The Tiffin Weekly Tribune.

VOL. XIII. TIFFIN, OHIO, FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1861. NO. 27.

JOB PRINTING,

being furnished the material of any office one of

DAY'S MEDAL JOBBERS,

And a handsome assortment of

NEW JOB TYPE,

We are prepared to execute every thing in our line, such as

Posters, Circulars,
"Show Bills", Programmes,
Hand Bills, Invitations,
Labels, Cards,
Blank Notes, Check,
Pamphlets, Books, &c.,

in the most satisfactory manner.

Orders Filled at Short Notice,

And on the very

Lowest Terms,

At the

Tribune Job Office.

MIKEE & MCCLELLAND, Proprietors.

BUSINESS CARDS.

R. L. Griffith,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law.
Tiffin, Ohio. Office in Company's Row.

COOPER K. WATSON. ELAM WILLARD.
Watson & Willard,
Attorneys at Law.—Will attend promptly to all kinds of legal business. Office in Commercial Row, Tiffin, Ohio. no45

R. F. Ogle,
Attorney at Law, Singer's Block, opposite Court House. Up stairs. oct9 '57-tf

J. K. Bord,
Attorney at Law, Tiffin, Ohio.—Office in Shawhan's New Block, over Shriver's Store. feb10-tf

Noble, DeWolf & Noble,
Attorneys & Counsellors at Law.
Office in Singer's New Block, opposite the Court House. ao425
W. F. Noble. D. F. DeWolf. Harrison Noble.

R. S. PENNINGTON. J. C. LEE. N. BREWER.
Pennington, Lee & Brewer,
Attorneys at Law and Solicitors in Chancery. Rooms in Singer's New Block, opposite the Court House. Tiffin, May 14th, '58.-tf

ALEXANDER KEM. WILLIAM M. JOHNSON.
Kem & Johnson,
Attorneys & Counsellors at Law.
Office in Hedges' New Block, over Vollmer's clothing store, Main street. Professional services and the collection of all kinds of claims promptly attended to.
Tiffin, Dec. 11th, 1858.

J. J. Steiner,
Attorney at Law, has resumed the practice, and will give strict attention to all business entrusted to him. Office in the corner of Ebert's Block, directly above the store room of Mr. George Taylor, and opposite the Shawhan House. ap18

S. S. Kisinger,
General Collector and Land Agent, Tiffin, O.
All business entrusted to my care will be promptly attended to.
☞ References given if required. dec14-3m.

Dr. Wm. M. Kaull,
Physician and Surgeon, would respectfully inform the citizens of Tiffin and vicinity that he continues to reside permanently in this place, and is ready to administer to the afflicted at all times.
☞ Office and residence corner of Perry and Jefferson streets, Tiffin, Ohio.
N. B. ESPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN to DISEASES OF THE EYE. ma14-tf

Dr. J. McAdoo,
Will promptly attend to all calls, either in Tiffin or country, in administering to the wants of the afflicted. Particular attention paid to female diseases. Shower and Plunge baths connected with the office, medicated when deemed necessary by himself. Office west of the Wooden Bridge, 2d Ward, Tiffin, Ohio. 1y31-1y

W. H. Park, M. D.
Physician and Surgeon.—Office on Main street, McFarland's Block, north of Shawhan House, Tiffin, Ohio. ma27 '59

COLLECTION AND LAND AGENCY,
Jones & Thomas,
Fostoria, Ohio.—General Collecting and Land Agents, will promptly attend to the collection of claims entrusted to their care, in Hancock and adjoining counties. Will also attend to cases where legal advice and assistance in the county seats before the Courts of the County. Persons wishing to buy or sell Valuable Town Property will find it to their advantage to give us a call. J. V. JONES. R. W. THOMAS.
REFER TO Parker & Morris, Findley, Gorr & Browns, Tiffin
W. F. & H. Noble, Fostoria.
Forney & Co., Fostoria.
Dec. 24, 1858-tf

McAlister, & Cowles.
Dealers in Stoves, and Manufacturers of Tin, Copper and Sheet Iron Ware. Eagle New Block, one door South of Naylor's hardware store. Tiffin, April 6, 1860—tf

Watches & Jewelry.
R. Nelson,
Having permanently located in this city has just opened at Webster's Drug and Book Store, No. 1 Shawhan's Block, and solicits an inspection of his stock of Watches, Clocks, Jewelry and Silver ware, and hopes to merit a share of public patronage.
Repairing done in the best style of workmanship.
Tiffin, June 2, 1859.

William Gallup,
Clock and Watch Maker.—All kinds of watches kept constantly on hand.
Store in Commercial Row.
Tiffin, Sept. 17th, 1858-1y

Shawhan House
SHAVING SALOON.
Having purchased the interest and fixtures in the Shawhan House Barber Shop, formerly belonging to A. Miles, the undersigned takes this method of informing the public that he are ready at all times, at the old stand one door north of the Shawhan House, to give customers a good shave, a firm haircut, and a fashionable shampooing at the most reasonable terms.
ap8-1 THOMAS LYONS.

