Port Tobacco Times

AND CHARLES COUNTY ADVERTISER.

VOL. XVIII. PORT TOBACCO, MD., THURSDAY, JANUARY 16, 1862. NO. 38.

ENOCH PRATT BALTO. FREE LIBRARY

PUBLISHED EVERY THURSDAY,
BY E. WELLS,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION.—For one year, if paid in advanceor within six months, $1,50; if not paid within six months, $2.00.

TERMS OF ADVERTISING.—For plain matter, one dollar per square for the first insertion. For rule and figure matter, two dollars per square for the first insertion. For each insertion after the first, twenty-five cents per square. Twelve lines or less constitute a square. If the number of insertions be not marked on the advertisement, it will be published until forbid and charged accordingly. The privilege of annual advertisers extends *only* to their immediate business.

Announcements of candidates for office, $1.00 per month, to be paid in advance.

Obituaries, tributes of respect, calls upon persons to become candidates, &c., inserted as advertisements, at the usual rates.

Communications, the effect of which is to promote private or individual interests, are matters of charge, and are to be paid for at the rate of 50 cts. per square.

From the New York Ledger.

STORMING THE BASTILE.

BY JOHN S. C. ABBOTT.

In the year 1789 there stood, at the eastern enterance gate of Paris, the world renowned fortress and prison called the Bastile. The massive pile of rock and iron was surmounted by eight towers, which darken the air with their gothic gloom. The vast building was surrounded by a wall of stone nine feet in thickness and one hundred feet high. The whole was encircled by a ditch twenty-five feet deep and one hundred and twenty feet wide.

The Bastile was universally regarded with terror. It was the most dreadful instrument of punishment which despotic power could wield. There were few hearts sufficiently bold to brave its menace. Imagination can scarcely conceive any abode more loathsome than the dens of the Bastile. The stone walls were slimy with the damp and mould of ages. The floor swarmed with all those reptiles who seek darkness and mire. The most favored of these cells admitted a few rays of light through a narrow slit in the wall. Ponderous double doors, seven inches thick, and provided with enormous locks and bolts, shut the captive as effectually from the world as if he were in his grave.

There were vaults in this horrible prison called *oubliettes*, where the victim was dropped into oblivion. They were sunk into the ground beneath the vaults of the Bastile, shaped like a bottle, with a narrow neck and expanding beneath. Into these tombs of massive stone, twenty-two feet deep and about eighteen in diameter, the victim of despotic jealousy was thrust, where he was left in Egyptian darkness, with reptiles and mire, crushing beneath his tread the bones of those who had perished before him.—Sometimes the doomed man was left to all the horrors of immediate starvation. Sometimes coarse food was daily thrown to the wretched captive, and he dragged out an existence of weary years until death came slowly to his relief.

A gentleman by the name of Dessault, for refusing to obey an iniquitous command of Richelieu, was thrust into one of those oubliettes, where he passed *sixty-one years!* His family never knew what became of him, as he was dragged from them at midnight.

"Oh, who can tell what days, what nights he spent
Of tideless, waveless, sailless, shoreless woe?"

All this he endured as a punishment for his *virtue*. The mind is appalled by the contemplation of such woes The terrors of the Bastile frowned down all remonstrance against the profligate government of France. If any one was but suspected of disaffection he was seized by the secret police, and plunged into the dungeon where he was lost forever, as much as if he were in his grave. During the long reign of Louis XV. one hundred and fifty thousand victims were consigned to the Bastiles of France.

One of the first acts of the French Revolution was to seize upon this execrable fortress and raze it to its foundations.

"Our fathers," says Michelet, "shivered that Bastile to pieces, tore away its stones with bleeding hands, and flung them afar. Afterwards they seized them again, and having hewn them into a different form, in order that they might be trampled under foot by the people forever, built with them the bridge of Revolution."

De Launey was governor of the Bastile, a detestable man, who contrived to extort, through the energies which he wielded in the fortress, an income of twenty-five thousand dollars a year. As the people of Paris rose against that atrocious government which had so long defrauded them of all their rights, it was manifest that one of the most essential measures was to capture the Bastile.—The terrible fortress, bristling with guns, commanded the city, and could throw its heavy shot into almost any of the streets. But how could the Bastile be taken? In its massive strength of iron and stone, well garrisoned and amply supplied with the munitions of war, it was apparently impregnable. Nothing could seem more preposterous than for a Parisian mob to undertake the storming of the Bastile.

