

would supersede the government of cold and calculating, reason. But, that day, if ever it came, has been numbered with the past; for, fanaticism and treason have precipitated the crisis, and it is now the duty of all men, approaching the task, with spirits purified by the inoculation of a rational patriotism, to look fearlessly into that terrible abyss of disunion and ruin, from which a distinguished American once said prayed that the veil might never be withdrawn! Let us look into it, and view its horror. Let us scan its inmost gloom. - Let every bleeding fragment of the giant Republic, hurled into the depths, speak to us from its wounds, with more touching eloquence than the mute appeal of Caesar's wounds to the Roman people. Then, tell the Nation what it is that can accomplish this their destruction. Let it be known that it is possible, and how it is possible; and men will recoil from the perpetration, or the countenance of those things, which lead on to the appalling issue.

The heaviest curse of mankind must fall upon those, whose action or inaction shall cause the dissolution of this confederacy. Nevertheless, to dissect the possible causes which may lead to such a disaster, is not the foreshadowing of treason, but a high patriotic duty; and to counsel with one another upon our mutual obligations, is not to familiarise the public mind with the crime of disunion, but rather to strengthen the popular veneration for the confederacy, by an intelligent appreciation of its blessings. It is evident that the compromises and guaranties of the Constitution must be observed, with entire faithfulness. It is evident that the minority of the States, and of the people, must be assured of protection from the arbitrary legislative rule of the majority, by a strict adherence to the original terms of the federal compact, as long as it is the recognized organic law of the land. It is evident that the moral power of the majority-States, must be incited to the suppression of that insulting and lawless spirit of comrade which has characterized Abolitionism, especially of late years; and which has not only rendered the property of Southern men insecure, but has threatened the safety of their families, and exasperated their personal and sectional pride of character. It should not be forgotten that, in the compromise bills, of the last session of Congress, the South has, in fact, yielded everything. She has surrendered the public domain won, in a very disproportionate degree, by her blood, and by the common treasure of the entire Nation. She has in return, received nothing but the fugitive slave act, which is merely the reaffirmance and practical enforcement of a right originally secured to her, by the Constitution. Whatever may be the opinions of the North, as to the abstract question of African slavery, it cannot be doubted that it is the duty of all good citizens to obey the Constitution and the laws of the land. And, when, in addition to this plain dictate of duty, the great inequality of the compromise measures is considered, surely our Northern Brethren cannot fail to see that the South has already contributed her full quota of concession and conciliation; and that the future responsibility of the crisis must rest with the North. I speak upon the hypothesis that the South, on her part, will continue faithful to the compromise. And who can doubt it? Has not the conservative patriotism of the Southern Unionists triumphed over the enemies of the Union, so far? Has not the South submitted to many aggressions, and much vilification? Has she not smothered her indignation, and, with her heart in her hand, come forward to lay upon the altar of the Republic her wrongs and grievances, as so many holocausts to Liberty and Union? - What if her Hotspurs have threatened, and her mad men raved! Were there not wisdom and loyalty enough found, from Maryland to Texas, to chide the treason, and to bind up the fury of such men? I say that the South will do her duty. But, it will not now suffice to cry out, "the Union, and nothing but the Union" - it is much more important that those things should be done, upon the doing of which the Union depends. I may, here, further observe that, the acts, by which the claims of the South were compromised, have gone into decisive operation, and could only be overruled