of the States, whether made under the Constitution or by even their organic Conventions. The Union can be dissolved, but only by the voluntary consent of the people of the United States, collected in the manner prescribed by the Constitution of the United States.

DUTY OF CONGRESS.
Congress, in the present case, ought not to be impulsive; it ought, if it can, redress any real grievance of the offended States, and then it ought to supply the President with all the means necessary to maintain the Union in the full exhibition and discreet exercise of its authority.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PEOPLE.
Beyond this, with the proper authority of the part of the Executive, the responsibility of saving the Union belongs to the people, and they are abundantly competent to discharge it. I propose, therefore, with great diffidence, to address myself to the country upon the momentous subject; asking a hearing, not less from the people within what are called the seceding, than from those who reside within the adhering States. Union is an old, fixed, settled, habit of the American people, resulting from convictions of its necessity, and therefore not likely to be hastily discarded.

A LESSON FROM HISTORY.
The early States while existing as Colonies, were combined, though imperfectly, through a common allegiance to the British crown. When that allegiance ceased, no one was so presumptuous as to suppose political existence compatible with disunion, and, therefore, they declared themselves independent, they declared themselves also confederated States. Experience in war and in peace, from 1776 to 1787, only convinced them of the necessity of converting that loose confederacy into a more perfect, and a perpetual Union.

MODERATION OF OUR ANCESTORS.
They acted with a coolness very different from the impetuous conduct of those who now on one side threaten, and those who rashly defy disunion. They considered the continuance of the Union as a subject comprehending nothing less than the safety and welfare of all parts of which the country was composed, and the fate of an empire the most interesting in the world.

DISOLUTION SUICIDAL.
I enter upon this subject of continuing the Union now, deeply impressed with the same generous and loyal conviction. How could it be otherwise, when instead of only thirteen, the country is now composed of thirty-three parts, and the empire embraces instead of only four millions, no less than thirty millions of inhabitants? The founders of the Constitution, moreover, regarded the Union as no mere national or American interest. On the contrary, they confessed with deep sensibility that it seemed to them to have been reserved for the people of this country to decide whether societies of men are really capable of establishing good governments upon reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force.

They feared, therefore, that their failure to continue and perfect the Union would be a misfortune to the nations. How much more, sir, would its overthrow now be a calamity to mankind?

Some form of Government is indispensable here as elsewhere. Whatever form we have, every individual citizen and every State must coöperate to its maintenance, to invest the Government with the requisite power. The simple question, therefore, is for us now to decide, while laying aside all pique, passion and prejudice, whether it conduces more to the interests of the people of this country, for the general purposes of peace and war, commerce, inland and foreign, postal communications at home and abroad, the care and disposition of the public domain, colonization, the organization and admission of new States, and generally the enlargement of empire, to continue one nation under our present Constitution, than it would be to divide themselves into separate confeder-

acies or States. Our country remains now as it was in 1787, composed not of detached and distant territories, but of one whole well connected and fertile region, lying within the temperate zone, with climate and soils hardly more various than those of France or Italy. This slight diversity quickens and amplifies manufacturers and commerce. Our rivers and valleys, as improved by art, furnish us a system of highways unequalled in the world.

NO IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT BETWEEN FREE AND SLAVE LABOR.
The different forms of labor, if slavery were not perverted to purposes of political ambition, need not constitute an element of strife in the Confederacy. Notwithstanding recent vehement expressions and manifestations of intolerance in some quarters, protracted by intense partisan excitement, we are, in fact, a heterogeneous people, chiefly of one stock, with accessions very assimilated. We have practically only one language, one religion, one system of Government and manners and customs common to all. Why, then, shall we not remain henceforth, as hitherto, one people.

SECURITY THE FIRST OBJECT OF SOCIETY.
The first object of every human society is safety or security, for which, if need be, they will and they must sacrifice every other. This security is of two kinds; one, exemption from foreign aggressions and influence; the other, exemption from domestic tyranny and sedition. Foreign wars come from either violations of treaties or domestic violence.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.
The Union has thus far proved itself an almost perfect shield against such wars. The United States, continually enlarging their diplomatic acquaintance, have now treaties with France, the Netherlands, Great Britain, Sweden, Prussia, Spain, Russia, Denmark, Mexico, Brazil, Austria, Turkey, Chili, Siam, Muscat, Venezuela, Peru, Greece, Sardinia, Ecuador, Hanover, Portugal, New Granada, Hesse-Cassel, Wurttemberg, China, Bavaria, Saxony, Nassau, Switzerland, Mecklenburg, Schwerin, Gantemala, the Hawaiian Islands, San Salvador, Dorneo, Costa Rica, Bremen, the Argentine Confederation, Loo-Choo, Japan, Brunswick, Persia, Baden, Belgium, and Paraguay.

