

PREMONT'S ELECTION.

We cordially shake hands with our contemporary of the Intelligencer on the following article. Let our Southern papers, one and all, promptly take this position:—

PREMONT'S ELECTION AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION ONE AND THE SAME THING.

He who doubts that the election of John C. Fremont to the Presidency would bring about an immediate dissolution of the Union, would deny the existence of the sun in heaven, or any thing else equally palpable to the senses. Fremont could not get to the seat of agents carry on the internal administration of the country. No man in the South can take a commission from him, and no man sent from the North to the South, for the purpose of filling any office under his administration, will be allowed to stay here. He will be notified to leave, and if he disregards the notice he will be carried off on a rail and his office be shut up. Take our own town as an example. Will any citizen of it accept a commission of Postmaster from Fremont?

If one so base could be found he would not be allowed to remain in his office one day or hour, but would be driven from our midst with the unanimous execrations of the community upon his infamous head. Here then would be a stoppage of the mails, and what will follow? Should the President attempt by any armed force to open, and keep open the Post Office, that force will be resisted by force, and thus we should have revolution or disruption of the Government, or in other words a dissolution of the Union. Of the office of Collector of the Customs, Marshal of the district, and in fact of every other federal office in Virginia and the whole South, the same thing may be said, and then where, we should like to know, would be the administration of the Federal Government? With the mails stopped, the collection of the revenue stopped, and the process of the Federal Courts struck dead by the want of an officer to execute them, we repeat, what would become of the federal administration? And yet this state of affairs will as surely ensue as Fremont is elected!

THE LEVELLERS AND DISUNION.

The Black Republicans have raised the banner of Fremont and disunion. If disunion must come, no time is better than the present. The South is sectionally and socially a unit.

The border States, because most threatened and most trespassed on and wronged, are most zealously active in the cause of the South and of her institutions.

Our free white citizens who have no slaves, are most indignant at the assaults of abolition, because abolition proposes to make negroes their competitors and equals. The rich, owning the lands, might keep the negroes at a greater social distance, and get their labor cheaper than now, as has happened with the white liberated serfs and their former masters in Europe.

But it is the poor that New England philanthropy proposes shall labor side by side with the negro, associate with the negro, intermarry with the negro. It is the working men, the laboring citizens of the South, whom abolition would degrade to the level of the African. They are now a privileged, an aristocratic class, like the citizens of ancient Rome. "I am a Roman citizen!" was the loftiest claim to nobility that ever thrilled with fear the trespasser on human rights. "I am a citizen of Virginia!" is, as yet, just as high a distinction and valuable privilege. But extend citizenship to the negro; send him to school with the poor; let him associate, labor and intermarry with the poor, and a citizen of Virginia will be as contemptible as a Kafir negro, or a Cape Cod amalgamationist.

Go to our places of public resort at the South, and you see the most perfect social equality between rich and poor. But if the poor men hold the horses for the rich men to mount, cooked their dinner, brushed their clothes, and waited behind their chairs, this equality would vanish—and deep hatred, and jealousy, and strikes, and mobs, and agrarianism, would split up and divide our society, as they have already divided the North.

The would-be aristocracy of Boston and New Haven is seeking, by debasing white working men to the level of negroes, to deaden their aspirations, accustom them to the coarsest social distinctions, founded on mere wealth, and to teach them to bear like negroes the scoffs and taunts of their superiors, whilst they fulfil the most menial and servile offices. We have no cringing, hireling menials, no servile class of white men at the South. The Abolitionists hate us daily more and more as we expose the cruelties and deformities of their system, and display the humane and elevating tendencies of ours. Besides, they see that the facts and the arguments which we adduce are unanswerable and overwhelming.

We would prefer to contend with them with facts and arguments, but if they force disunion and war upon us, a united, compact and conservative South is ready to meet them.—[Richmond Enquirer.]

A friend of ours was speaking the other day about the folly exhibited by the American party in boasting of Mr. Fillmore as the model President. He commented rather severely upon the fact that although he had (according to them) all these qualities in 1852, his own party should have been hunting all over creation for another candidate, and not seen this second Washington. He said "that it reminded him of an old woman who had lost her spectacles, and after rummaging the whole house, finds them at last upon her nose."—[Savannah Georgian.]

MAJORITY FOR GOVERNOR.—The Republican majority for Governor in Maine is 12,786.

The Voice of Patriotism.

Mr. Osborne's Letter.

[COMMUNICATED.] CORRESPONDENCE.

WADESBOBO, N. C. Sept. 13th, 1856.