M. Wagner,
Merchant Tailor.—And dealer in Ready Made Clothing, Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, &c.
Sixth St. Main Street, opposite the Seneca County Bank.

George H. Heming,
Civil Engineer and County Surveyor. Office in Shawhan's Block, over the Bank of Tiffin. fab19

Tiffin & Ft. Wayne Rail Road.
Office of the Tiffin & Ft. W. R. R. Co., December, 1858.
THE office of this company is permanently located in Tiffin, and the various rooms occupied, are in the 2nd story of Tomb's Block, corner of Main and Perry streets.
H. S. RUMFIELD, Sec'y.
dec7

TOMB, HUSS & CO.,
Bankers.
The partnership existing between the undersigned having expired by limitation, the same is hereby dissolved. Adrian H. Huss retires from the firm. The remaining partners, having associated with them, Chas. B. Tomb, will continue the business as heretofore, without interruption, under the same name and style, and the same rules will be observed in the payment of interest, viz:
3 months 4 per cent.
6 " 5 "
12 " 6 "
Certificates, in all cases payable on demand.
R. TOMB. JOHN T. HUSS. C. B. HUSS.
A. G. SNEATH. JOHN GILLIG.
jan2-60

BANK OF TIFFIN.
R. W. Shawhan & A. G. Sneath,
Bankers.
Office:—Shawhan's New Block,
where they will transact a general Banking business, and pay Interest on Deposits as follows:
Three Months, 4 per cent.
Six " 5 "
Twelve " 6 "
☞ Certificates payable on demand.
feb19 A. G. SNEATH, Cash'r.

Wenner & Kaull,
—MANUFACTURERS OF—
CARRIAGES, BUGGIES, SULKIES, &c.
Cor. Coe and Jefferson St., near Ger. Cath. Church, Tiffin, O.
A FINE stock of the best styles of Buggies, etc., finished in the best manner and of the most durable materials, constantly on hand, and promptly made to order. ma27. WENNER & KAULL.

C. C. Beilharz,
Dental Surgeon.—Office in Shawhan's Block, 2d story, directly under the Tribune Office, Market street, Tiffin Ohio. ec23-1y

T. F. Davenport,
Dentist, No. 56 West Fourth st., between Walnut and Vine, Cincinnati. ec26-1y

DENTISTRY.
TO THE PUBLIC.
According to time honored custom, at the beginning of the new year we kindly greet you all, and thank you for your liberal patronage, and if the old year has chosen
To remind you by its page,
In the region of the dead,
That he is a relic for your pain;
Then old and young come, come again.
We make no pretensions to "eighteen years experience;" but we have the documents to show that our work is superior to that of any dentist in this county. This, we are aware, is not saying much, but in addition we hereby offer a reward of fifty dollars to any dentist in the State, who will make a better set of Artificial Teeth than we are making every day.
Artificial Teeth
Inserted on any desired plate, and in the latest styles. But we now especially call attention to the
Coralite or Vulcanite Work,
which we have been making for about six months, with perfect satisfaction to all concerned. Diseased Teeth and Gums treated in a scientific manner, and without pain.
Teeth Extracted
without breaking the jaw and now if you want to know any more about our mode call and see specimens, and documents.
All operations warranted and terms reasonable.—Rooms in Tomb's Block, over the Post Office, Tiffin, Ohio. F. FRANKLIN, M. D., D. D. S. & Co.
jan29

WARPOLE HOUSE,
BY
Mrs. Mary E. Anderson,
Upper Sandusky, Ohio, Main street, one square North of the Court House. aug26

DAVIS HOUSE.
(Formerly called the 'City House.')
TIFFIN, OHIO.
LEVI WEIRICK, Proprietor.
The undersigned desires to inform all his friends and the late patrons of the City House, (now the Davis) that he hot recently for the reception of guests. The House has been re-built, re-furnished and is now as good as any in the country.
I now have stabling enough to accommodate any number of horses, and will always have an abundance of feed.
Tiffin, October 1, 1858—1y-tf LEVI WEIRICK.

New Establishment.
SEGARS & TOBACCO.
The undersigned having established a
SEGAR & TOBACCO STORE,
ON WASHINGTON STREET,
Nearly opposite the Court House, offers for sale at wholesale and retail, the best imported Havana, Cuba, Vera and Domestic Segars; also best brands of chewing and smoking tobacco. L. BORNSTEIN,
ap11 Washington st., nearly op. the Court House.

LEONARD ADAMS. A. H. BYERS.
Adams & Byers,
Attorneys at Law, Real Estate and General Insurance Agents,
Tiffin, Ohio.
Office in Commercial Row, over St. John's Drug Store.
Prompt attention given to the collection of Claims.