Nevertheless, the United States within their entire existence under the Federal Constitution, have had flagrant wars with only four States, two of which were insignificant powers, on the coast of Barbary, and have had direct hostilities amounting to reprisals with only two or three more, and they are now at peace with the whole world.

DISUNION WOULD GREATLY INCREASE THE DANGERS OF FOREIGN WAR.
If the Union should be divided into two Confederacies, each of them would need to make as many treaties as we have now, and be liable to give as many causes for war as we now do. But we know, from the sad experience of other nations, that disintegration, once begun, inevitably continues until even the greatest empire crumbles into many parts. Each confederacy that shall ultimately arise out of the Union, will have necessity for as many treaties as we now have, and will incur liabilities for war as often as we now do by breaking them. It is the multiplication of treaties and the want of confederation that makes war the normal condition of society in Western Europe and in Spanish America.

PEACE DEPENDENT ON POWER.
It is the Union that, notwithstanding our world-wide intercourse, makes peace the habit of the American people. I will descend so low as to ask whether new confederacies would be able or willing to bear the grievous expense of maintaining the diplomatic relations which cannot be dispensed with except by withdrawing from foreign commerce. Our Federal Government is better able to sustain a long and costly war than several confederacies, because it can conform the action of all the States to compact. It can have only one construction, and only one tribunal to pronounce the construction of every treaty. Local and temporary interests and passions, or personal cupidity and ambition, can drive small confederacies or States, more easily than a great Republic, into indiscreet violation of treaties. The United States being a great and formidable power, can always secure favorable and satisfactory treaties. Indeed every treaty we have was voluntarily made. Small confederacies or States, must take such treaties as they can get, and give whatever treaties are exacted.

A humiliating or even unsatisfactory treaty is a chronic cause of foreign war. The chapter of wars resulting from unjustifiable causes, would in case of division, amplify itself in proportion to the number of new confederacies and their irritability.

Our disputes with Great Britain about Oregon, the boundary of Maine, the patriot insurrection in Canada and the Island of San Juan, the border strifes between Texas and Mexico, the incursions of the late William Walker into Mexico and Central America; all these were cases in which war was prevented only by the imperturbability of the Federal Government. This Government not only gives fewer causes of war, whether just or unjust, than smaller confederacies would, but it always has a greater ability to accommodate them by the exercise of more coolness and courage, the use of more various and liberal means, and the display, if need be, of greater force. Every one knows how placable we ourselves are in controversies with Great Britain, France and Spain, and yet how exacting we have been in our intercourse with New Granada, Paraguay and San Juan de Nicaragua.

THE SAFETY OF EACH OF THE STATES THE SAFETY OF ALL.
Mr. President, no one will dispute our forefathers' maxim that the common safety of all is the safety of each of the States. While they remain united, the Federal Government combines all the materials and all the forces of the States; organizes their defenses on one general principle; harmonizes and assimilates them with one system; watches for them with a single eye, which it turns in all directions, and moves under the control of one executive head. A nation so constituted is safe against assault or even insult. War produces always a speedy

exhaustion of money and a severe strain upon credit. The treasuries and credits of small confederacies would often prove inadequate. Those of the Union are all united.

DOMESTIC HOSTILITIES OF THE DISUNITED STATES.
I have thus far kept out of view the relations which must arise between the Confederacies themselves. They would be small and inconsiderable nations, bordering on each other, and therefore according to all political philosophy, natural enemies. In addition to the many treaties which each must make with foreign powers, and the causes of war which they would give by violating them, each of the Confederacies must also maintain treaties with all others; and so be liable to give them frequent offenses. They would necessarily have different interests resulting from their establishment of different policies of revenue, of mining, manufactures and navigation, of immigration and of the slave trade. Each would stipulate with foreign nations for advantages peculiar to itself, and injurious to its rivals.

NECESSARY WAR THE RESULT OF DISUNION.
If, indeed, it were necessary that the Union should be broken up, it would be in the last degree important that the new Confederacies to be formed should be as nearly as possible equal in strength and power, that mutual fear, mutual respect might inspire them with caution against mutual offense. But such equality would not be long maintained. One Confederacy would rise in the scale of political importance, and others would view it thenceforward with envy and apprehension. Jealousies would bring on frequent and calamitous wars, and all these wars from the peculiar circumstances of the Confederacies, would have the nature and character of civil war.

