For Peace & Peaceable Separation.

Citizens Democratic Address.

FOR PEACE, AND PEACEABLE SEPARATION.

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CITIZEN'S

DEMOCRATIC ADDRESS,

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF OHIO,
AND THE PEOPLE OF THE SEVERAL STATES

OF THE

WEST AND NORTH.

"PRO LOCIS, FOCIS, ET ARIS."

CINCINNATI:
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1863.

PREFACE.

At this supreme hour of destiny for the free States, we call on Northern thinkers to emancipate themselves, in order to save their own section from destruction. The old Union of the States is gone; but we can preserve the Constitution, and thereby our liberties and prosperity, with diminished power and territory.

There will be two confederacies hereafter. Ours, in the North, can always rise superior to that in the South in proportion, only, as we excel in the knowledge of our Federal system, and in our adherence to it, through all report, in principle as well as practice.

We must cling, henceforth, all the stronger, to the Constitution; for the threatening danger is, that the huge State of New-York, and its huge metropolis, will, at once, attempt to get rid of constitutional obligations, and to change the Federal system into a consolidated democracy. Like old Rome, New-York, if we allow it, will assume to be the imperial head of a nominal republic, with the other States, especially the boundless West, for outside provinces. She will be governed by her interests, irrespective of the Constitution. She first tried to coerce the South; and, perceiving that policy a failure, she next endeavored, by her

attacks on Lincoln's administration; her appeals to constitutional guaranties, and her intimations of physical resistance to acts of Congress, to wheedle the South back into the Union: now, all these shallow devices having failed, she returns, like a dog to his vomit, to her first line of conduct, in order to consolidate the Federal system, by fostering a usurpation of Federal powers, executive and legistative; by incurring a vast public debt; and by lording it in the North. It is New-York that has poisoned the foolish West against New-England, because she dreads the Yankee rivalry — intellectual, political, financial, and commercial. And sundry politicians have been inveigled into that plain mistake. The New-York monopoly of the whole trade of the United States, North and South, has made that metropolis the great monstrosity it is: and, foreseeing the separation, she is striving to grasp the monopoly of the trade, both ways, of the whole North with the markets of the world.

The interest of Ohio and the interior States is exactly adverse. We want two New-Yorks on the Atlantic, so that we may have competition, which is the life of trade; and we want, more than any thing else, and will have, the freedom of those inland seas — the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence — which New-York is interested to blot out of existence, in order to continue the rail-road injustice of the last two years, which has confiscated the two last Western harvests, and which is concentrated in Wall-Street. The small States of the East, and the whole Mississippi Valley should take timely warning.

It is an age when size is greatness, numbers power, and money omnipotence. Unless we heed the lessons of this Address, even while the battle rages, we will find ourselves, at the end of the war, instead of freemen with personal rights, and free States with sovereign rights, stript

of every badge of self-government, under a civil or military consolidation, centralized in the city of New-York by the force of some major-general, or the fraud of statesmen, to whom that city is the fulcrum. From the very edge of such a precipice, which it is wise to foresee, and patriotism to denounce, we call on the interior States, Ohio at their head, to prepare their minds against a more intolerable despotism than the present. When this sectional war with the South comes to an end, by an acknowledged separation, the law of self-preservation will force us to fly to the State-Rights doctrine of the Federal system. We must assert our right to choose our associates for the State of Ohio and her sister States, and make such reservations, expressly of our social and political independence, as will deter any set of masters from trying their hands at consolidation of State-sovereignties into one Imperial Republic. The foundation of the Federal system is the unanimous consent of the States, who are each and all its voluntary constituents, and solely bound within the union by their separate consent. When we take our stand there, we are safe; for the fortress that never yields to secret or open foe, to blows or bribes, is for both men and States, in peace and war, the same—it is the rock of principle.

ADDRESS

TO THE

PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF OHIO,

AND THE

PEOPLE OF EACH OF THE SEVERAL STATES

OF THE

WEST AND NORTH.

Our public men are all unfortunately committed, so that they can give us little good and much bad advice. But at such a time of sorrow and dismay, the State has a right to the opinions of her most humble private citizens, whose lives and actions have established a character for truth, intelligence, courage and virtue, and, consequently, we have felt bound to present ourselves to you with our solution of the present deplorable crisis in State and Federal affairs. We are in favor of merging this war at once into peace, as soon as possible, and for preparing our public mind for a separation of the States. Our mode of operation will be by the discussion, which we have herein opened, and to which we challenge all who are worthy, to enlighten the people upon our Federal system. We can take it for granted that both, South and North, are united upon their respective policies, and had better separate, but that the people of each border State should decide its future alliance by its own convention; our armies to be employed, if necessary, to enforce the settlement, and for no other purpose.

The people, at large, must understand, theoretically and practically, what is really the matter, in order to be able to answer the question: "What is to be done about it!" Whoever is afraid or unable to give them good advice, should be silent; but we have assumed the responsibility of making known, by this paper, the nature of the general calamity, with the appropriate and only means for its removal. The root of the evil lies, then, in the total mistake committed by the Administration, and countenanced by many of its opponents, with respect to the true theory of our form of Government. The organized Republican party, assisted, from the first, by some of the Democrats, who were confounded by the magnitude of a most abrupt and stupendous crisis, have wholly departed from all

the conditions of the Constitution; overturned not only that provision for the permanence of a Federal Government, but the very principles upon which alone it can stand. They have done more: and in the place of Washington's work—the Federal Constitution of the United States done at Philadelphia, in 1787, —the hideous consolidation of power in Congress and the President has been set up at the capitol of the United States, this year, which has already made a ruin of the land that work was meant to bless. We expect very briefly and compactly, but completely, to demonstrate these two propositions, and to trace them all more to ignorance than ambition, so that those who think and act for us in public life, shall have the means, both to oppose, and, what is far more important, to demoralize the Administration. There is no other way to get rid of the authority of President Lincoln and the other lawyers who compose his cabinet, and of that of the Senators and Congressmen who have girt him round with their support, but to prove their theory of the Government to be untenable, and themselves hostile to, because ignorant of, the Constitution. If it gets to be generally suspected by the leaders of the people, that those in power are not simply guilty of abuses of rightful authority, but that they have mistaken their powers and can not show any authority for waging this war of States, and for oppressing citizens at home, then they will find themselves speedily, instead of absolute masters of affairs, trustees discredited by their constituents; they will see their policy and measures repudiated, and themselves compelled to desist, and to give way to honest, capable and faithful public servants. If such a demonstration can be made, it is worth far more than all other agents for the settlement of the controversy, and it is pre-eminently due to the toiling masses and citizen soldiery. The Democracy intend to displace the Administration, and to govern in its stead; but the Democracy must put their right to supercede the Republicans upon such terms, as will satisfy the judgment, and attract the affections, and reward the confidence of the people. If the people are still to be dealt with by them, after the change, as formerly, then the people have no interest in their success, for it will be only a change of masters, and not a change of system. The swarm of tax consumers, who have become so bloated by war expenditure wrung from the property and labor of the producers, had better remain upon the carcass of the Republic, than to give place to as many lean and hungry successors, having more remorseless appetites, and the same opportunity. We must satisfy the people that they are not to be the losers, but the great gainers in a pecuniary view, by a restoration of our society and Government of the North, or

