BY D. W. CRAIG.

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For the Argue.

Malem. Upon a sweetly smiling plain there stands A glorious, growing work of human hands, Which overtooks the fair Willamette stream That calmiy flows 'as sweet thoughts in a di That canny hors as sweet thoughts in a Far as the eye aextended vision bounds. A chain of lody mountains it surrounds— While, presimating, fertile plains appear, And fern-clad hills their humble heads up it slumbers 'neath the ever-watchful eyes Of sentinels that tower to the skies, Who ever since creation's dawn have stood— The venerable Jefferson and Hood. There is no spot on all this far-off coast That can of half the native beauty boast Of this sweet vill, which, in a poet's strain, Well might be termed the 'loveliest of the plain. A score of years have scarcely passed away. Since where now school-beys daily romp and ph The savage red man in his wild career Has eager chased the weary, wounded deer. Has eager chased the weary, wounded deer. Perhance upon this very spot has stood Some maiden brown by Indian lover wooed, Who, list uning to his bittertales of wo, And how for her his fervent heart did glow. Has raised her eyes—as dark as any mine— And breathed in Chinock accounts, "I am this Perhaps where consultations great were held, And ares sons with beating hearts beheld, A church now stands with reverential sorre. A Beividere diffusing liquid fire— For full two hundred houses may be seen Bespangling o'er the variegated green, While human hearts more than a thousand beat Within them warm, and on every street Sweet-smiling faces may be found.
To cheef the wand ring stranger in his round. tet us see, while wand'ring up and down,

Who form the population of this town. The lady proud that rustles in brocade; The modest matron and the blushing maid'; The happy mother—with her little dear— Ar oft we see her promenading here; The gloaning widow, with her witching ways, That often sighs to think of by-gone days; The wan, wry, wrinkled, wretched-looking soul, That spures() man-kind, and will not brock con-trol;

The pale-tuced student and the studious miss, The pale-faced student and the students unsa, That pore at midnight in pursuit of bins; The busy merchant, as he wraps his fills; The sober druggist, ever boxing pills; The spry mechanic, as he plies his tools Alternately, his hammers, planes, and rules; The pallid barber, who reliev s your face With razor keen, touched with tousonal grace The joby landlord, with his ways urbane; The trazzled fool, with silver headed cane; The demagogue, politic, sly, and bland, That kens and greets each polition in the land. The proagegue, whose head can scarce contain The heaps(!) of learning scattered o'er his brain. The rustic swain, oft gawking through the town Wrapped in his robes of never-fad ng orown; iquor-dealer, who, with come ence cold. Builds tinest houses with ill-got on gold; The senseless fop, that tres to out a swell; The gamber, sweaking to his gambling hell; The loafer, whitting at the rum-shop door; The loanger, spitting o'er some matron's floor; The broggadocio, with his swagg ring air; The son of Bacchus—see him stagg ring there! The gossip, breathing with malignant fire, The vile dissembler, void of Christian grace, With soul politiced, and distorted face; The sty Celestial, with his sucred cue, lis pug nose and his oriental hue; The Ethiop an, whose infer or soul-If soil he has—lanatics still extol— Compuse of all humanity the most The lown of Salem properly may boast. These creatures all are such as may be found In ev'ry portion of this country round, And form a unit, as through life they plod, By ever serving mammon more than God; Except perhaps their neighbor's faults to see. The Jows, the Gent les here, as trade demands, Greet loud, how lew, and grasp each other shands And, though they plot against each other well, This trigling truth they are er each other tell. The lawyers, doctors, and divines, that meet Perandulating daily through the street, Form a marked contrast with the Indian brown That slowly staring strolls about the town. And as I ponder on the mighty change, And drack the eights within my v sion's range, I hear the blacks outh's heavy anvil ring, As two pound two' the pond'rous hummers swing And raptured list, and with emotion swell, Experience joy, am bound as with a spell. Churches, I think, the village boosts of four, Though members may be numbered by the score abbath after sabbath still rep.ir. To implore the great Omnipotent with prayer; learning, places two there may be found. Yet ignorance is still the curse around; Like Salem old, there too are rains here, A rained State-House crumbling year by year; court-house, and, beside, a county jail, Three saw-mills, and a mill for gristing too, Another place where folks wool-twisting do; A printing office, which, throughout the land reads truths eternal, startling, strange and grand Three fine hotels this charming village grace, While full as many drinking dens deface; Yet many strue area built for trade alone, As air commercial round the town have thrown; And as our flag waves from you splendid height. We new the glorious emblem with delight, And realize in every star we see
A torch-light to the grave of tyranny.
But let us turn more closely to survey The many sights that offer as we stray: In youder uninviting, dark abode. Where meiancholy seems to rest her load, pon those walls inconstancy has sprent blood polluted, and forever ren The happy circle, that was wont to meet neath the roof of that once blest retreat;