THE BALANCE OF POWER ON AMERICAN SOIL.
Disunion, therefore, is for the people of this country perpetual civil war. To mitigate it, and obtain occasional rest, what else could they accept but the system of adjusting the balance of power, which has obtained in Europe, in which the few strong nations dictate the very terms on which all the others shall be content to live. When this hateful system should fail at last, foreign nations would intervene, now in favor of one, and then in aid of another, and thus our country having expelled all European powers from the continent, would relapse into an aggravated form of its colonial experience, and like Italy, Turkey, India, and China, become the theatre of trans-Atlantic intervention and rapacity. If however, we grant to the new confederacies exemption from complications among each other, and with foreign States, still there is too much reason to believe that not one of them could long maintain a Republican form of government.

DISUNION AND THE CONTINUANCE OF THE REPUBLICAN SYSTEM.
Universal suffrage and the absence of a standing army, is essential to the republican system. The world is yet to see a single self-sustaining State of that kind, or even any confederations of such States except our own. Canada leans on Great Britain not unwillingly, and Switzerland is guaranteed by interested monarchial States. Our own experiment has thus far been successful, because by the continual addition of new States, the influence of each of the members of the Union is constantly restrained. No one, of course, can foretell the way and manner of travel, but history indicates with unerring certainty, the end which the several confederacies would reach. Licentiousness would render life intolerable, and they would sooner or later purchase tranquility and domestic safety by the surrender of liberty, and yield themselves up to the protection of military despotism.

A MILITARY DESPOTISM BEGINS IN THE SOUTH.
I judge me, sir, in one or two details under the head, First, it only sixty days since this disunion movement began. Already those who are engaged in it, have embraced with portentous freedom, the possible recombinations of the States, when dissevered, and the feasible alliances of each of the members of the Union is constantly restrained. No one, of course, can foretell the way and manner of travel, but history indicates with unerring certainty, the end which the several confederacies would reach. Licentiousness would render life intolerable, and they would sooner or later purchase tranquility and domestic safety by the surrender of liberty, and yield themselves up to the protection of military despotism.

THE DANGERS OF A SEVERAL WAR.
Secondly, This disunion movement arises in another view out of the relation of African slaves to the domestic population of the country. Freedom is to them as to all mankind, the chief object of desire. Hitherto under the operation of the laws they have practically remained ignorant of the controversy, especially of its bearing on themselves. Can we hope that flagrant civil war will rage among ourselves in their very presence, and yet that they will remain stupid and idle spectators? Does history furnish us any satisfactory instruction upon the horrors of civil war among a people so brave, so skillful in arms, so earnest in conviction, and so intent in purpose as we are?

It is a mere chimera which suggests an aggravation of those horrors beyond enduring when on either side there shall occur the intervention of an uprising, ferocious African slave population, of four, or six, perhaps twenty millions? The opinions of nations, and with them the policies of nations, are growing more and more hostile to slavery.—THEORIES OF ABOLITION.

One hundred years ago, all the commercial European States were engaged in transferring negro slaves from Africa to this hemisphere. To-day all those States are firmly set in hostility to the extension, and even to the practice of slavery. Opposition to it takes two forms. One European, which is simple, direct abolition, effected if need be, by compulsion; the other, American, which seeks to arrest the African slave trade and resist the entrance of domestic slavery into Territories where it is yet unknown, while it leaves the disposition of existing slavery to the considerate action of the States by which it is retained.

THE UNION THE PROTECTION OF THE SLAVE OWNERS.
It is the Union that restricts the opposition to slavery in this country within those limits. If dissolution prevail what guarantees shall there be against the full de-

velopment here of the fearful and unpromising hostility to Slavery which elsewhere pervades the world, of which the recent invasion of Virginia was an illustration.

NATIONAL GREATNESS INSEPARABLE FROM NATIONAL UNION.
Mr. President, I have designedly dwelt so long on the probable effects of disunion upon the safety of the American people, as to leave me little time to consider the other evils which must follow in its train; but practically the loss of safety involves every form of public calamity. When the guardian angel has taken flight, everything is lost. Dissolution would not only arrest but extinguish the greatness of our country. Even separate confederacies could not exist and endure; they could severely preserve no share of the common prestige of the Union. If the constellation is to be broken up, the stars whether scattered widely apart or grouped in small clusters, will be bereft of their feeble glimmering and lurid lights. Nor will great achievements be possible for the new confederacies. Dissolution would signalize its triumph by acts of wantonness which would shock and astound the world. It would provincialize Mount Vernon, and give this Capitol over to dissolution at the moment when the dome was rising over our heads that was to be crowned with the statue of liberty.