we can not have their united and vigorous co-operation. And we feel bound, also, to say that we have no confidence in any domestic appeal to physical force, especially not in our present circumstances. We have not yet exhausted the argument, we have never fairly advanced to the proper point of argument, and we feel culpable for not having before made this effort to enlighten the people, and brought to their aid, by free, full, radical, public discussion, the utmost possible force of intellect, so as to provide the means for popular organization. We call loudly, therefore, upon the thinkers of the country to respond to our summons to debate, and relying upon the sacredness of belief which no man, even in himself, can long control, still less in another, and upon the integrity of our order, we challenge to a reply the whole Republican intellect in one array. To those who say, it is too late to discuss our fate, whether they wish to evade their duty or not, we proudly respond, that truth, even in the red and stricken field of battle, never comes too late; and more, we say, that there is no other mode of resettling our institutions, nor of bringing again among us even the show of comfort and prosperity, except by discussion and negociation. It does not matter what may be the fate of our arms, for come weal or woe, there will be a future at the end, which alike involves both our perishable Government and our imperishable society, the mortal and the immortal conditions of humanity and of civilization in these once free and happy States. What that future shall be, concerns us, much as the present concerns us, far more than the present, and it requires of this generation its best exertions now for the safety of ourselves and the destiny of our descendants. In this supreme hour, the darkest and the unhappiest which ever came upon the hopes and fears of any modern people, we see the shadow on every brow, and we hear the beating of every human heart, as we draw, breathless and helpless, nearer and nearer to the verge of the cataract. Yet, have we no unfounded confidence, but the confidence of cause sustaining us through the premises and to the conclusions of our appeal to the wisdom and integrity of the people. We feel that the time has come, which tests the talents, and which tries the souls of men; and that from the roaring abyss at our feet the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot must shrink back with horror; but we know that with intellect, and with character more than intellect, and with sound political principles more than all, we shall be able to carry with us safely over it our liberty and the Constitutions, State and Federal, by which alone liberty can be retained in the Northern States. If we shall be compelled, as we think we are, to give up the fellowship of the Southern States, we can preserve for ourselves, what are now

in danger, the same system of society and government as we had before the war, and we can recover gradually from the shock of a partial dissolution of the Union,—perhaps we may ultimately expect some reconstruction of the old relations of all the States; or if not, such an amicable organization of all other than our political interests, as will, to a great extent, continue to associate our destinies. We do not think our armies and navies are strong enough to accomplish their purpose; nor, by any possible sacrifice of lives and fortunes, that they can be increased to that extent. To subjugate, you must break down the spirit of a people; it is not sufficient to whip their armies, but you must crush their resolution. There never has been any time when the Southern public spirit did not rise as high for defense as ours for attack, and it never was more indomitable than at the present moment. Nor will the failure of our armies bring with it any disgrace, but the contrary. It will only prove to the world a truth of some importance, to them as well as to us, which is, that upon their own soil Americans are invincible. The map of the United States has decided the pending contest far more than the armies of the United States. Not the stars, in their courses, have fought on the Southern more than on the Northern side; but it has been far otherwise with the weary miles of road, the swollen streams, the fathomless mud, the inhospitable climate, the famished country, incessant snows and rains, and the dividing ridges of impregnable mountains. The same misfortune is reserved for any Southern army, which may be bold enough to carry the contest into our Northern States. It would be overtaken by a more speedy and total discomfiture than any recorded in the war. We most sincerely hope, for the sake of both sections, that there may never be such an experiment. There remarks made, we proceed to the true solution of the crisis.

The question at issue, according to our minds, is not, then, one of abuse, but one of the usurpation of Federal power—a new view to us, but containing wholesome doctrine, which, although it may more deeply criminate the Administration, will also embarrass many leaders on the Democratic side, who have thoughtlessly given color to the war, and now confine themselves to barren criticism on Lincoln's manner of conducting it. Yet these leaders have conceded Lincoln's honesty; and if, therefore, he have the legal right to make war upon the South, in the inevitable evils of its pursuit, he is only the victim of circumstances, over which he can not exercise any more control than a Democratic successor. And we doubt if there would be any public advantage in dismissing the President, if we adhere to his hypothesis. Indeed, there

is an apology for his opening of hostilities, and for the early false position of some democrats. The fall of Sumpter was long prepared by the mutual criminations of the sections, by the mutual injustice of their reciprocal estimates, and by a total miscalculation of the magnitude of the strife. For many years, the most disparaging comments upon each other were fashionable on both sides of Mason and Dixon's Line; legislative and executive reprisals and the protective tariff policy, with the breach of the compact about fugitive slaves, had fired both Southern and Northern hearts. The collision had to come—and horrible as it has been, both then and since, there was no escape from it. It may have had one good effect: it has opened the eyes of all but the blind on both sides. Hereafter, there will never be so much left of the bad habit of underrating an adversary. Yankees and Southerners will not love, but they must respect, each other; and that is the best security ever invented for preserving the international peace. And, therefore, we are disposed to forgive much of what has happened, in consequence of the frenzied passions of the country. But there we stop, and will not advance, voluntarily, another single step. The war should have never been begun, the war should be stopped at once, and the war must soon be arrested by mutual exhaustion, or by the universal intervention of good and patriotic citizens. It can only be arrested, however, by the utter exhaustion of the parties, or, if any earlier, by the force of constitutional truth, which shall be plainly stated, and fearlessly announced. It is to invite the latter, and not to wait for the other alternative, that we propose to show, beyond denial, Lincoln's misunderstanding of the Federal system he is attempting to administer; and Lincoln's want of constitutional power to make a sectional war of States. The popular intervention we speak of is not to be, therefore, by display of numbers, nor by any open or other use of physical force. But it is to be by calling to our aid the only invincible ally in this struggle—the fundamental truth which Lincoln's errors have violated. If he has wholly mistaken his duty, as the President of the United States, from the beginning, he, or his successor, if he do not, must retrace his steps in obedience to the Constitution which, although shivered, by almost every act of his Administration, into pieces, has still a sacred power over our minds, even in the midst of such a whirlwind of war and homicide, and corruption, and degeneracy as rages everywhere over the land. Our Western people, at any rate, can be made to perceive and adopt the path of safety. We can almost alone put a stop to the war, and restore the violated Federal system which has been so seriously

disturbed, although we will be compelled to submit to the rupture of the Union, and the departure of the seceding States, until some future day, when they shall ask to be not only neighbors, but friends, and, perhaps, to be readmitted into the Union.

