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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION.

SPEECH

OF

HON. THOMAS ^vRUFFIN,

OF NORTH CAROLINA,

UPON THE

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NEXT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION, &c.

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THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION.

The House being in the Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union—

Mr. RUFFIN said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: As these evening sessions infringe not upon that portion of the time of the House devoted to the transaction of important business, and as they have been set apart for the especial purpose of affording members an opportunity of embarking in the discussion of political topics, I deem it unnecessary to make any apology to the committee for occupying its attention for the brief hour allotted me under the rules. With great deference to the opinions of gentlemen who have preceded me in addressing the committee, and who entertain views antagonistic to those that have been presented to my mind, I now propose to submit a few remarks on the political affairs of the country.

A question of great magnitude—yea, sir, one preëminently important, is to be passed upon by the people of the United States during the present year. In my humble opinion, in the verdict to be rendered is involved the perpetuity of the institutions under which we have so long lived and prospered; and a question, upon the decision of which depends the happiness, not only of the millions who are now enjoying the blessings emanating from the best form of government ever devised by the genius of men, but also of the countless myriads, who, in all time to come, are to inhabit this the fairest portion of God's earthly domain.

Disguise as you may, sir, the practical issue to be decided in the approaching Presidential election, the issue that looms high above all others, is, Shall the union of these States be perpetuated or dissolved? The Federal Union was formed to dispense equal rights and blessings to all the States. The Constitution, the sacred charter of our political faith, the work of incorruptible patriots and illustrious statesmen, was a compromise of conflicting interests. Those who made it had a due appreciation of the responsibilities resting upon them; they were practical

men, not mere theorists; they knew the purport of the language they used, and, in its every clause and every word, they said what they meant and meant what they said. They eschewed cabalistic words and ambiguous phrases. Staunch in resolve and unflagging in zeal, with powerful purpose of soul, they devoted the mighty energy of gigantic minds to the great work of devising a form of government adapted to the wants of a free and independent people, ardently attached to the eternal principles of liberty and law. Time has demonstrated their wisdom, and shown that their work approximates perfection as near as anything of human origin could. Many of those who aided in framing the Constitution lived to enjoy the proud satisfaction of witnessing its admirable operation; and, when passing from the scene of action, rejoiced in the hope that it would be cherished as a priceless inheritance by all future generations of their posterity. Little did they anticipate that before one century—a mere link in the endless chain of time—had passed away, that a powerful party would spring up in this country to inaugurate schemes to bring about its destruction and overthrow. That such a party, active, powerful and numerous, is now at work to accomplish this fell purpose, no man can with truth deny. Now, for the first time in the history of the country, a party bounded by geographical lines has emerged from the troubled sea of northern fanaticism, assumed a definite shape, and entered the political arena to contest the prize of the Presidency. It has planted its standard of sixteen stars, representing the sixteen non-slaveholding States, on a sectional platform. With an energy unequalled and a recklessness unparalleled, it is perfecting its organization and concentrating its strength, to elevate to the executive chair a man who, if elected, will administer the Government under a construction of the Constitution sanctioned neither by its letter nor spirit—a construction never dreamed of by the sages who framed it—a construction utterly destructive of the rights of the people of fifteen States of the Union. How long can the

Union survive when it shall have been decided that the Government is to be administered, not for the benefit of all the States, but of a part only? Sir, the times are portentous of evil! What ought to be done by the friends of the Constitution and of the Union in the present emergency? All patriots should labor "with might and main" to preserve the Constitution inviolate. To this end they should make common cause to crush out the sectional spirit of fanaticism. It is a question far above those relating to tariffs, banks, public lands, and systems of internal improvement. The issue has been presented; it stands in all its appalling hideousness before us; it has to be met; it cannot be evaded.

The party which has nominated John C. Frémont for the Presidency presents the issue. He has been selected as the exponent of its principles; not that he is an experienced statesman—not that he is possessed of any peculiar qualifications for the position, but solely because he was supposed to be available, and believed, by those who rule the Black Republican hosts, to be a man made up of such pliant materials as could be molded and used to effect their purposes. Statesmen were overlooked in convention, and a mere adventurer, a heartless land-grabber, a cashiered military subordinate, was selected as the standard-bearer of the Black Republican party—a fit exponent of its views. The candidate is fit for the party, the party for the candidate; but neither fit to control the destinies of this great country. The people of the United States have not yet sunk to that low estate, when they are only worthy to be governed by a manikin, moved by wires in the hands of political jugglers and mountebanks. The election of Frémont would bring rejoicing not only to the Abolition traitors, who are plotting schemes to subvert the Constitution, but it would be a grand jubilee for the motley army of monopolists, landsharks, treasury marauders, and political gamblers, now so strenuously urging his pretensions.