JAMES W. OSBORNE, Esq.: Dear Sir—We, a portion of your old personal and political friends, all old-line Whigs and citizens of Anson county, believing the permanent existence of this Union, as a nation, likely to be greatly affected by the result of the approaching Presidential election, are anxious to learn your opinion, what is the duty of Whigs, as National and Southern men, in the approaching contest. We are well aware that you have for several years past stood aloof from, and refused to engage in political strife; but believing you none the less patriotic, and that in the present alarming crisis you will not refuse a full and free interchange of opinion with your old political friends—we, therefore, most respectfully ask your opinion on matters in which we are all mutually interested.

Very respectfully, your friends, J. WHITE, W. R. LEAK, G. W. LITTLE, WM. LITTLE, W. W. WILKINS, L. D. BENNETT.

CHARLOTTE, Sept. 19, 1856.

Messrs. J. White, and others: GENTLEMEN: I had prescribed to myself a course of entire inaction in the present political canvass, from which I hoped that no circumstances would make it my duty to depart. But, I have received various letters from personal and political friends besides yours, so urgent on the subject that I have felt it my duty to reply to them.—The answer which I make to yourselves will suffice for all others.

The condition of our country at this time finds no parallel in its former history. By the consent of all persons it is admitted that no danger half so serious ever threatened its internal peace or its political institutions. For the first time a mighty effort is being made to combine the free States in solid union against the slave States, and by force of numbers under the forms of the Constitution to deprive them of their equal rights to the common property, to abolish slavery at the capital, and in every thing essential to their dignity and welfare to prostrate them before their oppressors. In this effort the most powerful motives of action are united in zealous co-operation. Eloquence and sagacity, false philanthropy, and mistaken piety, ambition, hypocrisy and fraud, aided and stimulated by foreign and domestic capital, are actively engaged to accomplish our ruin. Eminent statesmen from all the great political parties have forgotten their ordinary differences in pursuing a common enmity to the South. In the mean time, elections have taken place in three of the non-slaveholding States, two of them heretofore distinguished not only by tolerance but liberality towards the South. In all of them abolition sentiments have not only triumphed but have swept away all show of opposition. The danger, therefore, is imminent, that Mr. Fremont will carry every free State, and will come to the Presidency by the votes of the free States given explicitly in hostility to the institutions of the South. If an enemy were invading our country, and threatening desolation upon our fields and homes, this sensible danger would give harmony to our feelings, moderation and prudence to our counsels, and unity to our efforts, until the foe was repelled, and the danger over. The state of things is like this only in part. The invasion of a foreign foe might bring with it severe disaster, but it would be temporary, and our country and its institutions, we might hope, would survive it. But, we may be on the eve of a revolution which will overthrow our existing government—break up the Union of the States, and involve us in the crime and wretchedness of a civil war. In this state of things I confess I have no sympathy with the party bickerings, the crimination and recrimination, and all the forms of political warfare which distract our Southern society. The sole question with me has been, how is the threatening evil to be obviated? In its consideration I have endeavored to regard the subject with as much calmness as I was able, without reference to my own possessions and party attachments. If I had regarded these, I should have supported Mr. Fillmore as cordially as the warmest friend who now advocates his election. I have no fault to find with the party under whose auspices he has been nominated. For his personal character I entertain the highest respect—and I believe that he would give us a fair and impartial administration, but, the Union of the South I believe absolutely indispensable to the defeat of Mr. Fremont, and that union, if affected at all, can only be made in the person of Mr. Buchanan. Taking things as we find them, the prepossessions of a large majority of the southern people are Democratic, and nineteen-twentieths of those in the South who are opposed to Mr. Buchanan, agree with the following resolution of the Democratic platform:

"Resolved, That we recognize the right of the people of all the Territories including Kansas and Nebraska, acting through the fairly expressed will of a majority of actual residents, and whenever the number of their inhabitants justifies it, to form a constitution with or without slavery, and be admitted to the Union upon terms of perfect equality with the other States."