And, where a mother taught her child to pray, And offer praises in a child ke way, A wretched ghost is nightly to be seen To haunt that cursed spot with frightful mier Now let us wander up you stony vale. And see the site where stood the old log jail; Nought now remains, to tell the story of Nough now remains, to tell the story old Of craises unhappy passion uncontrolled, But massive doors, and 'traps' that all around In quant confusion lie upon the ground. The fatal scaffold, built the world to show The penance of a blood-stained child of wo, is prostrate there upon the self-same spot Where scores of females nature so forgot, As with their prattling infants to repair Io see the wretch suspended in the air. The oak stood by and sighed with ev'ry breeze but such a sight a sentient soul could please. And though long past, yet oft as mem'ries rush,
'A sull small yours' ories, 'Shame, where is thy
blush!'

Come, let us wander o'er you stately bridge, And see the Salem there beyond the ridge— Not Salem's suburbs beautifully fair, But Salem's sepuicher—and linger there. Both right and lett, where thriving fruit-trees

Both right and left, where thriving fruit-trees bloom. [gloom A twelve-month since was wrapped in the ket. The wild bird's warble and the rubbit's trend, with cautions step amid the foliage deas; The industry yelling, from the wigwams rude—By run and last nocturnally pursued—llare given place to peaceful notes serene. The levely and, the cultivated green; And bright-eyed obtideen bask now in the sun, where siyly oft the striped serpent run. Accend the slope, press onward through the lam Twill lead you where the body after pain May rest serene, may pause from every toil, May rest serene, may pause from every toil, And slowly mingle with its kindred soil. The plane inclining to the east with grace to catch the smiles of nature's morning face, Where rolling mountains—oft at son-rise blue, At nam-day hid, at eve of sombre hos—

With snow capped peaks, embosomed in the skie

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-A Weekly Newspaper, devoted to the Interests of the Laboring Classes, and advocating the side of Truth in every issue.

VOL. VI. OREGON CITY, OREGON, FEBRUARY 23, 1861.

In all their striking majesty arise. The stordy oak that stands with solemn pride. The tow ring fir, the yew tree close beside, The mountain laurel and the maple plain, Here undisturbed in peace and quiet reign Could nature's charms suffice the soul to please,

None could but happy be, and seen a like these A decent pale contines this hallowed spot, Where fri nd and foe al ke repose and rot. Here lie, with a their parrow cells en-hrined. The rich, the poor, the fool, the man of mind; And though they, living, var ous grades assume They reach one common level in the tomb. SALEM, Jan. 15, 1861

bluster to-day; it was: their work, give them no employment. Unsupported by the rich, they conthey get is laid out in brandy, not in books conducted; and newspapers; hence they know nothing, of the comparative blessings of our country Carolina madly fl.ngs herself against him in As the earnest, solemn words of the speaknor of the dangers which threaten it; there a furious effort to retrive her broken for fore they care nothing about it. The rich thes. She feels and knows she is in the are generally very rich; afraid to stir lest power of the United States Government .- with a fervency that perhaps they had nevcarry off their negroes."

