

millions of a free people. They fought for, and obtained the acknowledgment of their liberty, and the result of their acts have exceeded the wildest imagination of the most visionary; at that time there was about three millions of people, and their possessions were confined to a narrow strip on the Atlantic coast. In eighty-five years the population has increased to thirty-two millions, and its Territory extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. It was then almost a wilderness, inhabited by savages; but the forests fell before the scythe of civilization, cities rose like magic, roads were opened, schools established, railroads made and telegraphic wires extended, until there is given at the present to this vast empire one single pulse. We in this far off land now get news from Washington in six days, we soon expect it in fewer hours. Our representatives are in every nation, our vessels know no superiors, they visit every ocean, sea, strait, inlet, or port. Our flag is known and respected among the nations, our floating palaces, our inland steamers have no competitors, our trade, our commerce, our agriculture have increased with giant strides, our wealth, institutions and power have demanded the respect of nations and a short time ago we stood the wonder and admiration of the world. But, here we must pause, and let fall the veil, a change has come "Over the spirit of their dreams," the hearts of patriots are made sad, and sorrow and anguish take the place of joy and rejoicing, and we find ourselves involved in a fratricidal war. The most gloomy forebodings spread through the land, instead of joy and rejoicing, the telegraphic wires thrill every heart with tidings of States seceding, armies raising, States and cities arrayed against each other, and tell of the clang of arms and din of war; a sudden calamity has overtaken our nation, and Americans mourn, our nation has fallen from the highest pinnacle of union, power, fame and wealth to the lowest depth of anarchy malignant, blood-thirsty fratricidal war, and the pulse of the nation that on this day was wont with one universal burst of joy, now beats heavily with dreadful forebodings of the fearful "what's to come." While every heart throbs with the fear of the past and of the present circumstances with which we are surrounded, it is folly to make stereotyped speeches about Washington or American liberty; we will for the present let them go and inquire into the causes of the decay and present position of the United States.

Nations do not rise and fall in a day, without a reason or a cause. The origin for the unprecedented prosperity of the United States, will be found in a free and liberal constitution, in the respect and reverence that was paid to that Constitution, in the integrity of its citizens and legislators, in its trade and commerce, in its vast agricultural and mineral resources, in its mercantile and manufacturing ability, in its encouragement of the arts and sciences, in the industry and talent of its citizens, and in the rapid developments of all the unbounded resources of one of the richest and most productive soils that the world affords.

Liberty, equality, freedom and brotherhood were the foundation of the noble edifice, the superstructure was raised by unflinching integrity, united energy, and political and moral virtue and while the cap of liberty hung jauntily on our numinous liberty poles, it was our pride and boast to have for our motto, "E pluribus Unum," and while our hearts swelled with hallowed emotions at the thought of being citizens of, and inheriting "the land of the free and the home of the brave" with the most generous and ingenuous philanthropy we offered an "asylum for the oppressed" or all nations. Millions of the down-trodden sons of Europe flocked to our shores and participated freely with us in the great and rich blessings of civil and religious liberty. We not only gave them liberty, but lands and homes, and they with us were free, united and happy. We had a good Constitution, wholesome laws, a rich country, a patriotic people and a united government; we were one. This was then not in name, but in reality, and emphatically, "the United States of America."

Now, I come to a subject that is painful. Shall I falter and with a feeble adulation pander to the weak, foolish and baser passions of many, or fearlessly tear aside the veil, probe the quivering carcass, find out the cause of disease, and sound the loathsome ulcer to its very depth? For as surely as ever there is a cause for a disease and decay in the human system, so sure is there a cause for a decay in the body politic. We may in vain sing paeans to liberty, and crack our throats in proclaiming the deeds of our fathers, and the glory of our nation; if the seeds of death are there, it will be all in vain, like a man afflicted with a consumption, it may sometimes assume the hectic flush of health, the disease however, is not removed, but still preys at the very vitals.