What is Lincoln's mistake? It is in supposing that our government was a consolidated democracy, responsible for the action of the States as well as that of the Federal head, and not a confederation, where the States are bound by their separate consent, the Federal head being only their agent for certain purposes. He made that announcement when he had left Springfield but a day's journey behind, at Indianapolis, on his road to Washington, in the Spring of 1861. He told the citizens of Indiana, in a stump speech, "that there was a great excitement about this thing of State Rights; that he did not pretend to understand it, but he supposed it was the same thing, for his part, as county rights, which he did understand to be subject to the sovereignty of the State: and a State in the Union would be subject to the sovereignty of the Union. Indeed a county might be larger than a State and have the advantage of numbers. There seemed, to him, to be nothing in so called State Rights." That speech has been the key-note of all his official life: he has followed up his doctrines so as to make himself, in fact, conformable to his theory, the Imperator of the Commonwealth, instead of the constitutional President of the United States; and that commonwealth, instead of a decentralized confederation of States, a conglomerated consolidation of corporations, founded, like a State, upon the social compact. He considers the sectional war of sovereign States, in which he is engaged, a rebellion of counties only,—which, if it were so, would be a revolutionary civil war,—and he has demanded, successfully, from Congress, all the money and men, and other means, he wants, in order to prevent what he supposes to be the destruction of the Constitution, the Union, and the American people.

What sums he has wasted—what lives has he not destroyed? The value of two such States as Ohio and Indiana—one-fourth of the whole North, sunk and sinking, and as many vigorous youth called to the field, as they both contain, of the military age, and already one half of these are dead and buried, or disabled for life; and almost every household is bewailing its poverty and its losses, and the young women of marriageable age nearly all deprived of their rights to husbands and families!

What a sweep of the besom of destruction, such as never overcome, before, any portion of the Western Hemisphere. And all owing to an original mistake of Lincoln in reference to the nature of his office and of our institutions, which is now to be demonstrated.

Never, did such consequences turn upon any question, as upon this, Whether the United States of America are held together by virtue of a compact between sovereign and independent States; or whether the Federal Constitution, like the Constitution of a single State, is founded upon the social compact, and, therefore, upon the personal, unanimous consent of what are falsely called the American people? If the system under which we live be founded in its associate part as it is in its dissociate parts, upon the principle of the social compact, then we concede that Lincoln was justified in retorting force by force, and in the steps he has taken to retrieve the power of the Federal government. But if, as we expect to clearly show, our Federal system is a system of governments, united by a constitutional compact resting on the consent of the States, respectively, and not upon any unknown political constituency called the whole American people, then his steps, from first to last, have been a violation of the Constitution, and an infraction of the undoubted right of each and every State to self-government.

This theory of the Federal system appears from its history. The legal proposition on which the right of the Colonies to resist the British Parliament rested, was that each of the thirteen Colonial Legislatures was co-ordinate to the other, and to the Imperial Legislature, and, therefore, that, although the executive was single, the legislative departments of the Empire were fourteen different bodies of representatives, each equivalent and independent, and neither superior nor subordinate, to the others. The matter of fact on which arose the duty of resistance, was that the Imperial Legislature, wanting money for the British people, taxed the Americans for a share. At first, there was some plea of convenience and equity to justify the demand; but soon it became a speculation, and public justice being violated by the mother country, the Colonies claimed that they alone could tax themselves upon the true principles of the British Constitution; and that self-taxation was the true and only governmental criterion of self-government. The strife arose and increased, and became a most memorable contest of discussion and remonstrance for ten years, preceding the outbreak at Lexington, when both sides appealed to arms. There never was a better intellectual preparation than ours for the Revolution. The origin and object of society, the nature and limits of government were most deeply and anxiously examined, and the British theory was refuted by the sharpest and boldest minds of that or any period; and subsequent events turned upon that first intellectual victory, preceding the clash of arms. Before any battle, the British Government had been beaten in the argument. These previous

public discussions secured and consecrated the secession of 1776. The Parliament desperately claimed the right, at last, to bind the Colonies in all cases whatever; and the investigation of the claim led to the discovery that she had no right to do so in any case. The King said he never would consent to separation, but consented. Independence followed a seven years' war, which followed a more important ten years discussion, to be followed, in turn, by the most perfect system of government the world ever has produced. We do not intend to describe the stages of the struggle, either moral or military, but we confine ourselves to the question, whether it is possible that the new States could have entertained any idea of rejecting the theory of State Rights for which they went to war with the mother country, and, immediately after their double victory, would have adopted her notion of consolidation, founded upon the social compact? We all know the truth to have been according to a common sense view of that question. The system of confederation for carrying on the war, and the Constitution by which, after nine years, and in 1787, it was superseded, were, at all events, entirely clear of the least likeness to a *social-compact* form of government. The so-called social compact is an unanimous agreement by all the people of a State to set up a society, bound together politically by its Constitution providing for the form of government. The theory requires unanimity; but in practice a very large majority might properly make such a compact binding on the whole, and by the same rule revoke the social compact, and dispense with the established form of government for some other. All the thirty-four States, which lately composed the Union, were organized in this manner; which is familiar knowledge to the country; but the Union itself, as all know as familiarly, was the fruit of an express Federal compact, to which the separate States became conjointly the constituents.

Our doctrine is equally established by the analysis of the Federal system. Whatever question may be raised with respect to the extent of its powers, there is none, whatever, about their origin; but there is as little about their nature; they come from the separate ratification and consent of each State to the Constitution, which says that it is binding not over the fictitious constituency, called the American people, but "between the States." It can be amended by the States, but not by the people as a whole, or by any fraction of the people of the United States. The machinery of the States for every purpose not necessary to foreign and interstate offices is reserved to them; and their State bounds and State Rights are likewise expressly guarded—its declared object being to form

"a more perfect union" than existed under the old Confederation. "Union" of States, not of the people, as also conclusively appears from our escutcheon with its motto, *E pluribus unum*—one out of many—and our emblem flag of all the States, represented upon one field by thirteen stripes and thirty-four stars—a star for each—a constellation for all.