Suppose the Government to be controlled by the Black Republican party—what could the South expect from it? Nothing of good—much of evil. Judge what would be the action of the party from the course of its friends in this House! I undertake to assert, that no House of Representatives has ever assembled in this Capitol, that has indicated so strong a disposition to violate the great principles of the Constitution, and to trample upon the rights of the minority, as the one now in session. Precedents long established and sanctioned by reason, never heretofore questioned, have been disregarded; guaranteed rights have been violated; and a spirit of unbridled recklessness pervaded the majority of this branch of Congress from its commencement.

Let us examine Black Republicanism as it has exhibited itself here. After squandering two months of the session, a Speaker and other officers were elected. Then, in hot haste commenced the dirty work of fiction made arrogant by power. A member was chosen to preside over this body because of his known hostility to the South—a man who blushed not to rise upon the floor in his place here, and indirectly to avow

and advocate the damnable doctrine of the amalgamation of the white and black races—a man who had elsewhere boldly proclaimed that he was willing, in a certain state of circumstances, "to let the Union slide,"—a true representative, no doubt, of the "sentiment" which elected him. In furtherance of the flagitious plans previously mapped out in caucus, the committees were packed, a majority of the members placed on each committee being taken from one section of the Union; so that, under the rules, they might enjoy undue advantages in the legislation of this House.

The work of proscription was pushed to an extent heretofore unknown; even the little pages, who run upon the floor, were dismissed from their places. All this was done by that party composed almost entirely of members elected by the "American Party"—the party of whose disinterested patriotism we used to hear so much—the party that professed to have such a holy horror of "place," and such an irresistible aversion to the "wild hunt after office." Why, sir, such was the rush for place, that, for days after the organization of the House, the rotunda, the vestibule, and all the approaches to this Hall, were thronged with a God-forsaken crowd of hungry expectants—lean, gaunt, hungry-looking "patriots," eager for the spoils.

Mr. Chairman, there was one feature in the organization of this House, remarkable in character and long to be remembered. There are a class of Representatives here, who have a peculiar fondness for indulging in the use of such stereotyped phrases as "independent representatives of the free North," "the scourge of the slave-driver's lash," "the crack of the overseer's whip," &c. They seem to speak feelingly when reiterating their stale expressions; and well they may; for, with something akin to them, they have had much sad experience during the present session. You no doubt recollect, Mr. Chairman, that during the early part of the session, your reporter's desk was occupied by a queer looking New York editor, an unfortunate specimen of nature's handiwork, a living libel on humanity, who, day after day, was to be seen lounging with apparent listlessness there, like a certain foul old bird on the bough of a dead tree. That eccentric individual exercised despotic sway over a certain class of members, his peculiar followers here, and thundered through the columns of the Tribune his anathemas against such of them as were so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure. To offend him was political death to them. The circulation of his paper was extensive in their districts, and the fulminations of his brain passed for gospel truth among their constituents. As a consequence, these "freedom shriekers" gloried in his smiles and trembled at his frowns; his edict was their law; he was the Conrad of the crew, and his soul animated them all. Though they hated and feared, they dared not disobey him.

There was a laughing devil in his sneer,
That raised emotions both of rage and fear;
And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,
Hope withering fled, and mercy sighed—farewell!¹⁹

Let us now look for awhile to the manner of legislating here. All sorts of trickery have been resorted to; rules have been violated, and the freedom of debate, in many instances, suppressed; the "previous question" has been sprung upon the House in season and out of season, and an unscrupulous majority has ordered it, time and again, to prevent discussion on the most important questions, thus prostituting a rule, intended for wise purposes, to the base uses of party.