The Babylonish, the Medo-Persian, the Grecian and the Roman powers have all had their rise, their decay, their fall; while others of the smaller nations have followed, or are following in their footsteps; and our own nation, young, free, buoyant, a little while ago promising long life, in all the vigor of youth and power of manhood, is suddenly prostrated, and can only answer to the inquiries of older, and apparently more feeble and enervated nations,—"I am as weak as you are."

What is the cause? The British Premier, Lord John Russell, lately said in answer to some interrogatories in the British House of Commons relative to the course to be pursued by them in the present American crisis, "That an observing mind might readily have foreseen such results, as those with which the American nation was afflicted, that it was impossible that the growing animosity between North and South could continue much longer without an eruption."

It would seem then that this able statesman had foreseen the threatened difficulty, he had noticed the growing animosity of North and South, and looked for a rupture, he further intimates that "slavery is the foundation of the trouble," and that it is an evil which they the British entailed upon us in the first settlements of this country."

This may be an approximate evil, one of the side issues; it is an evil of which both the South and the North complained, in early times, and was literally forced upon them contrary to their will. But slavery in and of itself would not necessarily have produced disunion, if the integrity of the nation had been preserved North and South. It never was, and is not now so

much slavery as a balance of power that has disturbed the two contending parties; but slavery has been the hobby on which abolitionism has rode. There are now millions of sober, reflecting men in the North, at the present time, who would as soon see slavery exist in the South, as not, and let them enjoy their own institutions. And there are multitudes of Southern men who, if let alone, would rather, where climate will permit, have a free than a slave population. Those men on both sides are driven by force of circumstances to take sides in this unnatural warfare urged on by wild fanatics and extremists of both sections.

But the evil is in their midst, and what can they do? They did not create the evil, they inherited it from their fathers, and they, as Lord John Russell says, from the British. Who can tell them what to do with them? Among all the abolition speeches that I have ever read, I have never seen any one propose a reasonable, just and honorable remedy. There are in round numbers four millions of slaves. These, at a moderate computation of five hundred dollars each, would amount to two thousand millions of dollars. Is it a reasonable request to ask the South to make this sacrifice, simply for an idea? and if the South were willing to make the sacrifice, would the North take them off their hands? No! What shall we do with them? Make them vagabonds; an incubus and a curse to society? In Indiana and several of the Northern States, they have made laws expressly prohibiting their residence in their States. What can they do? The South are called to give them up and the North won't receive them.