Such a system, of course, has been perverted by the ambition and cupidity of some of the parties, and by the incessant efforts of powerfully organized tax consumers, whose object has been the plunder of the Federal Treasury. These schemes have had various fortunes, but, on the whole, have always increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. But, by such means, the Union began to be moved from its just foundation, in times of profound peace; and, before the last Lincoln war period, it leaned on its base towards the perverted *social-compact* doctrine. It was so much easier to get bounties and appropriations on pleas of "the general welfare," for the simulated benefit of "the whole people," that Lincoln found it ready to change its base altogether for his purpose. Not that he understands his own proceedings, or can distinguish between the social compact, and any other, or even opposite system of government. He is quite as unable to comprehend constitutional law, as he is to resist the logic of events, which has propelled him against the wind and tide of his promises and his prejudices on negro slavery, since he has been in office: a career which, if laid down by lines upon the map of the last two years, would resemble any of Cook's voyages, which were prosecuted with as little purpose, and ended, at last, as Lincoln's will end, deviously, but disastrously. His advisers have been as incapable of vindicating themselves as the President. They have counselled him to resort to the pretext of public necessity; and to the extension and actual employment by some galvanic process, of what they suppose his rightful functions of commander-in-chief; and, finally, to that extraordinary abstraction, the so-called "war power." The first of these, is the plea of tyrants; the second, to the patriot's eye, looks like a horse and lance, and rueful countenance Quixotic caricature, about as good as the original knight of La Mancha, and the last is the despotism of the dark ages and old countries. They are all disreputable and dangerous departures from duty, but the acts of the last Congress have obliterated both State boundaries and institutions, and State and popular rights, and made the arbitrary will of Lincoln the supreme law. For a long time, it was doubtful whether the sinews of the war could be supplied; whether the soldiers could get their pay and subsistence from the Treasury. The arrears were heavy, the prospect of payment remote; but the Secretary seems to have

overcome that obstacle, and to have established a new California under his official roof, from which as many millions are to issue in a year, as the *placers* yield in a decade. Congress, in expansion of previous prodigality at the last session, entertained his wish to make sixteen hundred millions of Federal notes and bonds, and a large portion of that unexampled profusion was granted, but with such intentional complication, that he can not, nor can any other, tell how much wealth is placed at his disposition. It is only possible to compare him and his treasures to that great picture, by Milton, in "Paradise Lost!"* with the people of the United States, instead of Pandemonium, for a back ground. This hard money prince of bankers had treated his lieges after the satanic fashion, and it was not without a deadly controversy that they succumbed to his bad treatment. Having speciously borrowed all their money, and strained their credit early in his perplexity, he totally forfeited his implied and express engagements; turned short upon his benefactors, and proposed their total extermination by the lingering death of taxation. They resisted their fate for two months, last winter, but finally, by what reason or coercion we know not, gave in, and are now co-operating with the United States' Treasury, to force loans, after a fruitless appeal for popular subscriptions, from the universal poor and destitute. It was a spectacle only for the imagination of the blind poet himself: that two months' scene, during which the banks barred the way of the Secretary, and a privileged order formed the bulwark of Democracy. It is gone, at last: but what will not a thousand millions in such hands sweep away.

Lincoln and his advisers will ultimately find out that their proper refuge is not in necessity, nor constitutional chieftainship, nor in the war power, but in the doctrine of a *social compact federal system*. His leader in the House of Representatives, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, Thaddeus Stevens, is too bad and bold a man to give out the proper doctrine of any government. He is worse, if possible, than the three Secretaries, of State, War and Treasury compounded. He laughs to scorn the Constitution. He says, nine-tenths of the acts of Congress are contrary to it, and that it is not only overthrown, but that he will not consent to have it, nor the old Union ever restored. He is the frantic leader of the desperate, who have pushed past even the second stage of usurpation, the doc-

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* Upon a throne of royal state,
That far outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East pours on its princes
Barbaric pearls, and gold, Satan exalted, sat,
By merit raised to that bad eminence.

trine of the *social compact*, to the third of military despotism, with its martial law, provost-guards and provost-marshals, departments of great extent for major-generals, and courts of summary jurisdiction and countless spies and executioners. He is hanging over the abyss of the fourth stage of our institutions, which he seems determined to reach: that of revolution. But Lincoln may be compelled by his circumstances, which now have him subject to control, to accompany Stevens in his doctrinal crusade, as he has first repudiated, and then followed Fremont on slavery. We give such specimens of the acts and actors of the Federal drama, to illustrate our condition, rather than minutely to furnish its perfect description. We are no committee on the conduct of the war, and make no comments upon it. We might refer to the heated and mistaken sentiments sent to the newspapers from the tedious encampments of our armies, but we can only hope, the soldiers are not willing yet to destroy wilfully our Government, although they would, if not enlightened, probably be bad enough to destroy a few obnoxious men. But the great army of officers, who are nearly all unfortunate, give a most vivid illustration of human nature. If there are fifty thousand of them, who cost their country an average of two hundred dollars a month, say, ten millions for all per month, and one hundred and twenty millions a year, then we can perceive an astounding reason for their love of war. If their opinions are to prevail, and there are only half of fifty thousand officers, and the half of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars a year paid by our people for shoulder straps: as they never did, could, or would earn a tithe of the money at ordinary pursuits in peaceful times, their temptation is clearly on the fighting side.

Although our burden of proof is entirely independent of any criticism on the President's policy, and the acts of Congress, we must here refer to their great features, as illustrating the argument we are now about to push to its second stage. We wish the sting of ignorance, which we charge upon the Republicans, already sharp enough to fulfill the formula of Socrates, to be made sharper by reference to their misdeeds. The Greek sage thought that the only preparation for knowledge, and, therefore, for reformation, was in pushing his opponent, by arguments, to the wall, so that he had to admit he had committed the mistake of supposing he knew what he was talking about, when, in point of fact he was entirely ignorant of it. Thus it was, by his masterly cross-examination of pretenders, and their self-confutation, that the first logician the world ever beheld, in her infancy, and the *facile princeps* of all ages since, including ours, routed his adversaries and established

morals and truth in their dominion over mankind. After twenty-two hundred years his mighty name remains, and his high authority continues to be ever the same.

Lincoln has, then, upon an erroneous hypothesis of his own powers, and by the aid of Congress, after divers excuses, made a complete overthrow of all previous American ideas of government, as well as of the institutions which provide for such trustees of the people as himself; and he has literally set up a despotism—and being in a state of war—a military despotism. He began with asking Congress for seventy-five thousand soldiers, in order to suppress, in southern States, military organizations to resist the law, and too powerful for his civil officers, and he is now acting upon the Russian or Austrian declaration, that "as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of war, I suppose *I have a right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy.*" Pursuant to this end he has leveled American liberty and institutions under successive outrages.