William Wolff,
Book Binder,
AND
BLANK BOOK MANUFACTURER.
Near Naylor's Hardware Store.
ESTABLISHED AT TIFFIN IN 1852.
Blank Books of the best paper, for County Officers, Banks, Merchants, &c., Ruled, Bound and Paged to order.
Magazines and other books bound in the best styles.
I have matters so arranged that I can do all work pertaining to my line of business, in the best American styles, and at the
MOST REASONABLE RATES.
jy29, '60-tf.

1860. 1860. 1860.
BILL & OSBORN.
Proprietors of the R. R. Warehouses, Tiffin, Ohio.
GRAIN and COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
and Dealer in Salt, Water Lime, Coal, Plaster, etc.
☞ Cash, and the highest prices paid for Wheat, Corn, Oats, Rye, Seeds, &c. Apr13

Souder & Carpenter,
Wholesale and Retail Dealers in
FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC
DRY GOODS, CARPETINGS,
BOOTS, SHOES, &C.
For Cash Only.
No. 2 Washington }
No. 2 Market Street. }

Harry Wickert,
(Successor to Ellis Bros & Co.)
Carriage Manufacturer;
At Republic, Seneca Co., Ohio
Would respectfully announce to the Public that he has purchased the Manufactory heretofore belonging to Ellis Brothers & Company and is prepared to do all kinds of work in his line—and will constantly keep on hand
CARRIAGES, BUGGIES, and SULKIES,
Which he flatters himself shall be second to none in the West
Prices Moderate
feb26-'61 H. WICKERT.

Poundstone, Frayer & Co
Owners and Builders of Child's Patent
HOT AIR FURNACES,
Also, Dealers in Registers, Coal Furnaces, &c., Bucyrus, Ohio. ac1-6m

THE GREAT ISSUE

SPEECH OF

JUDGE LAWRENCE

At the Court-House, in Bellefontaine, Saturday Evening, March 9.

Another object of calling this meeting, was to discuss the present condition of the country and the remedies for the difficulties in which we find ourselves involved. Since I have had the honor of a seat on the bench, I have taken no active part in politics, and upon ordinary questions, no consideration could induce me to do so. But upon the question whether the Union of these States shall be preserved—whether we shall tolerate or sanction the destruction of the best government the world has ever seen, I cannot remain silent in any position I may be called to occupy.

These are not party questions. They are questions in which the partisan should be merged in the patriot, and on which we should speak for the country, for mankind, for humanity, for posterity.

Seven States of this Union claim to have seceded, and have organized a revolutionary provisional government.—There is no party here in the North to argue in any form, either that there was any justifiable cause for secession, or that a State may constitutionally withdraw from the Union. A bare statement of the alleged cause will show that it is groundless. We own immense territories, which are yet to be organized into States. In the last Presidential election the people were divided into five political parties upon the subject of slavery in the territories.

The "Breckinridge Democracy" insisted that the Constitution carried slavery into all the territories, and it was the duty of the government to protect it there.

The "Douglas Democracy" maintained that the people of the Territories should for themselves determine whether they would or would not have slavery during its territorial condition.

The "Republicans" declared that slavery could exist only by positive local law, and that the territories while they continued as such were free, and could not constitutionally have slavery by any authority.

The "Bell-Everett party had for their platform "The Constitution—the Union—and the enforcement of the laws;" but they left us without commentary as to slavery in the territories.

All these parties agreed that when the people of a territory organized a *State*, it was their right *then* to determine whether *it* should or should not sanction slavery.

The "Abolition party" maintaining that Congress could and should prohibit slavery everywhere, only had a meagre existence in two or three States.

The Republican party prevailed in the election. The people did not sanction the doctrine that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in all the territories—and thus the failure of a party to defeat all others—to have its dogmas sanctioned by the people is the sole cause for secession. Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, so declared in his speech in the Senate on the 11th of December; and Mr. Rhett, in the South Carolina Convention, on the 21st of December last, affirmed the same thing. Nor need I argue that a State has no right to secede. The Constitution was made to be perpetual. It contains no provision for secession. Under it we can make no treaty or compact peaceably to agree to a division of the Union.

The active secession movements commenced in December last. They might have been defeated in sixty days by a prompt, faithful and energetic administration. But with Cobb, and Floyd and Thompson—avowed secessionists—in the Cabinet—with a President who in his annual message declared it was his duty to execute the laws *if nobody objected*, and that a State could not secede *unless they wanted to do so*—it is no wonder that on the 4th of March, President Lincoln comes into power, finding a revolutionary Government of seven seceded States, organized, with its capitol at Montgomery, with an army of 20,000 men, having taken possession of most of the forts, custom houses and government property in those States, but fortunately leaving our rightful government in possession of Forts Sumter and Pickens.