"The idea," says Michelet, "was by no means reasonable. It was an act of faith."

The people had not even any muskets. There was, however, a large supply at the Hotel of the Invalides. The alarm bells rang from every steeple, and thirty thousand men, mostly unarmed, but utterly desperate, soon surrounded the great arsenal. The governor of the Invalides had loaded his cannon to the muzzle with grape, and could easily have swept down the assailants by thousands; but shocked at the idea of so terrible a slaughter, he did not venture to give the command to fire. The multitude, in a simultaneous rush, leaped the trenches, clambered the low wall, for the Hotel was not a fortress, and, like an inundation, penetrated, every nook and corner of the building.

Seizing thirty thousand muskets, and six pieces of light artillery, they rushed to assail that mountain of rock, frowning with the heaviest guns which not many years before, an army, under the great Conde, had besieged in vain for three and twenty days.

De Launey from one of the towers heard the roar of the insurgent city, and saw the agitated mass of countless thousands approaching through all the streets. The cannon, loaded with grape, were thrust from the port-holes, and cart-loads of paving stones, cannon-balls and old iron had been conveyed to the top of the towers, to hurl down upon the assailants.

The people, who had organized a rude sort of government at the Hotel de Ville, sent a flag of truce, summoning the governor to surrender, "in the name of the people, of honor, and of our native land."

De Launey declined to surrender, but replied that he was ready to declare upon oath that he would not fire upon the people unless assailed. The flag had hardly emerged from the massive portals and crossed the draw-bridge of the moat, which was immediately raised, ere the attack was commenced. The walls, forty feet thick at the base, and ten feet thick at the top of the towers, could laugh at cannon balls. The garrison, through loop-holes of double and tripple gratings, were secure from danger, while every shot they sent might make sure of its mark. Against these walls, one hundred feet high, more than one hundred thousand men, hour after hour, harmlessly flattened their bullets.

Fortunately for the people, the garrison in the fortress were generally in such strong sympathy with them, that they were careful to do as little harm as possible. The Swiss mercenaries, however, in blind obedience to orders, fired with unerring aim. The whole population of Paris seemed to be combined against this great bulwark of despotism. There were not a few nobles and priests who espoused the popular cause, and they were seen fighting side by side with the gaunt and ragged victims of famine.

As the impotent assault continued hour after hour, producing not the slightest impression, a few thousand royal troops, called the French Guards, broke from their officers, and led by a subaltern, joined the people, bringing with them two pieces of artillery. They were received with shouts, which rose loud and long above even the thunders of the battle. They opened their battery, but the balls rebounded harmless from the impregnable rock.

The afternoon was now wearing away.—But one individual within the fortress had been injured by a chance shot. One hundred and seventy-one of the assailants had been either killed or wounded. The garrison consisted of eighty French, and thirty Swiss soldiers. The French soldiers were in sympathy with their brethren in the streets, and at length openly revolted, dragging down the Bourbon flag, and raising upon their bayonets hankerchiefs and towels in token of surrender. Gradually these white flags were discerned through the clouds of smoke that enveloped the prison, and the cry was echoed through the thronged streets, "The Bastile surrenders."

De Launey conscious that he could expect no mercy from the people, whose blood he had been shedding so profusely, seized a match and rushed towards the magazine. There were one hundred and thirty-five barrels of gunpowder in the vaults. The explosion would have burried one hundred thousand people beneath the ruins of the Bastile, and have demolished one-third of Paris. Two soldiers seized the frantic governor and bound him.

The portals were thrown open, and the throng rushed in. They clambered the towers, penetrated the cells, and with lanterns groped through the glooms of dungeons and oublictes. With awe-stricken spirits they gazed upon the instruments of torture with which the victims had been torn and broken.