1. Struck at the very foundations of property, by his proclamation of the 1st of January last, freeing the slaves in rebellious States, so as to facilitate the victory over their masters. Is not such a pernicious example but the ready precedent for those who will repudiate the accruing war-debt, which may roll up to the amount of the slave-property, but can never be half as profitable?

2. Struck at the foundations of personal liberty in the free States, by his proclamation of the 24th of September last, denouncing disloyalty, and establishing, all over their territory, an official machinery by which States are cut up into police-districts, each with a district provost-marshal, backed by a military force, and controlled by the provost-marshal-general, at Washington. This district provost-marshal is required to suppress bad practices and obnoxious sentiments, and arrest improper citizens: he being the judge, jury and jailor, and no reserve made with respect to age, sex, or condition. Any citizen, at any hour, under any circumstances, may be torn away from his country and be transported to distant dungeons, without examination, or trial, or specific charge, or legal warrant. Hundreds, within a year, have experienced such a fate—women as well as men—and thousands are expecting it.

3. Struck at the courts of justice, by destroying their sacred right to interpose the shield of the law between official vengeance and its victim, and at the same time has secured indemnity from Congress for such injustice, which closes all avenues of future redress. The courts are no longer temples of refuge to innocence; they have been superseded both by the semi-martial-law and the provost-marshal machinery.

4. Struck at the foundations of public and private credit, by making creditors release their debtors for Federal notes; and by constructing an enormous debt of complicated character, and associated darkly with a mysterious banking-system which is intended to take away from the poor what little property they might have saved from the wreck of the Union. It was not enough their sons and daughters were sacrificed to the Moloch of war, their savings must be borrowed and wasted by the government without their consent.

5. Struck at the integrity of the States, by dividing Virginia in two without any pretense of the only consent which can authorize it: the free will and consent of that State, taken first as an entirety; and, secondly, the sense of the so-called new State.

6. Struck at the whole theory of the Federal system, by the Conscription Act, before which he had unconstitutionally thrust soldiers of the Federal army into the territory of all the States of the North, without the constitutional consent of their governments, and by which he claims to put aside the Constitution and do anything he likes "to subdue the enemy." The States, each of them, has a right to its own militia for self-defense, the men and officers, until they have been mustered into Federal service; and no other earthly power can constitutionally draft them, and call them "national forces," without crushing the whole confederation of States, by that blow, into a consolidated democracy. It is the end of the Constitution and of the Union under the Constitution.

7. Struck at all the fundamental conditions of American liberty, in dispersing peaceable assemblies by the bayonet, in ordering candidates for political offices not to canvass, under pain of displeasure, and of not being allowed, if elected, to serve; in suppressing newspapers, and fettering the use of speech, thought and publication, and in partially disarming the people.

8. Struck at the distinction of races, by recognizing the equality of the blacks, and by authorizing their enlistment in the North, and their mixing with white troops. Has disarmed the people of the great and fallen city of New Orleans, who were charged with want of affection for the Federal Government, and in various ways stimulated the slaves, who have the range of the houses, as well as the freedom of the city, in the daytime, and are locked up in their masters' dwellings, with the whole family of women and children, at night, to arson and murder; by exhibiting other slaves in military array, under the stars and stripes, officered by blacks and whites.

9. Struck at the humane provisions of the Constitution respecting treason, by sweeping confiscations of the property of

the suspected, which are properly forbidden for any longer period than the life of a traitor; and by announcing new and illegal definitions of the highest of State crimes. We can not avoid reference, only, to the horrid threat of exterminating the whites of the South, and giving up their plantations to slaves, for which we hope the foul fiend himself, and nobody in human form, will choose coolly to make himself responsible.

10. Struck, not only at State and personal rights, but at State lines themselves, which, by his system, no longer exist, except as boundaries for provost-marshal districts, and for municipal corporations, subordinate to the Federal Government, as counties are to States.

11. Struck at the dignity of human nature and the only true organization of society, by silencing the natural leaders of the people, who are opposed to his usurpation, and whose high mission in peaceful times it is, by open, free, calm and wise discussion, to advance the standard of intelligence and virtue to every part of the land, and in times of danger to appease the passions, warm the hearts, inform the understandings, and guide the steps of those who look to them for counsel and example. That divinely constituted state of society has been overthrown by the acts of the Administration, and the social pyramid is inverted upon its apex. In place of the civil strength and order which reigned before, we have chaos and paralysis. The misguided attempt to supply the places made vacant in our organization, by the expense, waste, corruption, confusion and horrors of war, and the violent ingress among peaceful citizens and pursuits, of the hordes of military leaders and followers, the habits and the abuses of military camps, can only terminate in the destruction or change of our institutions, unless now at once arrested.

And yet, frightful as this array of charges is against Lincoln and his Administration, we do not hesitate to say that it accords to the theory of the Federal system, which, although utterly false, can be suggested for him, and has been thus far acted upon, not only by Republicans, but by some Democrats—we mean, that all these doings can be vindicated by holding that the Federal system is founded upon *a social compact* of the whole American people. In that most erroneous—most untenable—most fatal assumption, the genius of Lincolnism will, some day, place himself to defend his party, and destroy his country. It is a most serious and responsible duty to bring this theory to the test, as we have already done, by comparing it with the established facts of history and philosophy; and we will now further do so in the simplest and most familiar form of analysis and demonstration. We will take our own

example; we will propose the case of the State of Ohio, by way of comparison: and suppose that Lincoln was the Governor, instead of Tod; and that the Congress was an Ohio Legislature at Columbus, instead of Washington. Let us, also, confound the eighty-eight counties, as Lincoln does, with the thirty-four States; and then create the same strife, beginning at one county, say Hamilton, and running up to a score, say the whole tier of counties on the Ohio river.

At the start, we have the case of eighty-seven counties endeavoring to coerce one recusant county, in order to defeat her purpose of separating from the others, and joining herself to Kentucky; and, as the contagion spreads, the case of sixty-eight against twenty counties. Now, according to our public law, the whole people of Ohio are one homogeneous people, comprising the State of Ohio, and all of them are citizens of Ohio, and of no other State, any more than the people of any other State are people of Ohio, and not their own people. The people of Ohio, before she became a member of the Union, formed a social and political organization, bound up indissolubly together by what the law calls *the social compact*, resting upon the unanimous consent of every soul on her soil into a State. Ohio was the same integral thing after her admission, as before; she was a State; and there can be no State without sovereignty, which is the test of peoplehood or public manhood—a term correlative to majority or the private manhood of individuals.