And now we are to consider in view of the present condition of affairs, not whether we might *rightfully* retake our forts, custom houses and property, not whether we might *rightfully* appoint Federal Judges with an army to execute their process, punish treason, and hang traitors—for of this there can be no doubt—but what is it expedient to do? All this might be done in 60 days if all the people in the remaining States were united in opinion, but they are not. In the "Border Slave States" there is a powerful *minority* who call this *coercion*, and such coercion might precipitate the secession of other States. For one, then, I am opposed to this policy as impracticable and inexpedient, and as yet unnecessary.

But what shall be done? We must either *consent* to a *division* of the Union, or we must adopt a wise, peaceful, judicious policy to prevent its dissolution.—And here upon a single point, the distinguished gentleman who has so faithfully and ably represented this District in Congress for the last eight years, essentially differs from me in opinion. Fortunately his opinion, as I conceive, is an *abstraction*—an impracticability—an impossibility—or it will require an amendment to the Constitution to effect it and that can never be obtained.

In his speech in Congress, on the 28th of February, on that wise, patriotic and just measure—his "Force Bill," Mr. Stanton said:

"Seven or eight States now deny their allegiance to this Government, have organized a separate Confederacy, and have declared their independence of this Government. Whether that independence is to be maintained or not, is with the future. If they shall maintain their position, and if public opinion in those seceding States shall sustain the authorities there for a year or two to come, so as to show that nothing but a war of subjugation and conquest can bring them back, I, for one, am disposed to recognize their independence. [Applause, and cries of 'that's right,' from the Democratic benches.] Now, in this state of things, if the remaining seven slaveholding States remain in the Confederacy, they are entitled to additional guarantees."

I would be false to my conscience my convictions of duty,—I would be a coward—if I did not permit my mouth to speak from the abundance of the heart, my utter dissent from this unfortunate declaration.

If it could be true, that in "a year or two to come" the preservation of the Union would be impossible, is it not unwise thus *in advance* to announce our readiness to consent to it? What more could Jefferson Davis—the rebel president—desire except to yield without qualification, which however is not proposed. What more could the disunionists of the North desire. To inculcate such a doctrine now, must encourage the hopes of the traitor government, and nerve its leaders to maintain it. That indeed would be "secession made easy." Let it be remembered, there is an Union sentiment in the secession States. In more than half of them a majority of the people are against the mad revolution. The conventions of the several States which passed secession ordinances, all refused to submit their work to *a vote of the people* with the single exception of Texas—and there is Houston—the hero of San Jacinto—the Conqueror of Mexico—the founder of the once lone-star Republic—still unmoved, the friend of the Union—If we declare our readiness to consent to dissolution "in a year or two," or more, how will our surrender strike dismay into the hearts of the brave men who are yet for the Union in the secession States! It is a duty we owe them to stand by them, and not desert them. And what shall be said of its effect in the "border States?" Will it not nerve to renewed energy the secession traitors of Virginia, with Tyler and Wise at their head, and discourage the Union sentiment there?

But I do not object alone nor mainly to the idea of consenting to recognize the independence of the Secession Confederacy because it is *ill-timed*. I object to the *thing itself*, as inherently unwise. It will be time enough to consent to dissolution when it becomes an inevitable and unwilling necessity, and that I hope and believe will be never.

I will briefly state the reasons why I am opposed to consenting to dissolution:

The example will be contagious, and secession will reproduce itself. Already the Mayor of New York has recommended that that vast city shall declare herself out of the Union and make it a free port of entry, soon to become the greatest commercial mart of the world. The upper peninsula of Michigan is gravely discussing annexation to Canada. Utah has already been *coerced* by arms to abide as one of the territories of the Union.—Soon we will have an Atlantic, a Pacific a Middle, a Western and a Yankee Confederacy. And why will not the same reasons now urged to induce us to yield to southern secession, be urged to sustain all future secessions? There are abundant causes to produce these divisions if the precedent is set, and if dissolution can take place without ever firing a single gun to save the Union. The facility with which successful revolution reproduces itself is illustrated in the history of France, Mexico, and the States of South America.

The Republican party prevailed in the election. The people did not sanction the doctrine that it was the duty of Congress to protect slavery in all the territories—and thus the failure of a party to defeat all others—to have its dogmas sanctioned by the people is the sole cause for secession. Mr. Iverson, of Georgia, so declared in his speech in the Senate on the 11th of December; and Mr. Rhett, in the South Carolina Convention, on the 21st of December last, affirmed the same thing. Nor need I argue that a State has no right to secede. The Constitution was made to be perpetual. It contains no provision for secession. Under it we can make no treaty or compact peaceably to agree to a division of the Union.

Nor can it be said we can guard against future secessions by amendments to the Constitution. No written constitution can more effectually deny the right of secession than the one we have. A revolution which would disregard this Union would tear down all parchment guaranties against secession.