Slavery then is not alone the evil, as some suppose, but merely the gangrene produced by other causes. One of the leading reasons of the fall of this nation, will be found in a loss of national integrity, in the increase of crime and corruption, and a want of a proper administration of the laws. The Constitution is good, the laws generally are good, but for a great many years past they have been miserably administered. Not many years ago—for we must remember that this nation is not long lived—now numbering only its eighty-fifth year, it has grown up like Jonah's gourd; not long since there was integrity in the nation and under the administration of Washington, Monroe, Jefferson, Jackson and others, the country flourished, and the laws were sustained; our Constitution and institutions were maintained inviolate. As time advanced, corruption and mob violence began to prevail. A religious party in the far off West of Missouri, were some of them murdered, and the rest driven from their homes as outcasts. They plead for the rights; but in vain. They cited the Constitution, but it was of no use to them. The judges were appealed to in vain; the rights of American citizens were trampled under foot, and the Constitution and laws desecrated. The Governor, I believe, when appealed to, said: "I could raise a force and retort it on you in your lands, but I would have to keep a standing army to protect you." That religious people were the Mormons, many of whom are around me now. The Constitution was there no longer binding, the laws were violated with impunity, and American liberty, so far as that portion of the State was concerned, only a name. Joseph Smith then prophesied that mob law should go forth throughout the land. The cord once severed and one link of the chain broken, its cohesive power was gone, gone forever, unless a speedy restoration was made. Soon after a mob attacked and killed at Alton, Illinois, a Mr. Lovejoy, an abolitionist, for expressing abolition sentiments. But were not his sentiments sedition? No! The Constitution guarantees liberty of speech and of the press, and he ought to have enjoyed it, and when he was murdered and the murderers unpunished, another link in the national chain was broken. In New York, the Empire State, a Mr. Van Rensselaer and others, who held possessions for which they had obtained grants, both from the British and American Governments, were resisted in their lawful rights by a party familiarly known as the Barnburners, and thus mob law began to spread through the land. The public were soon afterwards shocked by what was then considered a flagrant outrage, and a national disgrace. I allude to the hanging of persons in the slave States, without judge or jury. They might be guilty, but the Constitution provides "that all men shall have the right of trial by jury." Thus again and again the Constitution was snapped and severed. Proceed we to the time when more than one score thousand American citizens were driven from the State of Missouri, women ravished, men killed and imprisoned, and a whole community robbed, plundered and exiled, and when an appeal was made to Martin Van Buren, the President of the United States, his reply was: "Your cause is just, but I can do nothing for you." You have been abused, maltreated, robbed, pillaged and exiled, but the laws and Constitution are too weak to protect you. Mob rule commenced by slow degrees at first, but it gained power until like a mighty avalanche, it swept through the land. Since then it has ruled rampant. Safety societies and vigilance committees have in some places had almost exclusive rule. I have sat down with two United States Senators, a Governor of a State, a General and other officers, and heard them deliberately plan the removal of a great and numerous people, not negroes, but American citizens, because the law would offer them no redress, no religious freedom, no political franchise, no right of speech, no right of vote, no right to worship God, no right to live, breathe or exist, in the "Land of the free, the home of the brave, and the asylum for the oppressed." Governor Ford, Stephen A. Douglas, and General John T. Hardin, all of whom are since dead, were there among the number. I have seen men murdered in cold blood without redress, their murderers going unpunished, and thousands driven from the State of Illinois, for no other crime than worshipping God according to the dictates of their own conscience. This was a religious party and of course in the estimation of the nation, of very little account. Turn we for a moment to another. The Lovejoy affair did not slumber; one evil generally succeeds another. A band of fanatics in the North, set to work kidnapping negroes and carrying them off to Canada, in violation of law and the Constitution. This at first was indeed small, and the good sense of both North and South were shocked with it. Retaliation frequently took place, and men engaged in this nefarious traffic, often paid the penalty with their life, also without law. Aggression followed aggression, and wrong tried upon the heels of wrong, until the Constitu-

tion and laws became a mere byword and laughing stock, mobs began to abound in the different States of the Union. Not only in the West and South, but in New York, Philadelphia and Boston, which have always boasted of their high state of civilization, and their adherence to Constitutional rule, and these very mobs soon assumed a political shape. In New York, in the Van Rensselaer affair, so powerful did they become, that they became the basis of a large political party. Nor were they behind on the slavery question; influential papers took up the abolition cause, and a regular system of stealing was commenced, known generally by the euphonious title of the "Underground Railroad." From the first inauguration of the stealing or kidnapping, until the present, there has been no round numbers, according to published statements, been about thirty thousand slaves runaway or assisted to leave. These would be worth about \$15,000,000. Perhaps all this may not be chargeable to the abolitionists, but a great share of it is. The South called for redress. At first she was heard, but soon the evil became more aggravated. There was a seeming quiescence among the Northern States, which did not exist in reality.