Startling as the declaration may be, it follows, logically and irresistibly, from these premises, that Governor Lincoln would have the right, if the case were as supposed, to call upon the Legislature to assist him in coercing Hamilton county and the border counties into their old relation to the State. He would have the right to make war, on behalf of the counties loyal to the State, against the disloyal counties, and to crush any domestic opposition to his progress, almost, if not quite, to the point of exhaustion of the State resources, and completely setting aside the Constitution. It would be a war of self-defense, against an attempt to destroy the peoplehood, the one, firm, united, and inseparable entirety of the State of Ohio, or, at least, to tear away a vital portion of it. And it would be analogous to the case of defense of life or limb, in an individual, where self-preservation became the supreme law, and aggressors are to be repelled by every means, and at all hazards. It is suicide to permit it, and can only, at worst, be homicide to prevent it, and justifiable homicide instead of unjustifiable suicide. The Legislature would pass any laws that might be required, the citizens would volunteer, or could be compelled, if necessary, to fight

it out. And the people, *en masse*, could change the Constitution or suspend it, and go, intentionally, into a state of actual revolution, to prevent the secession of its territory and the death of its sovereignty. There is no doubt about their consent to such extremes in such a case; and as little that it would be asked as well as given. And why not, when, according to our American doctrine, *every people* have the right, at any time, to alter, abridge, or do as they please with their Constitution and government and set up any other. This is sovereignty, or the final constitution-making power, above the laws and superior to any other power by which the totality of the people, but not a majority nor any other fraction, can create or destroy their institutions. It is inalienable, and, like a circle or a square, it is indivisible and has no equivalent: on earth it has no superior. The whole people of Ohio, for example, may make a dictator to-morrow, and pledge him the support of the last dollar and of the last man; and we hold that a very large majority, in practice, may do it: eighty-seven counties against one, certainly, in order to protect the State against county-disintegration. What would be the use of hesitation or of complaint?

Governor Lincoln, of Ohio, whose institution of domestic government rests upon the ground of the social compact of all the people of Ohio, might, in such an extremity as is suggested, do almost anything to arrest the evil, and use means far more sanguinary than any to which he has resorted. Such would be his legal right, and such his revolutionary duty; but we do not assert, that even in the case of county-secession, there might not have been so much apprehension of the recusant as morally to justify the attempt to throw off the allegiance of her citizens to the State.

Thus is presented to you, fellow-citizens, the great fact that the present sectional war of States is no question of county-rebellion, nor of mere abuse of delegated power, it is a question of political systems, which is not to be ignored by us, nor to be solved otherwise than by science and logic, if solved to the credit of the parties. Until we can show that the Union rests on the social compact, or can show that there is no difference between a social compact and a confederation of States, then the North has lost, as England lost, the intellectual victory, which is always conclusive of the result.

And this is the point to speak of the superficial view taken, of the great struggle, by the empirics of the North.

They are roused, principally, as it would appear, by their own calamities: by arbitrary arrests; by the suspension of *habeas corpus;* by interference with their right to speak and print, and the privations and dangers of imprisonment. On the heart

of the issue they have a rabble of notions as vague as those are, generally, which are entertained by every body about the rights of other people. Various and discordant, and by no means persistent, are their opinions of the line of duty for themselves. They are for the Union as it was, and the Constitution as it is; for the more or less vigorous prosecution of the war, and then not for any kind of prosecution; indeed for the vigorous prosecution of a peace; and they are, lately, for joining a Southern Confederation and leaving out New-England, and they call mass-meetings to hear stories of personal trouble brought on them by Lincoln, because they have meddled with the way that he has done his business, which meddling they take occasion to deny, or to conceal, or to justify by the Constitution. They regard their own personal griefs as irregularities of the government, not being set down in conformity to its functions as prescribed by law. They complain that forms are not respected, just as the almanac-farmer does who loses his crop by a fall of rain or hail, or snow or frost, out of season, when he blames the weather. They have never yet got so far into the subject as to dream that the Federal system has been destroyed by the vengeful hostilities which have wrenched it asunder in the present war. Those who do stop a little to consider whether the Federal government has a right to coerce a State or not, and "whose failings lean to virtue's side," do so unscientifically and upon authority alone. They resemble the rude Indian astronomer, who had no idea of the globe's suspension upon a principle in space, but thought that it was either round or flat, and was sure, at all events, that it stood upon the broad back of an elephant, which stood, in turn, upon the broader back of a Gallipagos turtle, which, however, unlike all his descendants, had the faculty of standing upon nothing. After all, those Northern statesmen who have addressed themselves to the solution of the crisis seem to have been stopped at the threshold, and, as we have suggested, with the stimulus of ambition and the love of spoils compelling them to utterance, have, thus far, been only able to join themselves to Lincoln, body and soul, in doctrine, as the oriental joins himself to his idol. After much incantation and astrology, they proclaim that none but democrats should be elected to office, for that they can do Lincoln's business better than he is doing it himself. The people might have expected such shallowness of mind, such poverty of thought and such hardness of heart from the caucus politicians who have so long cultivated dullnes and silence, and made themselves ridiculous by confinement to their own stupid society, during all the year, except that barren season when they are to be seen and heard, making night hideous and owls

respectable, at every election-precinct, from Dan to Beersheba. The intellectual famine at the North is far more intolerable than the want of bread and meat at the South; and if we continue to rely on the pot-house and cross-roads, for supplies of democratic doctrine, it will be all over with us, and we shall not achieve nor enjoy the conquest we propose.

A most profound and unexampled disturbance has taken place in our Federal system; it has gone the length of a disruption of the one-third of the whole, and the utmost danger to the remainder of the States. And as circumspection and reflection, at such a time, should be the great pursuits of all the thinkers of the land, let us not empirically dismiss such a sad and overwhelming catastrophe, without looking into its highest heights and its deepest depths; looking about us, before and after, and well weighing all the consequences near and remote. Above all, let us ascend to the cause of it, and ascertain by what laws the system has been shaken, and by what resources its wounds can be healed; and if it must be permanently divided, as it is now threatened, into two confederations, let us make the best of it, preserving thereby our lives, fortunes and honor, and what is of, at least, equal worth. the principles of such a system among ourselves, whatever may be its ultimate fate in the South. And let the masses of the people cease to pay any attention whatever to the noise makers and non-experts, whose opinion would not be taken upon the interpretation of a deed for an inch of ground, or a contract for a day's wages. At least, we hope to be spared the repetition of their jargon so hurtful to good counsel, and, probably, the producing cause of the evils of our times. Let us all resort to the wisdom, patience and science of those who make no noise, and, by a constant habit of discussion and comparison, are likely to be equal to an emergency. Take their advice, and if it sink into your minds, then it will soon enter into the enactment of the laws, and, before and after that period, will control the Government, and bring both blessings and benefits by the hundred fold.