Suppose we consent to a division, it creates a motive for new divisions. If a controversy shall arise between the free States and the Border Slave States, they can say to us "yield or we will unite with the Secession Confederacy." Thus hostile combinations will foster hostile interests and advance the views of ambitious men. And not only so. If a foreign and a hostile nation establishes a foothold on this continent south of us, it may combine with foreign powers against us, to cut off our commerce and annihilate our institutions.

The London Times has justly said:

"If South Carolina secedes; if Georgia Florida,, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana follow; if a Southern Federation be formed, and take its place among the powers of the earth, there can be no hope of keeping the Border Slave States. These will be drawn by a natural affinity to detach themselves from the North and join the slaveholding Federation. North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, will then be dissolated from the free States. Such an event cannot be regarded without dismay by the most staunch abolitionist. It would in fact, make the Southern Federation the real United States, as far as territory present and prospective is concerned, and reduce the North to what our ancestors would have called a "Rump."—The people of Boston or Philadelphia might be distinguished for their ability and enterprise, but they would belong to a country with hardly a greater future than Canada. Every natural advantage would be on the side of the Slave States.

"Look at the map, and you will see what a narrow slip of country composes the free soil of the American Confederation. Only the sea coast from the British frontier to the Delaware—a few hundred miles—belongs to it, all the rest, stretching away down the Atlantic and along the Gulf of Mexico, is in the hands of the slave owners. The mouth of the Mississippi is theirs; the Missouri and Arkansas, the great arteries of the extreme West, are theirs. Virginia pushes a spur of territory to within less than a hundred miles of Lake Erie, and thus divides the Atlantic free States from the West in a manner highly dangerous to their future union. Indeed, it is doubtful whether the connection between New York and New England on the one hand, and Illinois and the neighboring States on the other, could long survive the total separation of the South. The North would have a territory as straggling as that of Prussia, and the Western region would soon find it advantageous to dissolve its union with the Eastern.

"In the mean time, all the riches of the New World would be in the grasp of the Southerners. Instead of exploring the inhospitable regions in the neighborhood of the British frontier, which would be all that remained to the North, the slave owners would carry their "undeniable property" into lands blessed with every advantage of climate, soil and mineral wealth. Texas has territory enough to make three or four great States. New Mexico is about to be admitted with slave institutions. Arizona will follow. Mexico must in a few years be conquered, and the Southerners, lords of the most magnificent domain in the world, would control the passage between the two oceans.

"In short, if the Union lets South Carolina go, there is no saying what may go with it. It is very well to speculate on the return of an erring sister, but experience shows that secessions when once made are not easily recalled."

The Union is valuable to us in a commercial point of view. In the Noth we raise wheat, which does not grow in the South, and our form of civilization encourages manufactures. Every rivulet, and coal mine, and forest, gives power to impel machinery, and the South is a vast market for our manufactured articles.—Governor Wise, of Virginia, a year ago, said that the North manufactured all that was worn, and used and consumed in the South, even to broom handles and coffins. The very black badges of treason now worn at the South, were manufactured in New York, and Northern guns in the hands of southern traitors, now menace us with interneciae war and death. Bellefontaine manufactures carriages for Texas. Now if we divide the Union, Cincinnati will be transferred to Natchez, the spindles of New England will travel to the water falls of the Carolinas.

The decline of Charleston commerce is no insignificant motive for secession, in the hope that it will become the New York of the South, and New York will become but a Charleston for the North. The Almighty has made the Ohio, the Mississippi, the Missouri to flow from the North to the South that we may transport our breadstuffs manufactures there, and that our steamers may return laden with rice, cotton, and sugar. God made us for one nation, and the Constitution but ratified his decree. There is no error in the record and it can never be reversed. We can not cut the Mississipi river in two, and permit one-half to be owned by a foreign nation. The Constitution was made to secure free trade among the States. Divide the Union and duties will be levied on all the products we send South. The rebel Congress at Montgomery have already levied duties upon the articles we ship into the secession confederacy. The South now can not cut off our commerce and trade because it is free, while we can retain it by duties levied upon the products of other nations. But the Secession Confederacy as an independent nation can exchange her cotton for the wheat of Canada and the manufactures of England.—The hostility which would prompt a division of the Union would induce her to cut off our Northern commerce.

The Union gives us confidence, power and respect at home and abroad. Three great nations occupy the continent, Russia, England and the United States—ours the greatest among the great. All others are insignificant. And what has the Union done for us? A few years ago we sent Commodore Perry and a man-of-war to Japan. Her ports were closed to all nations. He was forbidden to enter. But he did enter, and we have a Commercial Treaty with that vast empire. It was not the man-of-war or the guns that did this. It was the power of our name.

Two years ago we had a war with a foreign nation, yet not one in a hundred remembers the fact. We made war on Paraguay—we sent three steamboats to conquer that nation and to coerce a treaty to pay our citizens their money demands. Three steamboats conquered Paraguay. No, no, it was not the three steamboats, it was the fact that the United States simply *said* it must be so. It was the fact that 300 steamboats could be sent, or if necessary men enough and munitions of war to dig up Paraguay and cover it with another Dead Sea.