THE EXPORT OF FLOUR AND GRAIN.-The large export of flour and grain which is going forward at the present time, seems to be out of all due proportion of California. From the most reliable statistics we have been able to procure the shipments of wheat and flour have been equivalent to the garrsoin, but Anderson foiled them.nearly two and a half millions bus, wheat. He carried out his project with consummate large quantity for a State like ours. It ability. He talked for a week of the absolooks to us us though we should want a lute necessity of sending the women and portion of what is now being sent abroad children to the village of Fort Johnson for or our own consumption before the six safety. There is an old dilapidated public months are ended, which will bring us to building there, in which he proposed to the next harvest. We should not be sur-prised to see flour selling at \$15 per bar. building there, in which he proposed to put them until the battle was over. He rel in three months, and would advise farm their baggage, and he added everything to ers who are able to hold their wheat to the cargo he could without exciting suskeep it on hand for higher prices three or picion. The Charlestonians did not wish have done their work among the servile ereign will and pleasure, shake off the bonds tour months hence, -S. F. Journal

Wise's Minute Men and other rash individ- ality doing, through the neglect of the Aduals, to prevent the inauguration of Lincoln, ministration. Under pretense of seading has roused Gen. Scott into a declaration him provisions, Maj. Anderson sent over a that he will be responsible for it with his large amount of his stores. Thus disemhead. The old veteran is at last recognized, and his advice appears to have been dren, had orders to sail from Fort Johnson taken in several instances of late, from to Fort Sumpter upon hearing two cannon spired."

THE DAHOMEY SACRIFICES. - Accounts life. The number already mardered at this one ceremony amounted to 1700, and many more awart a similar fate the King many more awart as similar fate the King many more awart as similar fate the many more await a similar fate, the King have run him down in a moment had they them. considering that sufficient honor is not done been aware of the movement. Maj. Anhas sacrificed 2500. He had detained ten steamboat if she molested his men; a thir-European traders at Abomay to witness ty-two pounder was loaded up for that purthese shocking ceremonies. The King has by paid spies, and members of the Vigil- atter it. threatened to attack Abbeokuts.

The National Intelligencer says that there are only four States which have into the boats, and the men pulled with a laws at all conflicting with the fugitive will. Half way, the hostile steambout apslave law, and that law being constitution- proached with a ship in tow. It was al, the State laws which conflict with it The steamboat passed within a hundred are nullities. Caleb Cushing was one of yards, but probably took the boats to con-Massachusetts, who reported to the Legis- ter.

idea of a pigmy Republic on the Pacific, of the command embarked and they reached that practical men of California and Ore. passed almost under the bow of the Nina, gon will want to throw away all the adand powerful Government.

MULTNOMAH AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY .-The Society held its annual election on the ved." 2d inst., and made the following choice of apan says: "Let us pray." officers: President, Thos. Frazer; Vice the President, Secretary, and Messrs. Duffur. Bybee and H. Failing .- Advertiser.

cups of white sugar; two-thirds of a cup of sweet milk; two cups of flour; small piece of butter; white of three eggs beaten to a froth; teaspoonful of cream tartar;ene-half tenspoonful of soda; sift the cream tartar with the flour and dissolve the soda in the milk.

Exports.-The steamer Panama left psalms afterwards.-San Andreas Indepenlast night for San Francisco with the following cargo: 2,200 sacks flour: 1,977 sacks wheat; 2,811 boxes apples; 40 boxes butter; 24 cases bacon; 7 rolls leather; 1 pkg. of fruit trees; I pkg. merchandise, and 126 hides - Advertiser of Thursday.

DEER GUV-or gon is probably lost.—
I have resolved to see seed with my Native state. The election of linkon has did the Our only trust now is in god and a gob. Southern onion.

A Datchman's heart-rending soliloquey is described thus: "She lofes Shon Mickle so much besser as I, pecause he's cot a koople tollare more as I has!"