To manufacture political capital for the presidential campaign, a committee was sent to Kansas; and, as was anticipated by every reflecting man versed in the affairs of that Territory, civil war followed in its wake. The majority in this House is responsible for much of the blood that has been so unnecessarily shed in Kansas. Immediately after the passage of the Nebraska-Kansas law, slavery agitators in the North commenced that system of tactics that has produced so much difficulty in Kansas. That agitation has caused the untimely death of many a poor squatter, both pro-slavery and anti-slavery men, who, far distant from home and kindred, now lie in their cold and bloody graves in the wilderness, where the wolf of the forest howls their requiem, and the owl, the ill-boding bird of night, shrieks their death-dirge. But what do men who ride into power on slavery agitation care for these things? I have no doubt they would be willing to see the plains of Kansas drenched in human gore, if they could thereby get control of the Federal Government.

Mr. Chairman, let us pass to another chapter in the history of Black Republicanism in this House. Representatives sent here by the people have been harassed, hunted down, and, in effect, driven from this Hall, for entertaining political principles antagonistic to those of a majority here. Yes, sir; members, pandering to the morbid appetite of northern fanaticism, have deprived South Carolina of two of her Representatives on this floor—Messrs. BROOKS and KEITT. Illinois, too, has been deprived of one of her Representatives, [Mr. JAMES C. ALLEN,] to subserve the ends of party, in total disregard of right and justice. Even now, this party is hunting some pretext to deprive Iowa of one of her Representatives, [Mr. HALL.] To cap the climax, a majority of this House has declared General WHITFIELD, the Delegate from Kansas, not entitled to his seat, although he was duly elected in strict conformity to law. Eighty-eight members of that majority were not satisfied with thwarting the wishes of the people of Kansas as to who should be their Delegate, but were so blinded by prejudice and impervious to reason, as to record their votes in favor of the admission of Andrew H. Reeder, whom they sought to thrust on the people of Kansas as their Delegate—an individual with no better title to the seat than the man in the moon.

Recently this House attached an amendment to the Army appropriation bill, iniquitous in its inception, revolutionary in its character—one which it is well known can, in no contingency whatever, pass the Senate. If the Black Republicans

in this House conspire together to stop the wheels of Government, they have the power to do it. But, Mr. Chairman, it occurs to me there is no necessity to apprehend danger from this; when the "tug of war" comes, they will back out from their position; they will not dare to refuse the necessary appropriations to carry on the Government. When they realize the fact that they cannot effect their object by bluster and gasconade, a sufficient number of them will dodge out of the way to let the bill pass. They say to the Administration, to the Senate, and to the national men on this floor, "If you don't do this, or don't do that, we will withhold the supplies." An accidental majority in this House is striving to usurp the powers of coordinate branches of the Government. They have, of late, invented a new way of nullifying and resisting laws. As good citizens, they should conform and submit to the laws of the country; they should not forget the good old maxim of the Roman patriot and statesman, *Legum denique idcirco omnes serri sumus, ut liberi esse possimus.*

Such is the exemplification of Black Republicanism in this House. Judge of the whole party by the specimen here exhibited! "*Ex pede Herculem.*" Had it the control of the Government, what enormities would it not practice? This is the party that aspires to rule this great country. But gentlemen may rest assured that it never will be done; John C. Fremont will never occupy the executive chair of the United States.

Another party making some claims to nationality, has nominated Mr. Fillmore for the Presidency. This, the American, or Know Nothing party, at one time boasted of much strength, and claimed to have arisen on the ruins of the Whig and Democratic parties. Within the brief period of its existence, it has changed its principles so often, and assumed so many protean shapes, that I shall not now undertake to describe it. As a party, it has become a "*tertium quid*"—a non-descript—and dwindled into comparative insignificance. I shall make but few remarks about it; my time is short, and I shall not tarry to say a long grace over a scanty repast. The party has proved a woeful failure. At one time it boasted that it was the great conservative party of the country; that it was for the maintenance of the Union as "the paramount political good," and that it had elected from the northern States some ninety national and conservative men to this House. Where are nine tenths of these northern national Know Nothings now? Echo answers, where? Where were they when the contest for Speaker was decided? I can tell you, sir; just where they are now—drilling in the Black Republican camp—marching under the flag with sixteen stars, and keeping step to the grating music of disunion. Of those once claimed as national men, more than nine out of ten now stand on the Union-sliding platform, among the most implacable enemies of the South.