A few years ago, Gen. Jackson said to France, "we must have satisfaction for injuries," and it was granted. We said to England, "the right of search must be abandoned," and it was done. We announced a new chapter in the laws of nations—the Monroe doctrine, that this continent could not be conquered or colonized by other nations, and there the law stands. These are fruits of the Union.

If we dissolve it, and divide into petty confederacies, we cease to be known among the nations of the earth; or we will only be known as insignificant States, submitting to the demands of our more powerful neighbors.

Like Mexico, we will be "rent with civil feuds," eternal strife; property will become insecure: exhausted with taxation, our schools and colleges will die out; our people, enveloped in ignorance, will fall an easy prey to military dictators and despotism.

I would preserve the Union for the power of its name abroad. I would have every citizen of our vast Republic carry with him, wherever he goes, his nationality as an American citizen. I would have the nations of the earth to understand that an insult or an outrage on a native or naturalized citizen, should be cause for instant redress, or war.

I would not agree with the statesmen who said "that *form* of government is best in which an insult to the meanest citizen is an insult to the whole constitution," but I would preserve a nationality that would protect from wrong the weakest of our citizens throughout the habitable globe.

If we permit this government to be broken up and destroyed—this experiment of popular liberty to fail—the hopes of freedom all over the world will die out forever.

Stimulated by our example, France once spoke for freedom, and the rights of man; but the Republic has given place to the Empire, and liberty is crushed out there. Hungary, away in the interior of Europe, heard the name of Washington, and Kossuth endeavored to follow his example. But there too

"Hope for a season bade the world farewell,
And freedom shrieked when noble Kossuth fell."

Here is a government of the people; here liberty finds almost its only resting place among the nations of men. And here now, before the great jury of the American people, civil liberty is on trial. If now it is crushed—if free government proves a failure, and falls without a struggle, ages cannot redeem it. But if in this terrible ordeal it is saved, its triumph is eternal; its overthrow will never again be attempted. Humanity will rejoice, and we may live to see our influence and example felt throughout the "vine-clad hills of France," among the demolished temples of liberty in Hungary, and Germany, and Italy.

But it may be said it is better to yield to secession, than to invoke civil war and conquest. I answer that the Union can be preserved without marching our armies into the secession States. But how can this be done?

First of all, I would defeat one of the chief *motives* which led to the existing revolution. The leaders of the secession movement design to build up a vast slave holding confederacy. To do this, their purpose is to make conquests in Mexico, Central America, and probably Cuba.—This has been proclaimed in every possible form, and is demonstrated by the event of the past few years. It was for this that the "Ostend Manifesto" was put forth; it was for this that President Buchanan recommended a 'protectorate over Mexico;' it was for this that Walker fitted out within our Union, in violation of acts of Congress, his hostile expedition against Central America. The design was to extend slavery.

Now by treaty with Mexico, Central America, and Spain, I would guarantee these countries against conquest by the secession confederacy. Mexico is hostile to slavery, and her people are united against warlike conquests. Central America is prepared for such treaty stipulations, for she, too, is ready "with bloody hands, to welcome invaders to hospitable graves." Spain has declared her purpose neither to sell or surrender Cuba. Then by treaty we can cut off the splendid dream of a vast slave empire to overshadow these regions of the sunny south.

The President has declared his purpose to collect duties at the ports of secession States. To execute the laws, he cannot do otherwise.

But this is by no means the most effectual mode of putting down secession. I would invoke the action of Congress to abolish, for the time being, the ports of entry in all the secession States. Congress has power to "regulate commerce." It may constitutionally create new ports, and abolish old ones. A law of Congress now provides, that "no vessel which shall arrive in the United States from any foreign port, or her cargo, shall be entered elsewhere than at one of the ports of entry established by law."