There has been for years a growing repugnance to slavery in the North, and especially to that obnoxious feature of the Constitution, which provides for the rendition of runaway slaves. The North had as much right to enjoy their feelings and prejudices, as men and American citizens, as the South had to theirs; but they had no right to break the Constitution. The Constitution itself provides a remedy and they ought either to have abode by the Constitution, or sought constitutionally to amend it. "The higher law" of which some men speak, when they are violating their compacts, is from beneath, and would make a murderer a hero, and a thief and robber a benefactor of mankind. What first commenced by Lovejoy and some of his complices now assumed a more gigantic shape, officers of the United States were resisted in performing their duties, and slaves by force were taken out of their hands; nay, further, several States passed, in violation of the Constitution, what were termed "personal liberty bills," and thus there was a combination of States resisting by their statutes the Constitution of the United States; and every Governor who signed those acts, and every legislator who voted for them had sworn not only to sustain the Constitution of their several States, but the Constitution of the United States. The South complained, and a party of fanatical extremists in the South, began openly to advocate secession, as another party of extremists did in the North. The Constitution virtually destroyed, outrages of every kind were perpetrated with impunity. Men shamefully "summed their states," and pandered to the basest passions of men for place and office, they offered their patriotism as a bait, and boasted of their superior qualities for office as unobtrusively as a bad woman does her charms; frauds of every kind began to be practiced at the polls; newspapers and men were bought and sold like beasts of burden. In New York, Philadelphia, and in many other places, pugilists controlled the polls, and to the runners brought whom they pleased and kept away whom they pleased, and so extensive did this bulwark become that "ballot stuffing" as it is termed, became almost the rule instead of the exception. The modest and retiring men of worth stepped aside and gave place to fiery sectionists and blatant demagogues; hence, in Congress the most disgraceful proceedings took place—violent language, personal abuse, criminality, criminality and death took the place of calm deliberation, intelligence, high mindedness, decorum and patriotism, until our Senate and House of Representatives became the arena of violence—the theatre for the display of all the baser passions of humanity. Corruption and a lack of integrity, commencing at the head, spread through all the branches of the body politic, places were bought and sold. The degrading motto that "to the victor belong the spoils" was almost universally established, and places, instead of being occupied by men of worth, was given to those who had kicked, spouted, drank and fought the most for the party in power; and for some months after a President's election, he is run after by shoals of office-seekers, and is literally deluged with men who are loud in their declarations of what they have done and suffered for party, and who like a pack of hungry dogs howl for a bone. Thus our custom houses, post-offices, gubernatorial chairs, judgeships, secretarieships, Indian agencies, Consuls, Ministers and all places of honor or emolument are filled generally with men who, to say the best, are mere partisans. Derogations have existed to an alarming extent, and the grossest and most palpable frauds have been perpetrated on the Government, and the Treasury is annually robbed of millions by the peculations of what ought to be honorable men. For years past at Washington, it has been almost impossible for a man to get his just dues without bribing the bureau that his account is coming from, and the very heads of department have been charged with the most flagrant acts of fraud; individuals vie with States, and States and Territories vie with the United States in acts of public plunder.

The Judiciary has also placed itself beneath contempt particularly in many of the new States and Territories, justice has been bought and sold, and our lawyers are frequently more concerned about who is judge than about the justness of their cause or the credibility of their witnesses. Stealing, bloodshed and murder has had its price, and to such an extent was this carried in California that the people were almost forced, as a fearful alternative in self defense, to institute their Vigilance Committee—execute their own laws and banish and put to death the offenders.

In our Territory we have had judges who have sat for months trying to implicate the innocent; failing in that, they unblushingly turned vagabonds, thieves and murderers loose on the community. It was the false swearing of two of our Federal judges that was the ostensible cause of the army coming against us, though not the real one. Gov. Cumming subsequently informed the Department at Washington officially of the falsity of those charges; but the Department was as well informed of it before the army started as they were after. The army came here for political effect; they were taken away for the same reason. That hoary-headed snuff, James Buchanan, helped to fill the climax of American wrongs, American corruption and violation of the Con-

stitution by making an unconstitutional, unprovoked war upon an innocent and non-offending portion of his subjects. Perhaps I have pursued this subject far enough, and think it has been proven that the cause for the failure of this nation will be found in a lack of national integrity—the increase of crime and corruption and in the mal-administration of the laws.

Notwithstanding the health and vigor of the young republic, which, in its giant strength, has long withstood the insidious power of the disease, it has at length succumbed. When individual, communities, States, judges, governors and presidents can with impunity trample underfoot the law—violate their most solemn obligations and treat with contempt that sacred compact, the Constitution of the United States; when honor, purity, virtue and integrity are gone, where are the cohesive qualities—the life-giving power—the vital energy like a tree attacked by a worm that has struck its roots deep in the earth and whose branches spread wide, it continues to grow and send forth its foliage, but the insidious enemy continues its work until the disease is apparent. In time its strength and glory fades, the foliage withers—the limbs dry up, and the barkless, diseased trunk finally falls beneath the power of the destroyer. Such is the present position of the United States.