Whatever objections there may be to other doctrines avowed in this platform, this resolution enunciates a principle which every Southern man feels to be just and constitutional; and the only one on the great subject to which it refers, in which the Union is safe. This is, I conceive, the great question—distinctly presented, in the present canvass; and in comparison with it every other sinks into insignificance. Suppose it to be adopted as a fixed principle in our politics—can we imagine any question which would dissolve or endanger the Union? If it is overborne and defeated at this time, is it probable that any other opportunity can occur by which it can be incorporated

into the creed of a great and national party? Then, why cannot those who agree in this cardinal principle—when it is jeopardized by a combination—appealing to sectional passions and sectional power,—act together for once—if possible settle the difficulty—and resume hereafter their party relations and their preferences? As I before remarked—the South is Democratic by a large majority; and reason and justice would seem to require, that to should yield to the majority. In the non-slaveholding States, such is the superior zeal and energy of our adversaries, that the election is extremely doubtful. There, as here, Union men are divided on issues comparatively immaterial; and these conflicts, in the face of an ardent and united opposition, endanger the success of our cause. I have, however, not doubted that the chances are in favor of Mr. Buchanan, over Mr. Fillmore, even in that region. Mr. Fillmore may carry New York. It is the only free state in which active and hopeful efforts are made for him. As to the result in it, nothing can be known approaching certainty; and the fairest minded man admit that the Free Soilers have equal chances with the Americans—while all agree that the co-operation of the friends of Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Buchanan could give the vote of that great State in behalf of the Union. It is not denied that Mr. Buchanan has a prospect of carrying Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey and California, not less favorable than that of Mr. Fillmore in New York. To meet the crisis, I advocate a united South. We have, too long for our safety, permitted matters of minor importance to distract and divide us—and in contests in which little has been at stake, we have been insensible to dangers of inevitable magnitude.

I have not permitted myself to be influenced by the allegation often made, that our difficulties have originated in the policy of the Democratic party. The legislation organizing the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, is the object of this reproach; and it is not my purpose to discuss it. One thing is certain, that on its adoption there was an extraordinary unanimity of opinion among Southern men of all parties; and no Southern man is willing to avow himself in favor of restoration of the Missouri line. But three Southern Senators and five or six members of the House of Representatives voted in opposition to it; and several of the latter were defeated before their constituents at subsequent elections. This legislation, therefore, was acceptable generally to southern statesmen and to the southern people. It may have been wise or unwise, but it is now fixed in our jurisprudence—and the question is, as I conceive, as to its disturbance in future. And on this point we are as nearly unanimous as can be expected, on any subject which admits of discussion.

Nor do I think it fair to say that the election of Mr. Buchanan would not give us quiet, and thus save the Union. This will, I admit, entirely depend on circumstances. If, for instance, Kansas, under his administration, should apply for admission as a slave State, it would meet with violent opposition from the free States, and agitation, through all the channels of fanaticism, and political violence, would again be renewed. But, would not the same thing occur under Fillmore? Does any sane man suppose that if on any measure of legislation the South should insist on her just rights, under any President whatever, that excitement and agitation would not exist? There is one way in which agitation can be quieted, and only one, and that is by submission to all the requisitions which may be made by the free States, on every subject peculiarly affecting our vital interests. Nor can I perceive the force of the specious objection that Mr. Buchanan is a sectional candidate; and therefore, that he would not be the proper person for the adjustment of our present difficulties. This is the argument adopted by the free-soilers—adopted to justify their open and avowed sectionalism, and to mitigate the force of the objection to their proceedings, as likely to dissolve the Union. If the principle in regard to the domestic institutions of the Territories, which I have before referred to, be in conformity to the constitution, how can he be sectional, who represents it?—Is not Mr. Buchanan a candidate in every State of the Union? Was he not nominated by delegates from every district in our wide confederacy? And tho' it may be with very doubtful fortunes, are not his claims pressed in every county and village of the Union? Can this be said of any other candidate? And is not his claim to a "broad and comprehensive nationality" complete and unquestionable?

If this Union is to be destroyed, it will be by an injurious and oppressive policy towards the South, by the national government. Should Mr. Buchanan be elected in this contest, no such policy can receive his countenance. The causes of disunion will be removed, and the South will at least have the fullest confidence in him. He is admitted to have ability of a high order and great experience in public affairs. He forms his opinions at a time when sectional controversy was unknown—and through a long public life, has been uniformly and consistently liberal to the South. You perceive that I have addressed myself simply to the emergency in which our country is placed. My personal preferences were for Mr. Fillmore, and my sympathies have been warmly with his party. I do not propose to myself to abandon my principles or my political friends. All I desire is the safety of the South and the preservation of the Union. If these are accomplished, either by Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Buchanan, my sole object will be effected. The minor interests of politics will interest me as they have done heretofore, and I shall promote, as far as I am able, the benevolent and conservative policy which I have always preferred. Respectfully, yours, J. W. OSBORNE.

Mr. Williamson's Letter.

For the Western Democrat.