Marion, during the revolution, he express son. The citizens of Charleston were pre- fore noon Maj. Anderson assembled the ed amazement that so many "South Curo- paring to surround that post with rifle pits whole of his little force, with the workmen of Toryism then will answer very well to perfect net-work of such constructions, add- attached to the cord, and Maj. Anderson, account for Secession and its attendant ed to which the heavy batteries of Fort holding the ends of the lines in his hands, "The people of Carolina form two position, making any defense on his part a diers and men clustered around, many of classes, the rich and the poor. The poor massacre, -that caused him, on his own rethem on their knees, all deeply impressed are very poor; the rich, who have slaves to sponsibility, to make the indispensable with the selemnity of the scene. The

tempt of the kind, they had stationed two steambouts, having 120 men, with two Sumpter and Fort Moultrie, to cruise around and prevent any attempt to transfer chartered three lighters to carry them and to interfere with the transit of provisions GEN. Scorr.-St. Louis correspondence to Cupt. Foster's men at Fort Sumpter, besays that " the rumored intention of Gov. cause they regarded him as in reality finishing the work for them. This he was in re. and counsels the masters thus: to the memory of his late father until he derson left orders to fire into the Nina ance Committee, but they did not interfere, and probably did not understand what the

the Committee for revising the laws of tain workmen returning from Fort Sump-Col. Lander is said to scout the the steamhoat if it molested the boats.

> JACKSON AND BUCHANAN. - What a difunderstood. "The Union must be preser- nated or not." Under similar circumstances Buch-

English history furnishes a parallel case: Presidents, John Powel and. P A. Mar- Cromwell had the enemy before him in batquam; Treasurer, J. D. Holman; Secreta- tle-the "old Ironside regiment," himself ry, J. M. Burrill; Executive Committee, at their head, facing the hosts of the Cava- 573. liers. "Charge!" roured the doughty old General, when an over-sanctimonious DELICATE CARE.—One and one-half weak-hearted old captain commanded his company to halt and "sing a psalm."-Sparring up to him instantly, the General clapped a cocked pistol to his head, shouting, " Charge, or by the Lord of Hosts, I'll blow out your brains!" and he did charge and then and there learned a lesson of great practical importance-when the enemy is in arms and advancing, charge first and sing

> The hope that some posthumous olumes of Macanlay's great history would was born in York, Pa, in 1758. be given to the prople, is to be disappoin-The North British Review states in a state which will allow of its publica- of sucking his pen.

A South Carolina editor has found plicable to the accessionists are these:- been reasoned into," " Depart, ye cursed," etc.

MAJ. ANDERSON AND FORT SUMPTER .-The New York World gives a very in- One of the Baltimoreans who returned teresting account of Maj. Anderson's evac- from Fort Sumpter details an impressive nation of Fort Moultrie and his occupation incident that took place there on Maj. An-Fort Sampter, written by a participant in derson taking possersion. It is known that the affair. It goes to show that Maj. An- the American flag, brought away from derson by that movement did the best for Fort Moultrie, was raised at Fort Sumpter his command and the country at large, as precisely at noon on the 27th Dec. But the government can now not with dignity the incidents of that "flag raising" have not and firmness, having Charleston in its pow- been related. It was a scene that will be er. No vessel can enter, or leave that a memorable reminiscence in the lives of When Baron de Kalb met General harber, without permission of Maj. Ander- those who witnessed it. A short time belinians were running to take British protect and batteries. It was the fear that in a few employed on the fort, around the foot of tion." Marion's explanation of the cause days he would have been surrounded by a the flag staff. The national ensign was Sumpter could plusge their fire into his knell reverently down. The officers, solmovement that he did. The following ex- Chaplain made an earnest prayer-such an tinue poor and low-spirited. The little tract will show how the evacuation was appeal for support, encouragement and mercy as one would make who felt that " No blood need be shed, unless South " man's extremity is God's opportunity."er ceased, and the men responded " Amen. the British should burn their houses, and Sensible they were driving Anderson to ex- er before experienced, Maj. Anderson drew tremity, and fearful he might make an at- the "Star Spangled Banner" up to the top of the staff, and the band broke out with pieces of artillery, under command of Lieut, the National air of "Hail Columbia," and Hamilton, recently resigned from the Navy, lond and exultant cheers, repeated again They had stationed these Letween Fort and again, were given by the officers, soldiers and workmen. " If," said the narrator, "South Carolina had at that moment attacked the fort, there would have been no hesitation upon the part of any man within it about defending that flag."