The organization of the Know Nothing party at the North has been used to strengthen Black Republicanism, only a small fragment of it remaining, that, at this time, lays any claim to nationality. Let us see what a leading Know

Nothing paper, the Albany Register, says on this subject:

"If Frémont is elected, the country will owe the American party a debt of gratitude; for it is not doing injustice to other noble advocates of free soil, to say that the American organization in the East and West, is the backbone of the Republican party."

The idea of electing Mr. Fillmore to the Presidency is preposterous. In its palmy days, Know Nothingism had its chief strength in the North; there it has been absorbed by Black Republicanism; and in many of the States where it was once omnipotent, it does not now seem to be able to muster a sufficient number of supporters even to form an electoral ticket in what is termed the national wing of the party. Your *quondam* Know Nothing has there laid down his dark lantern, and taken up Sharpe's rifle. In the intensity of his love for the negro, he has forgotten his hatred of the Catholic and the foreigner. Mr. Fillmore cannot be elected by votes from the South, for there "Sam" never did arrive at man's estate; at best he was there but a little, scrawny, rickety, scrofulous bantling, that had not strength to stand upon his legs. Away, then, with the attempt to gull southern people into the belief that there is a chance to elect Mr. Fillmore!

If enthusiastic gentlemen, in the exuberance of their imaginations, have pictured Mr. Fillmore stalking into the White House on the 4th of March next, I tell them that romantic pageant will never pass in review before them. They have mistaken shadow for substance; they have been dreamingly gazing at a mirage on the political horizon; they have either scanned the signs of the times through illusory optics, or read them the back way, like a witch's prayer.

There is one truly national party in this country, and but one—that is the Democratic party. It has ever been national, and is so yet. It is emphatically the party that contends for "measures, not for men"—it is the party of the Constitution—the party of the country. Other parties may desert their principles to conform to the views of their candidates, but the Democratic will never change its principles for any man. The Black Republican party, thirsting for the spoils, may adhere to the fortunes of Frémont; the Know Nothing, in its admiration of the man, may follow in the forlorn hope, led on by Millard Fillmore. The one may shout for Caesar, the other declare for Pompey; but the Democratic party, now as ever, will strike for the best interests of the commonwealth of Rome.

Assembled at Cincinnati in convention, composed of delegates from every district represented here, it has constructed a platform eminently national. It has reared aloft the banner of the Constitution and the Union. To that consecrated standard, hosts of patriots are flocking in serried ranks from every quarter of this vast Republic—from the warm sunlit prairies of Texas, and from the bleak hill tops of Maine—

— "In climes

That burn with fierce, or freeze with distant, suns."

It floats proudly in the breeze that sweeps the

Atlantic coast; and, in distant California, from the golden shores washed by the blue surges of the Pacific, its inspiring folds reflect the last departing rays of the setting sun, as, far westward, it sinks into the briny deep.

The Democratic party has presented for the suffrages of the people, the name of James Buchanan, a statesman of enlarged experience and sound principles—one true to the Constitution and to all sections of the Union. In vain has the combined opposition sought to injure his reputation as a patriot, a statesman, and a true Democrat. Reduced to desperate straits, it has ransacked the history of the past to scrape up charges against him. It is charged that he was a Federalist, and opposed to the last war with Great Britain. If this be true, it shows that he was a man who had a heart in the right place, and loved his country better than party, that he was for his country, whether he believed it to be "right or wrong;" for, when our soil was invaded by a foreign foe, he volunteered with alacrity, shouldered his musket, and marched to the tented field, to aid in repelling the enemy.

Again, it is charged that he once said, if he had a drop of Democratic blood in his veins he would let it out. After the unqualified denial of this by Mr. Buchanan, and the mass of testimony that has been published to disprove it, I think that no man, who has a proper regard for his own reputation for truth and candor, will stoop so low as to reiterate the stale calumny.

On a par with this is the oft-refuted slander, that he had advocated the reduction of the wages of the laboring man to ten cents a day. I pronounce this to be utterly false, and challenge any man on this floor to assert the contrary. Such a charge may suit the vitiated taste of the cross-roads demagogue and political charlatan of the tipping-shop; but no man who has been intrusted with a seat on this floor will stake his veracity on this execrable humbug.