Now, if Congress shall abolish the ports of entry in the secession states, we can, with our navy, blockade the ports, and permit no vessels to enter them. Without the blockade, if we collect revenue from vessels of war outside of harbors, the "Secession Confederacy" will again collect it, and thus derive a revenue from it. Foreign nations may insist, that under our commercial treaties, we shall protect them against double duties, and thus we may be involved in difficulty with them. But if we blockade the ports we cut off the revenue of the traitor government—we deprive it of the sinews of war, money. We deprive it of foreign trade. We transfer the contest, if any there shall be from the land to the ocean. There we have a navy and the traitors have none.—Their confederacy cannot live without raising and selling cotton. It must pass through the ports of loyal States, thus giving them the profits of the carrying trade. The blockade will transfer New Orleans and Charleston, to Norfolk & Baltimore. This blockade will enrich us and impoverish the south. The people of the secession States will soon learn that direct taxes to support State Government and a confederacy beside, will be too grievous to be borne. The resources of the secession States must soon be exhausted, and with Jeff. Davis for President who led the Mississippi party that repudiated its State debt, he cannot hope for aid in the way of foreign loans. I would hold out the olive branch of peace, and give every assurance and guaranty for existing rights under the constitution.—The Union sentiment would react—public opinion would displace the mad leaders of secession, and, in time, would restore us to fraternal relations, and the Union would again be acknowledged. So long a the mode of treating our present evils might indicate a prospect of a peaceful restoration of the Union, I would pursue it. We could wait one year, or five years, or more, with such a prospect, rather than march an army to execute the laws. A year, or ten years in the life of a nation which should endure forever, is as a moment in the life of a man. The preservation of the Union is worth the work of years—it is too sacred to be rendered up in a year or two, or ever so long as its preservation is possible. This policy would consolidate an impregnable Union sentiment in all the remaining States. Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia, have all by overwhelming popular majorities, declared for the Union. The Free States cannot fail to be united for it. But if this policy should fail, if the secession confederacy should make war on us; or if, when all other modes have for years been tried in vain, and no other means of restoring the Union should be left us, I would make war to save it. I endorse the patriotic sentiment of the *Logan Gazette* in that emergency, and would inscribe these words of its editor in letters of gold on our banner: "We are for counting the States of the Confederacy at what it ever cost, and whatever sacrifice." I would raise an army of 50,000 men, and if that could not accomplish the whole work, I would swell it to 500,000, rather than yield up without a struggle to degradation, dismemberment, and destruction, the only government on earth which secures the highest form of freedom to man.

The Union, with the benefits I have described is worth all this.

If it was worth a seven years' war of Independence, and six years more of civil negotiations to establish the Union, is it not worth equal sacrifices and efforts to save it? If it was worth a war with Mexico to acquire California and our other Mexican possessions, is it not worth some effort to save the secession States, with commercial advantages to us worth ten Californias. Commerce, and not Cotton, is King. The war of the Crimea was waged for commerce, and shall we surrender the commercial advantages of the South without a struggle? Is it not better to retain what we rightfully own—a unity of territory as well as of government—rather than fillibuster for what we do not own? From 1791 to 1861, we have prosecuted Indian wars to secure and protect territories, and why now shall we surrender the fairest portion of the Union? It is said we shall do this for peace—to avoid war. Then if the South demands our unoccupied territories, shall we give them up to avoid war? If so, we must yield to every demand; the free white men of the North must consent forever to occupy the most inhospitable portion of the continent, and surrender the genial climate of the South in existing States, and room for wider conquests in Mexico, to the expansion of slavery—to a hostile nation which we cannot enter, and in which we may not be permitted to travel, except like southern slaves or the oppressed subjects of Europe—by permission of a *written pass*. President Lincoln has indeed truly said:

"Physically speaking, we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassible wall between them. They cannot but remain face to face, and an intercourse either amicable or hostile must continue between them. Is it possible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separating than before? Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws? Can treaties be more faithfully enforced between aliens than laws among friends? Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the old identical questions as to terms of intercourse, are again upon you."

But it may be said that we cannot govern a conquered people—that it is against the spirit of our institutions to do so.—But I say that all history proves that conquered people are governed. The spirit of our institutions is that a majority of the people shall govern. The secession States deny the right of the majority to rule. If we once admit that minorities may revolutionize at every defeat in an election, the government of the people is at an end. Anarchy and despotism will prevail. If we enforce the laws, the secession States will soon return cordially as a part of the Union. Shay's rebellion of 1787 was put down by force, yet Massachusetts did not continue hostile to the Union. The "Whiskey Rebellion" of Pennsylvania was crushed out by coercion; but the Keystone State is loyal to the Union. In 1832 South Carolina Nullification was menaced with coercion, but that State until recently lived peaceably in the Union. The Dorr rebellion of 1843 was put down by force by President Tyler by advice of John C. Calhoun, yet her people do not continue hostile to the Union. And so it would be if we conquer secession. Men are governed by their interests, and with the Union sentiment of the South—with the sympathies of the world against Disunion, with the blessings which the Union has conferred, and will confer, a temporary compulsory submission will soon become cordial and fraternal.

But when it is demonstrated that no reasonable time will restore fraternal relations, then and not till then should we abandon the hope of Union.

In such a contest success could not be doubtful. The seven secession States have a white population of three millions, and the remaining States twenty-five millions. With this vast preponderance of numbers, war could neither be prolonged nor terrible. Upon this question the North must be practically united in opinion. There could be at least no resistance here to the government. The war of independence and the war of 1812 were successful, though large minorities and even States were opposed to both. The South is by no means united. Under the banner of the Union we could march to certain victory, and a united people would again shout

"Forever float that standard sheet!
Where breathes the foe but falls before us.
With Freedom's soil beneath our feet,
And Freedom's banner streaming o'er us!"