DISUNION THE DESTRUCTION OF WEAK REPUBLICS.
After this there would remain for disunion no act of stupendous infamy to be committed. No petty confederacy that should follow the United States can prolong or even renew the majestic drama of national progress.

PERHAPS IT IS TO BE ARRESTED BECAUSE ITS SUBILITY IS INEVITABLE OF CONTINUANCE.
Let it be so, if we have indeed become degenerate after Washington, and the inflexible Adams, Henry, and the peerless Hamilton, Jefferson, and the Majestic Clay, Webster, and the acute Calhoun, Jackson, and Scott, who rises in greatness under the burden of years, and Franklin, and Fulton, and Whitney, and Morse, have all performed their parts, let the curtain fall! While listening to these debates I have sometimes forgotten myself in making their contrasted effects upon the page who customarily stands on the dais before me, and the venerable Secretary who sits behind him. The youth exhibits intense, but pleased emotion in the excitement, while at every fervent word the aged man's eyes are suffused with tears. Let him weep no more. Rather rejoice, for years have been a lot of rare felicity. You have seen and been a part of all the greatness of your country, the towering national greatness of all the world. Weep only now, and weep with all the bitterness of anguish, who are just stepping on the threshold of life, for that greatness perishes prematurely, and exists not for you nor for me, nor for any that shall come after us! The public prosperity—how could it survive the storm? Its elements are industry, in the culture of every fruit, mining of all the metals; commerce at home and on every sea; material improvement that knows no obstacle and has no end; invention that ranges throughout the domain of nature; increase of knowledge as broad as the human mind can explore, perfection of art as high as human genius can reach, and social refinement working for the renovation of the world.

DISUNION AND DESOLATION.
How could our successors prosecute these noble objects in the midst of brutalizing civil conflict? What guarantees will capital invested for such purposes have that will outweigh the premium offered by political and military ambition? What leisure will the citizens find for study, or invention, or art, under the reign of conscription? Nay, what interest in them will society feel when fear and hate shall have taken possession of the national mind? Let the miner in California take heed! For his golden wealth will become the prize of the nation who can command the most iron. Let the borderer take care, for the Indian will again lurk around his dwelling. Let the pioneer come back into our denser settlements, for the railroad, the post-road, the telegraph, advance not one furlong into the wilderness.

With standing armies, consuming the substance of our people on the land, and our naval and our postal steamers withdrawn from the ocean, who will protect or respect, or who will even know by name our petty confederacies.

OUR NATY A HARBRINGER OF THE WORLD'S FREEDOM.
The American man-of-war is a noble spectacle. I have seen it enter an ancient port in the Mediterranean. All the world wondered at it, and talked of it. Salutes of artillery from forts and shipping in the harbor saluted its flag. Princes and Princesses, and merchants paid it homage, and all the people blessed it as a harbinger of hope for their own ultimate freedom.

I imagine now the same noble vessel again entering the same haven. The flag of thirty-three stars and thirteen stripes has been hauled down, and in its place a signal is run up, which flaunts the device of a lone star or a palmetto tree. Men ask who is the stranger that thus steals into our waters? The answer contemptuously given is, she comes from one of the obscure republics of North America; let her pass on.

LIBERTY AND UNION—ONE AND INSEPARABLE.
Lastly, must liberty, our own peculiar liberty, must language for a time, and then cease to live. And such a liberty! Free movement everywhere—through our own land and throughout the world—free speech, a free press, free suffrage, the freedom of every subject to vote on every law, and for or against every agent who expounds, administers or executes. Unstable confederacies, constantly apprehending assaults without and treason within, formidable only to each other, and contemptible to all besides, how long will it be before, on the plea of public safety, they will surrender all this inestimable and ungodly liberty, and accept the hateful and intolerable espionage of military despotism?

NO REMEDY FOR DISOLUTION.
And now, Mr. President, what is the cause for this sudden and eternal sacrifice of so much safety, greatness, happiness and freedom? Have foreign nations com-

bined, and are they coming in rage upon us? No. So far from being enemies, there is not a nation on earth that is not an interested, admiring friend. Even the London Times, by so means partial to us, says it is quite possible that the "problem of a Democratic Republic may be solved by its overthrow in a few days, in a spirit of folly, selfishness and short-sightedness."