The moderation of the people, in this hour of frenzy and yet of triumph, seems marvelous. Instead of devoting the Swiss, who had shot down nearly two hundred of their number, to indiscriminate massacre, but one of them was injured. Seizing the governor and the Swiss troops, and carefully endeavoring to protect them from violence, in a tumultuous throng, which could not be counted they were endeavoring to conduct their prisoners to the Hotel de Ville for trial.—There were a few in this vast throng burning for vengeance. They at length succeeded in overpowering the guard of De Launey, struck him to the ground, cut off his head, and raised the ghastly trophy into the air upon a pike. Two of the Swiss guard were also hung upon a lamp-post.—But the French guard who had been co-operating with the people marched promptly to the rescue. They took the whole garrison. French and Swiss, under their protection, and marched them to their barracks. Thus terminated this ever memorable day in the annals of France. It was the 14th of July, 1789.

The fall of the Bastile caused a shout of exultation to roll over the whole domain of France. The working clergy were with the people, and thanks were returned to God in all the churches. Notre Dame was crowded to its utmost capacity on the occasion. The Abbe Fauchet preached a sermon of such surpassing eloquence, that its echoes still resound through France. His text was, "Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty."

"False interpreters of Scripture," said the Abbe, "have wished, in the name of Heaven, to keep the people in consecrated despotism. They have rendered God an accomplice with tyrants. These false teachers exult because it is written, "*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's.*"—But that which is not Cæsar's—is it necessary to render to him that? And *Liberty* does not belong to Cæsar. It belongs to human nature."

This eloquent enunciator of the politics of the gospel of Christ, was greeted with the loudest plaudits. A civic crown was placed upon his brow, and he was escorted home with the waving of banners, the peal of bugles, the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of the crowds who thronged the streets.

[The key of the Bastile now hangs against the wall of the mansion at Mount Vernon. It was presented to the great and good Washington by Gen. Lafayette. How appropriate the gift—the emblem of tyranny and oppression presented to the great republican chief, who struck off the shackles of his own people, and made them free. During a visit to Mount Vernon in the summer of 1860, we gazed upon this key with peculiar interest, and tried to picture to our imagination, the sorrow and anguish it had inclosed within the dark walls of that gloomy dungeon, and how at last, an outraged public sentiment, even in France, ground down, as she was, by the iron heel of power, into the very dust, razed it to the earth.—*Editor of the Cecil Democrat.*]

GOVERNOR BRADFORD'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

The Hon. Augustus W. Bradford, who was chosen Governor of Maryland for the term of four years, at the November election, was duly inaugurated before both branches of the Legislature at Annapolis on the 8th instant. The following is his inaugural address:

Fellow-Citizens of the Senate
and House of Delegates:

The present is one of those occasions periodically occurring in our political career that usually excites a lively interest—an interest that may be chiefly accredited to the fact that every such spectacle seems to call to mind the value and success of republican institutions, in recognizing, as it were, the power of the people peacefully to select and inaugurate their political rulers by the simple expression of the voice of the majority.

The emphasis with which that voice has spoken in our recent election, and the majority so unprecedented in previous political contests, indicate that some question of more than ordinary interest has stirred the popular heart.

It is a cheering reflection to every patriotic Marylander that the cause which has aroused this popular demonstration, and united the people of our State, with an ardor and unanimity never before witnessed, is the cause now, as ever, uppermost in their affections—the Federal Union and the National Constitution.

To preserve these institutions against the unhallowed efforts of those now engaged in the attempt to subvert them is the purpose to which the people of Maryland have emphatically pledged themselves in their recent election.

Turning a deaf ear to every insidious appeal calculated to divert them from that purpose, and to the false issues invented to embarrass them, they have made known their unwavering attachment to the cause in which they are enlisted by a vote such as no other cause ever did or can command.

So long as the Federal administration shall continue to devote, as we believe it has hitherto done, the powers at its command faithfully to the accomplishment of the same national objects; and, steadfastly resisting all attempts to misapply these powers, shall continue honestly to exert them with the single and sacred purpose of sustaining the supremacy of the Constitution, so long will Maryland, impelled by every instinct of interest and affection, unite as ardently as she does to-day in upholding the Union of which she is proud to be the heart.

The sooner that those engaged in this rebellion come to understand that this is the position and unalterable determination of the people of Maryland, the better will it be for all concerned.