> misrepresentations made by Southern Fire the sovereign character of the States and eaters, in the presence of their slaves, as to from the nature of the compact of Union, the character of Lincoln and Hamlin, and that any State, which conceives herself agthe designs of the Black Republican party, grieved beyond endurance, may at her sovpopulation, and no master's life is safe .- of a broken covenant and seek her safety The Panola Star, of Mississippi, sees this, in a separate nationality."

among the negroes about the election of Lincoln. It is generally believed by our slaves that they were to be free if Lincoln was elected, or at least they think some- retire from the Union when she feels herhow or other that they are to be benefitted self aggrieved. She has only to consult which we may infer that he has been con. fired at Fort Moultrie-the signal that the by his election. We do not recommend it, her own feelings, in the first place, and her sulted in many things which have not tran-He then gave orders for the men to pack better judgment of our fellow citizens views of the expediency of it in the second their knapsacks and hold themselves in wh ther it would not be best to tell them place. In other words if a State feels like that the election of Lincoln had nothing in it and thinks it will pay, she may set up readiness at all times as they might some that the election of Lincoln had nothing in day have to move. He tack one of his the world to do with them or their freedom, from Lagos, West Coast of Africa, to Nov. officers aside about six P. M., on the 26th, but has reference to the question of making 8th, state that the King of Dahomey was and told him that in about twenty minutes new slave States; that nothing has been continuing his wholesale sacrifice of human he should make the attempt to reach Fort done or will be done to change their condi-

> The query is, however, whether, having lied to them once, the negroes will now believe them. They will undoubtedly find pose. Fort Moultrie is always surrounded it harder to undo that falsehood than to

command was doing. The troops sprang letter in the Siecle has the following:- I polygamists; foreseeing this, the polygamists have just seen a person arrived from Capre- mists, according to Mr. Porter, would not ra who has given me some details about only have the right, but be bound to secode Garibaldi. The General has sent away all from the Union, in order to maintain State the aides de camp who accompained him, honor. According to his doctrine the rest and has now with him only his son and of the States must have nothing to say .daughter, his friend Deideri, and his private Government must hands off. Although it secretary Basso. The mass of letters he re- has expended a hundred millions to build Mussachusetts, who reported to the LegisIn the meantine, the officers who remainlature the "personal liberty bill" of that
ed in Fort Moultrie held the lanyards of ceives from all parts of the world is enorthe rail-road, it must lose all this. Not State as it now stands on its statute book. the guns in their hands ready to fire upon mous, and some contain strange proposi- only so, but even if two fifths of the people

THE PRESIDENT'S NEW POLICY .-- The and ridicules mercilessly the supposition Fort Sumpter in safety, though one boat President remains firm in carrying out the new and vigorous policy which has been adopted. He said recently, in reply to the suggestion of apprehended difficulty in vantages of their attachment to a great ference between Jackson and Buchanau as inaugurating Mr. Lincoln, "If I live till President. Jackson said to South Carolina the 4th of March, I will ride to the Capiin tones and with a meaning not to be mis- tol with Old Abe, whether I am assassi-

> Post Masters - The whole number of post offices in the United States, on the 13th Oct olt., was according to the official may one year vote herself out of the Union, records of the post office department, 28,-

gular coincidence, that a nephew of Maj. Anderson, the commander at Fort Monl trie, is the class-mate and cham of Mr. Lincoln's son at Harvard College.