This nation was not, as many others have been, founded by the sword. It was the reciprocal union of a number of States. These States fully weighed the conditions of the national compact, and deliberately signed the great magna charta of the nation's rights, "The Constitution of the United States." While the national compact was sustained in its integrity, the nation was strong; when the Constitution was violated, the bonds that united it were snapped asunder and the nation resolved itself into a wild chaotic mass. What is the result? Almost one-half of the States are divided against the other.

The fiercest passions of human nature have been aroused; the gauntlet is thrown down; the rubicon is passed; the clarion of war is sounded and fratricidal war is already inaugurated, and brothers are rushing against brothers in deadly strife, and on this very day—a day that has heretofore been a day of jubilee throughout the land—a day of banners and music—a day of fasting and rejoicing—a day of joy and gladness—a day when the hearts of millions of Americans have heretofore swelled with a noble, honorable patriotic pride, as they have reflected and heard of the deeds of their fathers, as they have contemplated their country with its institutions, wealth, power and resources; its respectability at home and influence abroad; yet, on this very day, while I speak and you hear, part of the senators and representatives of this nation are assembled, and for what? To expatiate upon the patriotic deeds of their fathers? To tell of their country's present greatness and future glory? To stimulate the young to deeds of virtue, philanthropy, true greatness and nobility? To discuss the arts of peace and the blessings of civilization, and promote the happiness of man? No! What then attracts the the attention of our statesmen? They meet to pass an act to legalize the inauguration of war. To make it lawful to kill by wholesale, to pass an act for supplies, to pour out the wealth and power of a nation; for what? To extend our agricultural, manufacturing and mercantile interests? To aid our commerce, protect our harbors, extend our railroads and telegraphs? To render more safe the navigation of our rivers, to open our roads, build our bridges, extend our franchises and protect our citizens? No! but to emulate deeds of daring and blood; to paralyze our commerce, ruin our merchants, burn our cities, destroy our trade, break up our nation, and inaugurate one of the most damnable, internecine, fratricidal wars with which a nation was ever cursed. It is not against a stranger that our nation fights; no enemy has invaded our borders; it is state against state, brother against brother, father against son, and officers, who have heretofore fought side by side in behalf of their country, now meet each other in deadly contest. Citizens of the same village, and city, and state, now burn with deadly anger against each other, and thirst for each others blood. Distrust, jealousy, deception and fraud take the place of confidence, kindness, brotherhood and philanthropy, and, like a deadly miasma, crush out of neighborhoods, villages, cities, states, and the nation, everything that is good, generous, kind, noble and elevating. While the grim hand of war mocks at the miseries of humanity now commenced, and already rejoices at the prospect of glutting himself with human blood, talk of a day of jubilee and rejoicing! Our flags do flutter and our standards are raised, but it is to gather the people to battle. Our drums beat and our men assemble, but the cry is "To arms! to arms!" Our cannon indeed roar, but it is to slay men, and while I speak and you hear from four to five hundred thousand brothers are gathering together preparatory to the deadly fray.

The above is no fiction, no overdrawn picture painted to please the fancy. The United States of America, that boasted justly of its greatness, its power, its commerce, trade and agriculture, its cities and states, its mineral and agricultural wealth, its civil and religious institutions, the last born, as it were, among nations, the glory and pride of the world—is fallen, and dismembered, severed, shattered and broken.

It may now be proper to inquire what part shall we take in the present difficulty?

We do not wish to dodge any of these questions. We have ever taken a manly, straightforward path, and always expect to do so. In regard to the present strife, it is a warfare among brothers. We have neither inaugurated it, nor assisted in its inauguration; both parties, as already shown, have violated their Constitutional obligations. No parties in the United States have suffered more frequently and grievously than we have the violation of our national compact. We have frequently been mobbed, pillaged and plundered, without redress. We have been hunted like the deer on the mountains, our men have been whipped, banished, imprisoned and put to death without a reason. We have been driven from city to city, from state to state, for no just cause of complaint. We have been banished from the pale of what is termed civilization, and forced to make a home in the desert wastes.

Not content with this, we have been pursued by the

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