Wise men, too, have of late made the astounding discovery that Mr. Buchanan is unsound on the slavery question. Whence this grave charge? Is it true? No, sir; entirely false; unsubstantial as a moonbeam; hypothetical in its origin; years ago exploded; based on certain resolutions of a meeting held in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in 1819. What is the history of these resolutions? Why, sir, simply this: that Mr. Buchanan was not at the meeting that passed them; had nothing to do with them; knew nothing about them; and never saw or heard of them until they were published. He is no more responsible for them than I am—and they were passed long before I was born. Mr. Buchanan has always been true on this great question that is of such vital importance to the South; and it is astonishing that southern men should make allegations to the contrary. His whole record, extending back for more than a third of a century, will show that he has ever been true. His past record is a sure guarantee for the future. We were told, in the canvass of 1852, that General Pierce was unsound on this question; that it would not do to trust him; that he would betray the South, and so on. The people, however, had confidence in him;

they believed him to be an honest man, and they were not deceived. His administration has demonstrated the fact, that he was entitled to their confidence; for he has been as true to the Constitution as any man that ever occupied the executive chair. The South has had no cause to complain of him. Between these candidates a choice is to be made. Southern men must look to things as they are, and act upon what they may consider right and proper. It is no time to wrangle about trifles—no time for party bickerings. A blow is being aimed at the Constitution itself. The enemy is assaulting the citadel; we must concentrate our whole strength to defend it, and to repel the assault. We must not dissipate our strength by skirmishing at the outposts, or impair it by internal dissensions among ourselves.

The election of Frémont will be the death-knell of the Union. I am no alarmist, nor do I say this in any spirit of bravado or threatening. I assert it because I believe it. Both northern and southern men have asserted it. Mr. Fillmore has in substance expressed that opinion, and in language, too, that no one can misunderstand:

“We see a political party presenting candidates for the Presidency and the Vice Presidency selected for the first time from the free States alone, with the avowed purpose of electing these candidates by suffrages of one part of the Union only, to rule over the whole United States. [Cries of ‘Shame!’ ‘Shame!’]”

“Can it be possible that those who are engaged in such a measure can have seriously reflected upon the consequences which must inevitably follow in case of success? Can they have the madness or the folly to believe that our southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? Would he be required to follow the same rule prescribed by those who elected him, in making his appointments? If a man living south of Mason and Dixon’s line be not worthy to be President or Vice President, would it be proper to select one from the same quarter as one of his Cabinet council, or to represent the nation in a foreign country; or, indeed, to collect the revenue or administer the laws of the United States? If not, what new rule is the President to adopt for selection to office, that the people themselves discard in selecting him?”

“These are serious but practical questions; and in order to appreciate them fully, it is only necessary to turn the tables upon ourselves, and suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would only have slaveholders for President and Vice President, and should elect such by their exclusive suffrages to rule over us at the North. Do you think we would submit to it? [Cries of ‘No!’] No, not for one moment. And do you believe your southern brethren less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you you are certainly mistaken. And, therefore, you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric, reared by our forefathers, cemented by their blood, and bequeathed to us as a priceless inheritance. [Tremendous cheering.]”

“I tell you, my friends, that I speak warmly on this subject, for I feel that we are in danger.”—*Mr. Fillmore’s Speech at Albany.*

Let southern gentlemen who are disposed to

vote for Mr. Fillmore, and thereby indirectly aid in the election of Frémont, reflect upon the awful consequences that may ensue should he be chosen President. The radical Abolitionists, almost to a man, and many of their twin brothers, the supporters of Frémont—I dare assert, a majority of them—are desirous for a separation of the States. Their words and acts manifest it; some of their leaders boldly avow it:

“I have no doubt but that the free and slave States ought to be separated.”—*New York Tribune.*

“I pray daily that this accursed Union may be dissolved, even if blood have to be spilt.”—*Black Republican clergyman at Poughkeepsie.*

“The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South.”—*Horace Greeley.*

“I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South; when the black man, armed with British bayonets, and led on by British officers, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium.”—*Extract from speech of Joshua R. Giddings.*

“If peaceful means fail us, and we are driven to the last extremity where ballots are useless, then we’ll make bullets effective. [Tremendous applause.]”—*Speech of Hon. Erastus Hopkins, in Black Republican Convention, Philadelphia.*