PASSENGER STATISTICS .- The number of passengers that arr ved at San Francisco in January, was 1,208; departed, 1,052.-Same mouth last year, arrived, 2,830; departed, 2,201

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIER DEAD. - Robert Curry, a soldier of the Revolution, died last week near Cincinnati, aged 102. He

Caution .- An Albany paper mentions that but little of the history has been left the death of a roung man from the habit of sucking his pen. The peison from the ink penetrated a slight wound in his lip.

Dean Swift said, with much anthority for secession in the Bible. We truth, "It is useless for us to attempt to should think the scriptural words most ap- reason a man out of a thing he has never

For the Argus The Right to Secede from the Union. This is claimed or asserted by a portion of the Southern journals. An elaborate attempt has been made to defend this doc-

trine of late by Hon, Wm. D. Porter in

a tract printed by Evans & Cogswell, of

No. 46.

Charleston, S. C.

We hall an attempt from that quarter to reason on this subject as a favorable omen. When questions of this kind are tried in the scales of right reason we need have no fear for the result. But we regret to see in that tract frequent appeals to the pride and passion of the South, not to submit to the apprehended domination ("oppression") of the North.

The question put by Hon. Mr. P. is this; "Is it legally and constitutionally true, that a State cannot withdraw from the Union, (however urgent the causes,) without incurring the penalty of being coerced into submission? If her honor and safety demand a separation from the Federal Government, has she so parted with the control over her internal life and destiny, as to be powerless in her own behalf nerveless for her own defence?" * * * Our doctrine is that the States, before the adoption of the Constitution, were sovcreign and independent; that the Federal Union is a union of States, and that the Constitution is a covenant or compact be tween them, and the fundamental law of their Union; and that was much as the covenant or compact was between soverrigns, and there is no umpire or common interpreter between them; each bas the right to judge for itself of infractions of the contract, and to determine for itself the mode and measure of redress." * * * TAKING IT BACK .- The falsehoods and "If these premises be true, it results from

These are certainly clear and bold state-"We wish to suggest the propriety of all ments. They are no doubt the sentiments slave owners taking some pains to correct of the secessionists; though we are far from a very false impression now prevailing believing that they are the sentiments of the majority even at the South

The simple idea is that any State may nationality of her own.

Were Utah a State, they might do it. Suppose that people admitted to a share in State to the Pucific, while they have been growing wealthy and numerous, still cherishing polygamy as the most desirable institution of the State; suppose new that the effect of the rail road is to introduce a much larger population of anti-polygamists, GARIDALDI IN HIS RETREAT .- A Torin and thus take the State control from the of Utah or a larger minority are for the Union and only a bare majority for secesjority may withdraw a State from the Union. And not only this, but the doctrine requires secession this year, although the next year a majority in the same State should be for the Union.

This is all that practical secessionists can secure, and their doctrine must be made to square with their facts. So then a State defy government, set at naught the claims of twenty other States with forty times Cornerpence.-It is mentioned as a sin- the population, sacrifice the national property, repudiate national bargains, treaties, and obligations which she helped to make; cost. If the recovery and defence of a few a State may do all this, says Mr. P., if perchance five or five hundred majority vote pressed into her navy, was sufficient cause that they feel aggrieved by the Union .- for us to go to war with her in 1812, sure-Mr. P. admits no discussion of the griev. ly the duty we owe to all our citizens is ance; no looking by both parties at the sufficient cause for enforcing our national cause of complaint. The question must be authority, wherever it is assailed. No pardecided solely by the seceding party.

In a word, there must be no recognition tribunal or ump're as even the half civ lized this sapreme tribunal for adjustment. or the savage demand for the adjustment We speak of the great national duty tract, as if in a mercantile firm, one part- cessity it is the strongest bond of Union. ner, who perhaps put in the smallest share of the capital, finding the annual profits one of which I will mention. Ladies' home dresses ought to last you with an injury; the silent enemy is the amount of capital, should assume the right domain under a pledge of the Union. The

RATES OF ADVERTISING Each subsequent insertion..... Business cards one year...... 20 00 A liberal deduction will be made to those who dvertise by the year.