If the solar system, which is fortunately not in man's hand, but in God's, and which is, therefore, organized in perfect contrast to our Federal system, were disturbed to like extent, by some portentious intrusion of force and discord, to the ruin of half its spheres, relying implicitly upon Providence, we should nevertheless take the opinions of learned astronomers, not known at all to our leading men, our men of high honor, our ward and township politicians. And we should be sure to spurn other advice, especially the speculations of "the member from Hamilton," etc., on the stupendous occasion. His appearance, as a teacher upon such a scene, would be resented by the pub-

lic of all classes, even on the lowest forms of the common schools. And why should he intrude, or be tolerated upon any account during such solemn moments as have, at last, astounded and demented the people of the States of the North and West, not less than those of the South?

It is not, we confess, upon any other party, in politics, than the old State Rights' Party, which is immortalized by the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, and the Report upon Federal relations, in 1798, that we can rely for the safety of the Constitution, which is all there is to save, the Union being gone to fragments. We can not, certainly, stake heart or hope in such an issue upon the Republicans who rose out of an ephemeral convulsion of the country, an avowedly unconstitutional party, which denied the equality of the States. We can have as little reliance upon the American Party, which has always been, also, an unconstitutional party, denying the equality of citizens, and which is now, after bitter opposition, and even aversion, uniting with its violence to the Constitution, the twin violence of that instrument by the Republicans. To neither of these, who are not only false in doctrine, but positively phrenzied in action, can we commit, for any considerable period, the fortunes of the great Republic:—and least of all, hope for any noble settlement of our affairs. Some organization being necessary with its strength of numbers, intelligence, patriotism and renown, to meet the tremendous weight of responsibility, we are compelled to turn our eyes upon that party whose priesthood presided when all the favors of Providence to the colonies were crowned by the gift of the Constitution, wiser as its authors believed, than those who framed it, and the creature not so much of the men who deliberated, as of the circumstances so ordered by higher powers that their feet could not go astray.

Lincoln has at his back all the organisations, except that of the States' Rights' Party. Both the Americans and Republicans support his administration. He is in office, and possesses the control over his cabinet and the rest of the Executive, over both branches of Congress, over the Judiciary. He commands the army and navy, and the treasury. Capital and credit seem to have resolved to make with him common and inseparable cause. The big cities of the North, and their banks, and merchants, and professional men; the pulpits and the free schools; the teachers; the vast majority of the press: these are all holding up his hands, and their own, for a more and more vigorous prosecution of the war of sections. Nor is that all. Lincoln has his doctrine too, although that being a thing not obvious to the senses, he does not yet comprehend it; but it is the only foundation for his acts, and, therefore, must, at length,

get the credit it deserves of having, for two years, furnished that uniform rule by which they are squared. He will avow, some day, that he thinks he is justified in all he has done, by the social-compact doctrine, giving him authority to go forward in the name, and for the best interest of the whole American people. In spite of the history and theory of the system he administers, in spite of the language he is compelled to use when speaking of our institutions, Union, Federal, United, all implying a combination of sovereignties, a confederation of States, he will insist that our Union is but the aggregate of the whole American people.

There is nothing, therefore, which can protect the system, and enable us to dislodge its enemies, and afterwards bring it back to the spot of its origin, and the orbit to which it belongs, except the announcement of the doctrine, and an explanation of the theory of State Rights. We know that any abstruse thing is distasteful to the North, where there are so many extemporaneous talkers and people of insight. It will be called theoretical, and, possibly, metaphysical, to banish shams and errors, and restore the controversy to its principles; to which we reply that it is both, and if intended as a reproach, we explain that we have a great regard for theory, because it is what men think; and that as to metaphysics, it is not mere scholastic refinement, but it is the process of analysis and generalization, and synthesis, by which the relations and the laws of facts are established. And we have to say, that by these two qualities of thinking, and logical thinking, is man distinguished even more than by the human form, from the lower animals.

The South has from the very beginning, and before the present century, upon occasion of the Alien and Sedition laws, by the pen of the civil chiefs of the Revolution, Jefferson and Madison, set forth, in fit and express terms, her views of State Rights, and of the limited powers of the Federal Government. Her exposition has never since been answered, but was at once accepted, not less by the people than by the leaders. Adams fell—Jefferson rose; and the doctrines of Jefferson and his school have been the rule of constitutional interpretation. They are cut into the tables of the law, alongside of the text itself. And the short expression of them is as follows:

"*That the peoples of the several States of the United States are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate and sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the Union, of which the compact is the bond, is a union between the States ratifying the same;*

(*and Contra,*) *that the assertion, that the people of the United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principle of the social compact, is not only untrue, but contrary to the most certain historical facts, and to the clearest deductions of reason and justice.*"

We must follow the South in her creed thus expressed, or we must wander away after strange teachers, and be lost in the labyrinth of glosses and mystifications. The South will adhere to her ark of safety to the last; and she has manifested by the vigor of her arms how important it is to fight upon a clear and definite knowledge of her rights. With respect to the acts of secession, they are based upon three formidable grounds, which get great support from the first example of the secession of the Colonies from England in 1776.

1. That there was a special reservation of the right to secede recited by the States of New York, Virginia and Rhode Island in their respective ratifications or accessions to the Constitution. By public law, all these reservations inure to the other States.

2. That by the law of co-partnership among individuals, from which the Federal compact can not, in principle, be distinguished, any member of the firm may withdaw at his pleasure, which withdrawal dissolves the co-partnership, and makes all the joint property thereafter common property. There can be neither damages nor coercion, because the retiring partner has only exercised a right belonging to every one, where there is no limitation of time in the agreement.—3 Kent, 53.

3. That the American Revolution was not only a secession, but that secession was the great, new, radical, political right which that Revolution originated. The controversy was begun for the rights of Englishmen, viz., representation and self-taxation, trial by jury of the vicinage, *habeas corpus*, free speech, free press, free worship, written forms of criminal procedure, etc., etc.; but it ended in establishing colonial independence. The whole struggle was analogous to the present one, being for the undoubted right of self-government, and carried on between colonies, all slaveholding, with the parent State, which was non-slaveholding. The Declaration of Independence is the law of the situation in 1863, as it was of 1776–83, and its leading truth is, that governments can only stand on the consent of the governed; and that every people have the right to alter or abolish their form of government, and set up any other. They may, therefore, alter the Confederate, or any other part of the Federal system, or destroy it, so far as they are concerned, altogether. Any other doctrine contradicts the philosophy of the Revolution, and repudiates

the Declaration, and it reconstructs the overthrown assumption of England, that her will, and not that of the colonists, should be the law of the New World.