There is good reason to believe that much mischief has been already done, many groundless hopes ingeniously excited, and the rebellion itself stimulated and encouraged by the grossest delusions existing abroad in reference to the condition of popular sentiment in Maryland.—It may be useless to speculate upon the circumstances which have led to this delusion; the one perhaps which more than any other has contributed to it, and caused those at a distance to conceive that the public sentiment of our State sympathized with this rebellion, has grown out of the prominent positions, political or personal, which those who really did so sympathize have occupied or assumed. The State Legislature, usually supposed to reflect the popular will, would have indicated that three-fourths of our people six months ago united in this sympathy; yet, with the exception of those who represented the city of Baltimore, and who, five days after the April mob, were elected without the notice required by the Constitution, every member of that Legislature was elected, as we all know, more than a year before South Carolina passed her ordinance of secession; and so far from that body having ever been an index of Maryland's sentiment, that sentiment on the first opportunity has indicated itself not only by the unprecedented vote it has put on record, but by a result hardly less remarkable that, with the single exception of one faithful Union member, it has not left in your popular branch one of those elected at the time referred to.

The people of other States have been misled as to the true position of Maryland, not merely by the declarations and proceedings of those who, as delegates, were naturally supposed to faithfully represent her, but the activity, the pursuits, the social prominence and business relations of those of her people who espouse the disunion cause, added to their ceaseless and persistent efforts, have given to their action, especially with those at a distance, an apparent importance which their numbers never justified. They themselves almost seemed to fancy that as the assumed representatives of a social class they outweighed the old-fashioned power of numbers, and were well calculated to create false impressions of our real condition.

That condition was at all times sufficiently manifest to those who would take the trouble to seek for it through those sources from which the great channel of public sentiment is always supplied—the mighty masses of our industrial population. Traced by that deep current, Maryland's sentiment has never varied, and there was never a time when her people, upon the same issues recently presented, would not have recorded their verdict in the same emphatic terms.

That this has been effected by any collateral circumstances, or, in the favorite phrase of secessionists, is the result of "Maryland's subjugation," is an insult to the intelligence and patriotism of her people, which it scarcely becomes me to refute. Any one who will recur to the history of this rebellion, the assumption on which it is founded, and the objects it avows, and then in connection with them advert to the character of our people, the geographical position of our State, and the effect of disunion upon her most important interests, the value and very existence of a material part of her property and her own security and peace, can come to no other conclusion than that for her people to declare unconditionally for the Union is as much an instinct of self-preservation as of patriotic attachment to the principles of the Constitution.

It is not my purpose to detain you with a discussion of that fanciful theory invoked to the aid of those who have inaugurated the existing revolution, and which, under the title of "secession," claims the right of any State, at any time, and for any cause which she may declare sufficient, to cancel all her obligations to the Federal Constitution, and assume the exercise of power which it emphatically prohibits.

The notorious fact that even among those who most openly avow their sympathy with secession, there are few anywhere to be found who do not indignantly repudiate its name, ought of itself to be sufficient to show that in Maryland, at least, no argument is necessary to overthrow this fallacy. Maryland has long since defined her position on this subject with a clearness and unanimity that should have assurred all of what might be expected of her now. When South Carolina, thirty years ago, by her nullification ordinance, first formally put forth that pernicious dogma of State's supremacy, the Legislature of Maryland, as soon as it was brought to their attention at their session of 1832, adopted resolutions clearly showing that we repudiated it then not less distinctly than we do to-day.—These resolutions declare "that the right to annul a law of the General Government, assumed by one State, is incompatible with the existence of the Union, contradicted expressly by the letter of the Constitution, unauthorized by its spirit, inconsistent with every principle on which it was founded, and destructive of the great object for which it was formed; and that if any State, regardless of the constitutional remedies which are afforded for every grievance and oppression, should attempt to withdraw from the Union, it is the right and duty of the General Government to protect itself and the other States from the fatal consequences of any such attempt."

And, although we had but just emerged from an animated Presidential contest, in which the people of Maryland were nearly equally divided, and party spirit displayed its usual influence in our Legislative Assemblies, no such spirit in those days was suffered to encourage a blow aimed at the integrity of the Union, and the House of Delegates passed these resolutions with but *one* dissenting vote. The manifest aversion, therefore, of Southern sympathizers to the title of secessionists is but a proper acknowledgment of that practical common sense which, with but few exceptions, has heretofore marked the course of our public men in their construction of the Constitution.