The number of insertions should be noted on the margin of an advertisement, otherwise it will be published till forbidden, and charged accordingly.

Obituary notices will be charged half the

hove rates of advertising. dispatch.
Payment for Job Printing must be made or

to absolve himself from all company obligations.

What copartnership could be formed on such principles? What firm could do business, if one partner could at any time withdraw and repudiate all obligations? What havor would be made of creditors if the law did not shield them from such villainous nullification! But the eternal princiciple of right is their safeguard, enforced as it is by all the power of the law, and mightier force of the common judgment and conscience of men.

But what is the destruction of a business firm, by a repudiating partner, compared with the ruin of a nation by the repudiation and secession of a State! If the less evil should be prevented by the strong arm of the law; if this vicious principle should be swept away by the indiguant voice of a public conscience, how much more should a seceding State be restrained and held to her duty by all the power of the government! And with what indignation ought the public voice to rebuke and condemn to eternal oblivion such a doctrine of secession!

But it may be objected that a sovereign State ought to have the privilege to secede, after it has met all its obligations, as a partner in a firm, after he has met his.

We reply that although two States, like two partners in a compact, are equally sovereign, in proposing and forming a Unon, there is such a vast difference in the objects of the Union, that the comparison fails afterwards. They indeed continue sovereign partners in the firm, but they necessarily assume such obligations as they can fulfill only by continuing in the Union. A firm can dissolve by paying its debts, but the debts of united States can never be paid except by their remaining united

The debts of a firm are money and stocks which can be reckoned on the debtor side of a ledger and be cancelled by cash.

The debts of united States begin to be something else besides money, from the moment of their naion.

There was originally the united obligation to protect the individual citizen at home or abroad. This necessity, so sorely felt at first, caused the Union.

This obligation has increased as citizens have multiplied. If its force then was as three millions to one, its force now is as thirty millions to one. Every citizen claims and he has a right to claim the whole power of the national arm in his defence against an oppression. The man who comes from England, France, or Germany, who renounces his allegiance to his own nation and becomes a citizen of ours. justly claims our entire national power in his defence, against any one of those nations that should attempt to deprive him of his rights.

We have pledged that power to him .-We told Austria so in the case of Koztawe have told Louis Napoleon so in the case of our French citizens, whom he has wished to impress into his service. We have told England so repeatedly. All these nations understand us and yield to our position, while they maintain the same in respect to their citizens. We owe this duty especially to our citizens when in defenceless positions, as among the Indians. Our national force is called from the Atlastic to the Pacific to protect a few citizens against the savages. We owe it to the planter, his wife, and his children. among his hundred slaves. He is liable any moment to be murdered and they to be worse than murdered. The nation is sion, still the doctrine is that a bare ma. pledged to protect him and his, from insurrection, or in the midst of it. That pledge ought to be redeemed. But it cannot be, if any and every State can dismember the Union at their pleasure. These are national obligations which can be discharged only by the Union. No State can discharge them. As no State has the right to withdraw until these obligations are fulfilled. and as they continue with the life of the citizen, no State can ever rightfully withdraw.

On the other hand, it is the duty of the nation to enforce the Union at whatever American seaman whom England had imtial or petty grievance should be allowed to set aside the higher law of national of right as between man and man-no such protection. All minor cases must go up to

of their difficulties. The party which sup- owed to every citizen, because it was the poses itself injured must have the unobstruct- first that confederated and consolidated ed privilege of inflicting the greatest possi- our nation, and made us one one and inble injury upon the other party in the con- dissoluble, and because springing from ne-

But there are other national obligations

less to him than the amount he has to pay Besides going abroad, our citizens move