Has the Federal Government become tyrannical and oppressive, or even rigorous or unkind? Has the Constitution lost its spirit, and all at once collapsed into a lifeless letter? No; the Federal Government smiles more benignly, and works to-day more beneficently than ever. The Constitution is even the chosen model for the organization of the newly rising confederacies.

THE ELECTION OF MR. LINCOLN.
The occasion is the election of a President of the United States who is unacceptable to a portion of the people. I state the case accurately. There was no movement of disunion before the ballots which expressed that choice were cast. Disunion began as soon as the result was announced. The justification, as assigned, was that Abraham Lincoln had been elected, while the success of either one of the three other candidates would have been acquiesced in. Was the election illegal? No; it is unimpeachable. Is the candidate personally offensive? No; he is a man of unblemished virtue and amiable manner. Is an election of President an unfrequent or extraordinary transaction? No; we never had a chief Magistrate otherwise designated than by such an election, and that form of choice is renewed every four years.

Does any one even propose to change the mode of appointing the Chief Magistrate? No; election by the universal suffrage, as modified by the Constitution, is the crowning franchise of the American people. To save it, they would defy the world.

Is it apprehended the new President will usurp despotic power? No; whilst he is of all men the most unambitious, he is by the partial success of those who opposed his election, subjected to such restraints that he cannot, without their consent, appoint a minister, or even a police agent, negotiate a treaty, or procure the passage of a law, and can hardly draw a musket from the public arsenals to defend his own person.

A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION THE TRUE GROUND OF THE SECESSION MOVEMENT.
What, then, is the ground of discontent? It is, that the disunionists did not accept as conclusive the arguments which were urged in behalf of the successful candidate in the canvass. This is all. Were their own arguments against him more satisfactory to his supporters? Of course they were not. They could not be. Does the Constitution, in letter or spirit, require or imply that the arguments of one party shall be satisfactory to another? No; that is impossible.

WHAT IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL REMEDY FOR THIS INEVITABLE DISSATISFACTION? Renewed debate and ultimate rehearing in a subsequent election. Have the now successful majority perverted power to purposes of oppression? No; they have never held the power.

OUR OWN AN INDETERMINATE PEOPLE.
Alas, how prone we are to undervalue privileges and blessings. How gladly, how proudly, would the people of any nation in Europe accept, on such terms as we enjoy it, the boon of electing a chief magistrate every four years, by free, equal and universal suffrage. How thankfully would they cast aside all their own systems of Government, and accept this Republic of ours, with all its short comings and disappointments; maintain it with their arms and cherish it in their hearts.—Is it not the very boon for which they supplicate God without ceasing, and even wage war with intermissions only resulting from exhaustion.

ITALY AN EXEMPLAR FOR AMERICA.
How strange are the times in which we live! The coming spring season, on one side of the Atlantic, will open on a general conflict waged to obtain, through whatever indirectness, just such a system as ours, and on this side of the Atlantic, within the same parallels of latitude, it will open on fraternal war, waged in a moment of frenzied discontent, to overthrow and annihilate the same institutions. Do men, indeed, live only for themselves, to revenge their own wrongs or justify their own ambition? Rather, do not men live least of all for themselves, and chiefly for posterity and for their fellow men?

DISUNION IS A NECESSARY OF POSTERITY.
Have the American people then become all of a sudden unnatural as well as ungrateful? And will they disinheret their children of the precious estate held only in trust for them, and deprive the world of the best hopes it has enjoyed since the human race began its slow and painful, yet needed and wisely appointed progress?

ALLEGED SOUTHERN GRIEVANCES.
Here I might close my plea for the American Union; but it is necessary, if not to exhaust the argument at least to exhibit the whole case. The disunionists, conscientiously unable to stand on their mere disapproval in the recent election, have attempted to enlarge their grounds. For more than thirty years there has existed a considerable, though not a formidable, mass of citizens in certain States, situated near or around the delta of the Mississippi, who believe that the Union is less conducive to the welfare and greatness of those States than a smaller confederacy, embracing only Slave States, would be. This class has availed itself of the discontent resulting from the election to put into operation the machinery of dissolution, long ago prepared and waiting only for an occasion. In other States there is a secession, because of the want of sympathy in the Free States with the efforts of slaveholders for the recapture of fugitives from service. In all the Slave States there is a restiveness, resulting from the resistance which has been so determinedly made within the last few years in the Free States to the extension of Slavery in the common Territories of the United States.

THE REPUBLICANS DENY A WEAPON.
The Republican party, which cast its votes for the successful Presidential candidate on the ground of that policy, has been allowed practically no representation, no

[CONTINUED ON FRONT PAGE.]