MR. EDITOR: The political position which I occupied a short time since in this community, renders it proper for me to say a word to my friends in justification of the course I am about to pursue in relation to the approaching Presidential election. In this election there is but one issue involved, and it is of very little moment to the South, whether Mr. Fillmore or Mr. Buchanan is elected, since a miserable fanatical and sectional party have forced upon us the necessity of defending with unanimity our sectional rights, by presenting to the American people for their suffrages, candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency pledged to make continual war upon our peculiar institutions, until they shall have made of us "hewers of wood and drawers of water." It is a fixed and foreign conclusion, that Mr. Buchanan will carry the great body of the South in the election, and it is our duty to show to the North, that we are ready for any possible contingency by presenting an undivided front in this great emergency. In view of the nefarious purposes entertained by this fanatical faction of the North, the South will be compelled to consider the election of Fremont, ipso facto, as a dissolution of the Union. What honorable man South could be found to accept an office of political trust under an administration pledged to destroy the most vital interests of the South? The consequence must necessarily be that all the offices of the Government, both foreign and domestic, will be filled by our enemies; and will any patriotic man in the South consent for a moment to submit to such degradation? Surely not! The Abolitionists are runs mad upon a mere abstraction, and simple sentiment, and would endanger the Union to gratify a morbid whim; whilst to us the question involves a tangible interest worth millions. To cut my story short, I intend to vote for James Buchanan, because a large majority of my brothers in interest are going to do so, and because my vote would go Mr. Fillmore no good under existing circumstances, although I respect and admire him as much as ever.

For the impending crisis the South is not responsible. The issue is thrust upon her people by the North, and it is now too late to appeal to the national feelings of former parties here, to adhere to their former national doctrines. We are obliged to meet the issue as a sectional one, by uniting on the strongest of the two candidates who propose to protect our rights. The old Whig party is disbanded and powerless, and it is sufficiently clear from recent indications that the American party is not now strong enough to rescue the Union from her perilous situation; whilst the late elections prove that the Democratic party has increased sufficiently in the South to raise the hope that it may be able, with the help of one or two of the Northern States, to save the Ship of State from wreck and ruin.

A. C. WILLIAMSON.

Mr. Barringer's Letter.

From the Salisbury Banner.

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, VA., August 6th, 1856.

DEAR SIR:—Your note addressed to me at Charlotte, N. C., under date of 12th ult., and forwarded to me here, has just been received. The delay in its reception has perhaps rendered an answer unnecessary.—But a respectful regard for yourself and the gentleman who joined in the request, urge me to reply to your inquiries in a very brief note.

You were correctly informed as to my position in reference to the next Presidential election. I expect to vote for JAMES BUCHANAN and JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE. Appreciating highly, as I do, the ability and patriotism of Mr. Fillmore, I am, nevertheless, under existing circumstances, compelled by a sense of duty and the clear convictions of my own deliberate judgment, to vote for the nominees of the Democratic party. I am opposed to the so-called American or Know-Nothing party. In my opinion, its organization is anti-republican and contrary to the true theory of our government and the fundamental principles of the Constitution. I have not affiliated with or voted the ticket of this party. It is not the Whig party, either open or disguised; but boasts of having risen upon the ruins and corruptions of both the old parties. Mr. Fillmore is the candidate of the American party alone, and he has accepted its platform—a platform which I do not approve, and which is the work of the Northern wing of the party, or rather the solid remnant of it which has not joined the abolition party, while Mr. Fillmore himself is the candidate of the Southern wing and repudiated by the North. The great question of domestic slavery, in all its bearings, is paramount to all others in this Presidential election. It ought not, and cannot be ignored or made subordinate to others of less significance by any true Southern man.—Upon this question the Democratic party occupies, in an eminent degree, the highest conservative, constitutional and national ground. It is truly national. It is the only party now in existence which can meet to refer, discuss and adopt principles and resolves, on this subject, of the same or even of a similar character in every and in all sections of our country. There is no organized Whig party, and no Whig candidate in the field. Mr. Fillmore is careful to repeat that he is not the Whig, but the "American" candidate, and speaks of Whigs as his "former associates." He is a "member of the order." In choosing between him, therefore, and other candidates, there is no compromise of Whig principles. A true Whig may act as his conscience dictates, unbiassed by other obligations.