We have been at all times, and are still, as jealously alive as any people to all the rights which, under our system of government, justly belong to our State; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are other rights from which all the States are as positively excluded, and when the Constitution provides, as it does, that "no State shall enter into any allegiance, treaty or confederation," "grant letters of marque or reprisal," "enter into any agreement or compact with another State," and "that the Constitution and laws made in pursuance of it shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges of every State be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding," no sophistry has been ever yet invented, under the guise of State sovereignty or a supreme State allegiance that could so distort these plain provisions as to make them in our view susceptible of two interpretations.

Standing, therefore, as secession does, in the face of objections so unanswerable that its acknowledged allies are constrained to disavow it, it can hardly surprise us to see it seek to establish its power by a resort to means even more objectionable still.

Such has been systematically its course. Its leaders, not content with involving us in the unavoidable calamities of a causeless and unnatural war, have aggravated these calamities by the manner in which they wage it. Private property on land and sea has been seized and sacrificed under circumstances that must characterize the proceedings as mere acts of wanton spoliation. Our own State has suffered seriously by injuries thus inflicted, and our great lines of internal improvement have not only been effectually interrupted, but when that interruption was completed, and the necessities of war no longer palliated the proceedings, the work of destruction has been continued until property to the amount of many thousands has been ruthlessly sacrificed. Not only the property but the persons of our citizens have been made the subject of these unprovoked aggressions; and at the very time that hundreds of refugees—late citizens of Virginia, driven by the most remorseless persecutions from their own State for no other cause than that they loved the Union too well to abjure it—sought and found shelter within our borders, our own citizens, wholly unconnected with any military organization, charged with no offence whatever, have been seized in their quiet homes by armed bands from the other side of the Potomac, put in irons, carried out of the State and committed to a felon's prison.

I should hardly think it necessary to advert to these outrages, now of such common occurrence wherever secession bears sway, but for the fact that the Chief Magistrate of the State, the principal theatre of these enormities—the once proud, now devastated Commonwealth of Virginia—in a recent remarkable message to her Legislature, indulged in lamentations over the condition of Maryland, and ventures to promise his aid "in effecting the deliverance of the people from the tyranny that now oppresses them." Well informed as we all are of the regions wherein tyranny has been busiest with its oppressions for the last nine months, notorious as is to every one the comparative condition at this moment of the people on the opposite side of the Potomac, a derision which the affected commiseration excites effectually precludes the more serious notice of it. We shall doubtless have ample time to realize the value of the proposed deliverance whilst secession is shifting its "fighting line" from the Potomac to the Susquehanna.

If there is anything connected with secession more grossly fallacious than its claim to be considered a constitutional right, it is, especially so far as Maryland is concerned, its adaptation as a remedy for existing evils. That we have endured heavy losses of slave property, and that these losses have frequently occurred under circumstances well calculated to irritate and provoke our people, no one, we presume, will deny. But even in moments of greatest exasperation growing out of these grievances, it never entered into the imagination of any man in Maryland that such evils could be averted by a dissolution of the Union. Of all the thirty-four States ours should be the last to hearken to such counsels; and of all the interests which we have at stake, the one just referred to should be the first to deprecate them. I will not pause to inquire into the more extensive and universal class of calamities consequent upon a dissolution of the Union, in which this continent, and the world, to some extent would participate, but refer only to those immediate household evils lying at the door of us in the border States.

As this Union now exists, Maryland is its very centre, connected by her railroads and rivers with all points of its extreme circumference, but divide it by any line ever yet suggested, and from being the centre of a great nation, destined to become in time the mighty empire of the world, we are shifted to the outer verge of one of two rival and wrangling Confederacies, harrassed by perpetual causes of dispute, and necessarily subjected by our position to bear the brunt of evrry collision in which they must speedily become involved.

But independently of those ordinary border feuds—the inseparable incident of all such contiguous communities—what would be our condition as a *slave* State upon the border?

One great ultimatum which the secessionists propose to accomplish is a separate Slave Confederacy embracing all the States where that institution at present exists, and none others.—And regarding the results of disunion in that aspect, and the new relations it would at once establish between us upon this and our neighbors upon the other side of the slave line, and who can avoid the conclusion that all the perils now supposed to threaten our slave property, and which it is proposed to avert by this division, would be multiplied a thousand fold the day that such a separation was consummated?