No nation has ever existed without force. Government is an institution of God, and must be maintained.

Nor can we, after just forbearance, with reasonable guarantees for existing Constitutional rights, even while we sur, render no principle, apprehend resistance or further secession in the Slave States which yet acknowledge allegiance to the Union. If all the Slave States were united, their eight millions of people cannot desire war in view of the dangerous presence of four millions of slaves. Their policy, and ours, is peace, fraternity, protection. Senator Johnson, of Tennessee, only a few days since, said that he could go to the people of that State with the recent acts of Congress admitting Kansas, and by a Republican in his hands, passing the Territories of Congress, organizing the Territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dacotah, with no restrictions therein against slavery, and he could guarantee the aid of Tennessee in behalf of the Constitution, the Union, and the Enforcement of the Laws. But I do not apprehend a war of land forces. The necessity for it will never rise.—And if public opinion would never in any event justify or sustain coercion, as a measure of last resort, then only would I yield to the fatal necessity of consenting to dissolve the Union.

I appeal to Northern Democrats to know if they will sympathize with secession, or consent to dissolution. The Democratic party was a united, powerful organization. In 1860 that great party held its National Convention at Charleston to nominate a candidate for the Presidency. Northern Democrats demanded Douglas and Popular Sovereignty. Rather than yield to this, the 'fire-eaters' *seceded* from the Convention, destroyed the Democratic party, defeated Douglas and humiliated the Northern Democratic spirit. I know you will not further humiliate yourselves by giving 'aid and comfort' to treason.

The South demanded the Missouri Compromise of 1820; the Nullification Compromise of 1833; the war with Mexico; the 'Compromise Measures of 1850;' the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854; and the North freely gave them. But we cannot consent to dissolve the Union.

There is but one safe policy—the will of the people expressed in the Constitutional form must prevail, or the rule of a minority becomes tyranny. The success of any political party is no cause for dissolving the Union. Douglas declared this in his Norfolk speech, and recently repeated it in the Senate.

This is a vital principle of free government. We enjoy our political privileges on condition that we permit others to do the same. Four years hence, if the people should elect Douglas, it will be the duty of Republicans to submit, and if necessary, to fight for his inauguration, and to maintain the authority of his Administration. For one, I am ready to do so; and this is the duty of every patriot.

But it may be said we should consent to a division of the Union to avoid war. If this be so, we must consent to every formidable demand for future division for the same reason.

But dissolution will not bring peace.—If we maintain the Union and conquer a peace, then we have peace and Union forever. But dissolve the Union peaceably, and we

"But teach bloody instructions,
Which will return to plague the inventor."

We legalize the source of eternal strife and war. At every step of our future history we meet its grim visage.—Having purchased and paid for Florida, Louisiana and Texas, we cannot consent to pay duties on the commerce we send there. The navigation of the Mississipi may be free, but how long will it continue so? What alliances will the 'Cotton Confederacy' make with foreign powers to crush us when they dread our commercial rivalry, or despise our free institutions? We cannot consent that the secession States shall buy wheat from Canada and the Baltic, duty free, and exclude flour from Ohio, or encumber it with an onerous tariff. What partition shall be made of the territories? What conquests or acquisitions may we make, or the secession States make in Mexico Central America? The line which will divide us will run 2,000 miles circuitously through the land, with no natural barrier to separate us. Peace cannot be preserved on the border. Escaping slaves, revenue laws violated, treaties misconstrued or disregarded will furnish abundant cause for strife. 'We may cry peace! peace! but there will be no peace.' We may wish by peaceful means to colonize Central America and Mexico with the black population of the Free States, there to raise sugar, cotton and rice to exchange for our products and manufactures. When this Union is dissolved, and its power to prevent servile insurrection taken away from the secession States, they will not consent to such colonies in their vicinity, yet shall we be compelled to retain a population whose presence here is an evil, and give security that turbulent men among them will not wickedly encourage servile insurrection? Must we guard the line which divides the Confederacies with thousands of men, at an expense of millions annually? Who cannot read in these and other difficulties that may arise, a thousand causes of war in the present and far distant future, all of which would be avoided by the preservation of the Union. The Union furnishes sureties of peace, a community of interests. Dissolution destroys both. Let us then preserve the Union as a measure of peace, not war. Let us transmit to our posterity the rich, never-ending legacy of Union, peace and prosperity, rather than 'States dismembered, discordant, belligerant.'

Notes from the Census.

Total population 31,427,591. In 1850 it was 23,191,876—increase 8,235,015 or 35.53 per cent. The average ratio of increase for each decade during this century has been 34.57, or nearly 3 1-3 per cent per annum.

The Congressional gains under the apportionment of the new census are as follows:

The slave states lose twelve members and gain six. The free states lose twelve members and gain thirteen. The slave state