Whatever criticism may be made upon these points of justification, it will be agreed by all dispassionate patriots that they demand a reply; and the people of the Northern States, as well as the Southern, have a right to be told, at the bar of universal, civilized public opinion, what are the grounds upon which they are assailed and sought to be overthrown. Before that august and final tribunal, on the pending issue of American rights and duties, do the parties to the present war take their stand; they can not plead to the jurisdiction, nor expect to evade the deliberate, final judgment of their cause.

We are in favor of such a conclusion of the matter as stated in the beginning. We are for no supererogation, so far as North or South are concerned. They ought to separate, and will separate: the question is not whether they could agree to it theoretically in some assembly, or before an umpire. The separation is an accomplished fact. The only question is about the border States of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri, and both prudence and principle require that each of these should deliberately come to her decision, where she will go, in her own convention. We have always, since the year 1860, been opposed to any attempt, by Crittenden resolutions, or otherwise, to amend the Constitution. They were so perfectly futile, as to impeach the good sense of the people. Three-fourths of the States had to consent to tolerate slavery south of 36°, 30′ and abolish it north of it. They never could be had by any earthly possibility, and the age of miracles has followed the example of the age of chivalry. We are, for the same reason, and many others, opposed to any call for conventions of Western, or Southern, or Eastern States, or for a national convention. Futile and also preposterous. Nor are we to be answered that the South commenced the war. That is, at least, doubtful in spirit—for he who makes the blow we give him inevitable, is the responsible person. Nor do we care to know in this, any more than in cases of conjugal strife, who begun it. The point remains that the relation is compatible or not, and that decides the question of union or separation, and not any casualty. Like quarrelsome man and wife, both are always right, and neither in the wrong; and the Union is quite as much involved in bad feeling, as ever was any unhappy household. What we do perfectly know is, that, if we people of the North lived in the South, we should, in all human probability, take their view of the whole controversy with the same confidence we now feel upon our side. And nothing can be more

certain than that, if we were only capable, standing where we are, of reversing the case, we would come to the very opposite opinion. It is certainly most instructive to us, and conclusive of the merits of this controversy, that, if we did perform only our bounden duty, as logicians, of changing places with the South, in this discussion, and reversing, thereby, the parties only to the contest, without touching its merits, we should decide the question of right whatever we might say of expediency, precisely as the South has done.

Let us suppose, for the argument's sake, that Ohio, because she disliked slavery and slaveholders, or free trade, or both, determined to hold no more intercourse with slaveholders, or free traders, but would withdraw from any longer union with them, under a common government, and advise her Northern sisters to do likewise, which they would be apt to do; and suppose, the South, instead of good-natured assent, flew into a passion, and attempted coercion and subjugation, with invasion, by land and water, of Ohio and the North; "what arrogance and folly!" would not every one of us exclaim? and how entirely subversive of the terms and spirit of the Union of our fathers! If the South insisted on a fight, she would be accommodated, and, doubtless, expelled from our territory, although she might be as strong as we think ourselves, and we as weak as we say they are at the South. And that leads to a kindred suggestion, that, if we had been as much the weaker as we are, relatively, the stronger section, we would never have engaged in hostilities to restore the Union and the Constitution. And that to another, that we deceive ourselves about the comparison of strength, which has had so much to do with our self-deception about invincible Northern arms. The conditions of our battles and campaigns are unequal, and against us. We are compelled to go after the adversary, strangers in an unknown, hostile, and distant country; on such terms, the two sections are equally matched, much more so than any body has publicly admitted. A dwarf lifting with his shoulder can raise more than a giant at arm's length, which is the actual disadvantage on our side. And that leads us to a further observation, that we have no more idea of submitting to the South, than we have of subjugating her. If she dares to undertake what we are prosecuting against her, a war of invasion, then, upon her own doctrine, which is nothing more nor less than that of self-defense, we are for giving her the same reception. As to the navigation of the Mississippi, the interests of Louisiana and the South are quite as great, in its perfect freedom, as are ours. That State made it the condition of her entering the Confederation of Southern States, and they have continually offered it

to us, and if we do not get it, the refusal will be a wanton breach of compact, for which we will have something to fight about. And as to perpetual border wars, with which we are asked to torment ourselves; although our relations may not always be peaceful, we shall not have more strife on the Mississippi than we have had upon the St. Lawrence; and, indeed, after the dreadful lessons of our existing struggle, it will be quite as natural to anticipate a long period of harmony and mutual respect, as any renewal of hostilities. It is certain that the future will never catch us so ill prepared for resorting to the arbitration of force, nor, probably, so eager to demand it. The influence of the West, in favor of free trade and low tariffs, and hard money, which have become her fixed ideas, will have a most powerful tendency to promote good relations with our neighbors on the left bank of our inland seas, and we presume, it is neither blindness nor treason, to express the hope that we may, sometime, be divided only by the long water line of separation; nor even to predict that that line may become one of communication always, and, ultimately, of close connection as friendly nations, and, perhaps, of actual union in the old form of political association. Perchance, the removal of the capital, or the election of a great Western President with a genius commensurate with the demands of the continent, or some movement of the affairs of the world, or some special providence, may prepare the way for that desirable event. It must not be looked for this generation; it may come the next, if we discontinue the war.

It would seem not only desirable, but almost inevitable, that the day must come, when, under institutions identical or kindred to those we have, all the people of the valley through which the Father of Waters spreads his branches, like the mustard-tree of the Bible, which sheltered the birds of the air, will gather themselves together, into one political society, with "One from Many," *E pluribus Unum*, still the motto, and the flag of beauty and of glory, the emblem still of an ocean-bound Republican Confederation.

But the past only is ours, and the fleeting present is hastening away into the far future, over troubled and treacherous tides. We feel that peace is blessed at all times and places, if it be honorable; and that peace which terminates the strife of brethren is both blessed and honorable: on the contrary, that of all the horrors, war is the most horrible; and, that, of all wars, sectional wars are the most vindictive, sanguinary, and deplorable.

In the name of the youth of both sexes, who are so cruelly cut off and consumed by the sacrifices to Moloch; in the name

of the old of both sexes, who are so deeply tried, so heavily taxed by losses of goods, and terrible losses of sons and daughters; in the name of humanity and philanthropy; in the venerable name of our distressed country; in the name of general public opinion, which at last holds sway; in the name of religion, and of that great and good God, who is Lord of all—we implore our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen, of the several States of the West and North, to pray for peace and the timely separation of the belligerants, so that we may hear, again, the voice of reason and the counsels of the wise, and turn back the flames of universal conflagration from our homes, our hearths, and our altars.

EQUAL RIGHTS,

COMMON SENSE.