We are admonished by our Southern advisers that we must seek a security for this property; we are entreated by others nearer home to lay down our arms, accede to the proposals of the South, and secure the blessings of a lasting peace. And so completely can secession delude its victims that the means by which both these ends, we are told, can be accomplished, is a division of the Republic. Not only so, but in running the line of that division we are sedulously to keep in view, as an imperative call controlling course and distauce, natural boundaries and all other considerations, that very subject matter the fruitful source of our present troubles.

A subject so skillfully shaped already into engines of mischief—by meddlers on both sides the line referred to—that a common country and a Constitution for which we professed a common reverence could not save us from the implacable war which we now witness, is to become, we are asked to believe, a subject of indifference as soon as the contending sections are organized into separate governments. Maryland and Pennsylvania, still as near together as ever, but allies no longer—the same sensitive subject of discord between them, without any common ties or Constitution by which that discord may be restrained or adjusted—and yet the imaginary line, which is still all that separates them, is become, by some miraculous agency, hereafter a mighty barrier, across which the emissary of northern fanaticism will never venture to set his foot!

Instead of then the wildest of all fancies being ever realized, should such a separation take place, the mind recoils from a contemplation of the feuds which would inevitably follow such a parting; feuds embittered by mutual criminations and reminiscences perpetually rankling in the minds of each, the very first subject falling a sacrifice to their influence would be the very one for whose security this separation is prescribed. And whilst those inaugurating the reckless experiment would be comparatively exempt from its disasters, we, upon whom they will be precipitated, will furnish but another illustration of the past history of the subject—They ever the loudest in complaints of aggression, and we the only ones to suffer by its infliction.

The institution of slavery, as we must be all aware, finds no support in the sympathy of foreign nations; on the contrary, we have had repeated proofs that public opinion there is stoutly arrayed against it. Its power to withstand this opposition, as it has hitherto successfully done, has been chiefly derived from the protection it has found under the shelter of the great United National Government. Shall we, then, be guilty of the monstrous folly of dividing this nation, and adding to the foreign element of opposition to this institution the still more dangerous and approximate one incutred by the creation of a foreign government at our very threshold, and whose people will claim to charge to its account the national calamities to which it has been made subservient?

But it is giving to the rebellion a consideration to which it has no claim, to discuss its pretentions in connection with its assumed supervision with the interests of slavery. Such considerations could have but little or no share among the motives of those who inaugurated it; these leaders were too intelligent and astute to have overlooked the consequences to which I have referred, and must mave forseen, too, that such interests, above all others, would be most materially affected in the course of a war, let the war be conducted as it might. But the dismemberment of this Union—the organization of a separate Southern government, the introduction into that government of political principles well known to be opposed to the long-established sentiments and purposes of a vast majority of the nation—made up the object the conspirators had in view. These have formed so long the subject of their ambitious meditations that, after having in form opposed but in effect promoted the success of political agitators at the North as reckless as themselves, they have seized upon that success, the result of their own contrivance as the pretext for their premeditate rebellion, and thus to accomplish their selfish and ambitious schemes has this contest been thrust upon us and our beloved country, lately so prosperous, peaceful and happy, made the theatre of a civil war, prostrating every industrial pursuit, penetrating every domestic circle and involving all, more or less, in its calamities.

The question is frequently asked—and with natural solicitude—when will these things end? How long will this war last? and how and when may we look for returning peace?

To harbor a doubt of the proper answer of these questions is to protract this war. In the very nature of things there can be but one solution to the problem. The geographical condition of our country, the character of our people, their indispensable necessities, and their not less indispensable duties, alike forbid the possibility of any other.

Their very existence depends upon their nationality. It never can, therefore, be surrendered. To surrender it is to admit a failure of Republican institutions—is to confess before the nations of the earth that we are powerless for self-government, and to transmit our names to future generations to stand forever in ignoble contrast with the glorious sires from whom we have descended. At such a suggestion we might almost expect to see the guardian spirit of this venerable chamber, hallowed as it is by such memories of the past, rise up to rebuke the recreant thought.