“I detest slavery, and say unhesitatingly that I am in favor of its abolition by some means, if it sends all the party organizations in the Union, and the Union itself, to the devil.”—*H. M. Addison.*

“In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for a dissolution of the Union; I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes.”—*Rufus P. Spalding.*

“On the action of this convention depends the fate of the country; if the Republicans fail at the ballot-box, we will be forced to drive back the slaveocracy with fire and the sword. [Cheers.]”—*General James Watson Webb in Black Republican Convention, Philadelphia.*

“This Union is a lie. The American Union is an imposture, a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.” * * * “I am for its overthrow! Up with the flag of disunion, that we may have a free and glorious Republic of our own.”—*William Lloyd Garrison.*

“Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union, though I am willing in a certain state of circumstances to let it slide.”—*N. P. Banks, Speaker.*

“Resolved, That whoever would assassinate President Pierce would be a friend to his race and to his country.”—*Resolution of township meeting in Ohio.*

“O, God! we pray that Thou wilt curse the slaveholder in all his undertakings, confound all his plans, and spread terror, horror, and dismay throughout the entire South. Curse, O, God, we ask Thee, with a blighting curse, all the Democrats in the Union; may they in an especial man-



ner feel the weight of Thy great displeasure. We entreat Thee, O, Lord, to go to Washington and kill Frank Pierce; show him no mercy, but strike him down; also, in your righteous wrath, remember and punish with direful wrath, Cass, Douglas, and Toombs; let not one of these villains escape. We ask Thee, O, Lord, to afflict every pro-slavery man in Kansas with the leprosy or small pox; and may they, after feeling the pains of a thousand deaths, be tumbled headlong into Hell without a trial, there to feel ten thousand strokes on their bare backs, daily inflicted by each and every one of the slaves in the United States. Our Heavenly Father, we ask Thee to strengthen us in our resolves to make Kansas a free State at the peril of the Union; we ask Thee to interpose Thy mighty hand in our behalf, and help us to shiver the Union into atoms rather than to concede to the southern demons, in the form of slave days, one inch of the disputed territory."—*Fourth of July prayer of a Black Republican Clergyman at Oberlin, Ohio.*

In attaching the Sherman amendment to the Army appropriation bill, and refusing supplies to carry on the Government, this House has performed the first act in the drama of revolution. The genius of disunion, grim, hideous, and ghastly, has already presented its unsightly form in this Hall, at the bidding of agitators and disorganizers. If the pluck of Black Republicanism is not exceeded by its arrogance and treachery, it is like even to bring matters to a speedy issue. That assumed courage which has buoyed up the members of that party, and is now pushing them on to the very verge of perpetrating an atrocious deed, will, no doubt, ooze out at their fingers' ends ere the act is consummated. They will fly, panic-stricken, from the untenable position they now occupy. They will defer it to another day, and a more auspicious time.

What hopes can the South have but in the elec-

tion? If the will, in all of Fremont, by long unnumbered woes on the country. If the Know Nothings have all that exalted and self-sacrificing patriotism which they profess, (and I feel sure that many of them have,) why do they cling to their party so tenaciously under existing circumstances? They well know that the organization of that party cannot be kept up much longer; that it is rapidly dying out everywhere; that it will soon be numbered among the things that were; and that even now it is but—

“A vapor eddying in the whirl of time,
And soon to vanish everlastingly.”

The preservation of the Constitution and of the Union is worthy of the highest aspirations of the patriot. It is high time that all conservative and national men, in all parts of the country, and of all parties, should rally under the broad banner of the Constitution and the Union, and bear it aloft, emblazoned with its splendid galaxy of thirty-one stars, far above the reach of the political infidels, who are now stretching forth their polluting hands to drag it down and trail it in the dust. May we not indulge the hope, that a decided triumph of the “sentiment of nationality,” in the approaching election, will crush out fanaticism, drive slavery agitation from the Halls of Congress, and settle the question for all future time; that it will restore peace to a distracted country, revive good will among its citizens, and, above all, strengthen anew the strong cords of affection and material interests which bind these States together? that they may continue, now and forever,

“Unbroken as the sacred chain of nature,
That links the jarring elements in peace.”