The leader of the rebellion may assert over and over again that the South never will submit to the national rule—that it will resist to the last the proposed reunion. So far as those leaders are concerned, we may not doubt the sincerity of their protest. Their offences against free institutions are too rank and too recent to allow them willingly again to submit to the will of the majority. But, to say nothing of the popular voice—which they have for the present stilled—to admit, for argument sake, that but one sentiment pervades the entire South, and that it clamors for a separate government, earnest as that purpose may be, there is still a stronger force opposed to it; not merely the force of a vast numerical superiority, but a power made irresistible by the force of necessity; a controlling and decisive power, growing out of the demands which the laws of self-preservation make imperative. Nationality with us, therefore, is a necessity, and peace, anxiously as we may await it, can never come until that necessity is recognized, and our whole country once mere united under its old established rule. Who can doubt that such will be the ultimate result of the war, if it is confined to the faithful pursuit of that object?

It has been manifest from the first that the main reliance of the secessionists has been far less in the justice of their cause or in the power at their command than in that foreign aid which they have constantly and sedulously courted; and of all the demoralizing exhibitions which that cause has yet presented, none has been more humiliating than its avowed anxiety to place itself under the protection and support of such an alliance, to invoke to its assistance those alien antipathies ever on the alert against popular institutions, and thus to enhance the atrocity of disunion by the means employed in its accomplishment. Should the destruction of our country, under the auspices of such an alliance, be ever consummated, the tyranny with which the popular voice has been already suppressed within the seceded States is but a type of the subjection to which it will be forever afterwards reduced.

Forewarned of such a purpose, the destinies of the nation may be safely entrusted to its people against all the odds with which secession may seek to arm itself. If we had ever doubted the keen perception of the people in detecting all plots against their supremacy, that doubt would banish in the face of recent demonstrations. The stern determination of the masses everywhere, so conspicuously displayed, to stand by the Government until they restore its powers, is a certain guarantee of the national success. There is but one apprehension that can at present cause us to doubt it.

It is not so much the fear of any assistance that secession is likely to receive from abroad, or the aid and comfort which treason at home may convey to it, as the possibility of a treason far more potent for mischief, and which if not suppressed is calculated to inflict upon the cause of the Union the severest blow it has yet encountered.

I refer, of course, to that emancipation policy lately thrust so unexpectedly on popular attention.

The early assurance given to the country by the President in his inaugural address, that he had "no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it existed"—that "he had no lawful right or inclination to do so," secured at once the confidence of the people in the purity and patriotism of his intentions. I rejoice to believe that this confidence is still unshaken, and that his whole subsequent course has justly confirmed us in the conviction that he means to conduct this war with the single purpose of preserving the nation. Congress, too, by the resolution which they adopted with such singular unanimity at their last extra session, added immensely to the strength of the Union cause by their unqualified assurance that the war should be confined to the legitimate purpose of maintaing the supremacy of the Constitution and preserving the Union; and when, added to these official demonstrations, we had the satisfaction of seeing what seemed to be a wholesome revolution in in the sentiment of that portion of the Northern people who had hitherto pursued an ultra course on the question of slavery, the Union men of the border States were elated at the thought that secession would thus be effectually clipped of its chief support in representing the war as a crusade of abolition.

These conservative indications were all that was required to unite every political element at the North in the cause of the Union, whilst they so strengthened and encouraged the loyal men at the South that they have endured every species of outrage and oppression sooner than renounce their allegiance. Under the same influences, armies such as the world never witnessed have been enrolled and organized, and two hundred millions of money in the course of a few months advanced by the people to their Govment.

Whilst these fruits of the wise and patriotic policy of the administration have been hailed by loyal men everywhere as tokens of their speedy triumph, it may be easily imagined how well calculated to provoke their indignation is the attempt they have recently witnessed on the part of certain politicians to thwart this policy by again complicating the cause of the Union with the question of slavery.

It will be impossible to convince conservative men that the proposed emancipation of the slaves in the seceded States, by force of the Federal arms, has any other aim than to make the success of these arms subservient to the purposes of abolition; and, so considered, if suffered to any extent to control the operations of the army, it will be equally impossible to avoid its blighting effects upon the hopeful prospects at present before us.

The unanimity with which the Northern