But there is another consideration of the greatest moment in reference to the pending Presidential election. The contest is practically between the Democratic and Abolition parties. There is not the slightest probability that Mr. Fillmore can be elected President by the electoral College. If he

should succeed in getting one or two States, which is even doubtful, in any quarter of the Union, the only effect of it might possibly be not to elect him in any contingency, but to give the election to the present House of Representatives, from which every true patriot and honest man will exclaim, my God deliver us! Under the critical circumstances which surround us, I sincerely believe that the Union and the Constitution and the rightful equality of the States, under the Federal compact, are in imminent peril; and leaving others to judge for themselves, for myself I feel it to be my duty to vote in company with thousands of firm and true old line Whigs throughout the nation, for the candidates of that party which will have the ability, in political power, as well as the patriotic disposition to preserve and perpetuate the Union, the Constitution and the equality of the States. Under existing circumstances the party of which Mr. Fillmore is the candidate, cannot in any probable contingency, be in a position to exercise such an influence. And the nominees of the Democratic party are the only candidates now before the people, who may have it in their power to prolong if not to perpetuate the blessings which are guaranteed to us by the free institutions under which we have heretofore so happily and so prosperously lived.

My purpose is, therefore, to give my support to those distinguished Statesmen, Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge, who are eminently qualified for the highest positions in the government, and who are the candidates most likely to defeat Fremont, the sectional and abolition candidate, and to be able, under Divine Providence, to allay the fanatical strife and the bitter and bloody distractions which now unhappily divide our country and threaten the very existence of the Constitution, and the Union. Surely, surely, it is time for the South, the entire South, and all conservative men everywhere to be fraternal and united in the face of the dangers which beset us!

I am, dear sir, truly and respectfully, Your obedient servant, D. M. BARRINGER.

To WM. A. HOUCK, Esq.

Letter of Geo. D. Gray, Esq.

OF VIRGINIA

TO THE FILLMORE AND DONELSON CLUB OF CULPEPPER.

GENTLEMEN: At the first meeting of your Club, held more than a month since, you did me the honor to elect me your President, much against my own wishes. I then stated as you will remember, both before and after my election, that I reserved to myself the right to vote for Mr. Buchanan should I hereafter be convinced in my own mind that Mr. Fillmore had no chance for an election, and that the contest for the Presidency of the United States was between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont.—That contingency has happened. I am now thoroughly convinced that there is not a shadow of chance for Fillmore's election by the people.

This is conceded indeed by his warmest friends, but it is contended by some of them that he will get States enough to prevent any election by the people, and thus throw the chance of President upon the House of Representatives—an event greatly to be dreaded at all times, but more especially now, when it is remembered that the election is made by the same House that elected N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, their Speaker. They then argue that Mr. Fillmore has the best chance of an election by this House of Representatives. Let us see how they arrive at this wonderful conclusion. It takes sixteen States to make an election. Mr. Fillmore has only three in Congress—Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. The contest is between the Democratic and Black Republican parties, and of course I cannot hesitate in my choice between them. Nor is this the only or the strongest reason why I cannot vote for Mr. Fillmore. This is amply sufficient; but it did this not exist, there is another and stronger and more powerful reason than that for the determination to which I have come, after long and serious reflection. The contest in which we are engaged is purely a sectional one. The Slavery question is the only issue, and the most prominent feature of it is the Kansas Nebraska Bill. The Democratic party, always the strongest on the question of Slavery, have in their platform endorsed this bill, and stand fully pledged to its support. The Black Republican party in their platform denounce it, and demand its repeal. The American Convention which met in Philadelphia in February last, adopted no platform, but the National Council which met at the same time, repealed the famous 12th section, which is the only resolution ever adopted by the party, with any pretensions to soundness on the Slavery question, and resolved to ignore that question entirely, and it did adopt a platform in which they too denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas bill. Mr. Fillmore endorses this platform, and in one of his speeches made since his return from Europe, has condemned in the strongest language the repeal of this Compromise and the passage of this bill. The whole American party at the North cry out with one voice and with one tongue, down with the Kansas Nebraska Bill, and thus echo the sentiment of the Black Republican party. Only two of Mr. Fillmore's Northern friends in Congress voted against the recent bill restoring the Missouri Compromise. In Indiana there is an open, avowed and complete union between the two parties. They have formed the same electoral ticket—in the language of the leading Fillmore paper, "The cause of one is the cause of the other." Know-Nothingism and Black Republicanism are indissolubly joined together in holy wedlock. No longer throughout the entire North, is the old watchword of the American party heard—"Americans must rule America." This is not now in all their hearts, and I do not believe it ever was, but for the purpose of deception and fraud, they have adopted it. Their real principle is, the North ought to rule America. "Oh ye Pharisees, hypocrites, there is no faithfulness in your mouths, your inward part is very wickedness, your throat is an open sepulchre; you that say ye love God, yet you outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." But this is not all, nor is it the worst of it; notwithstanding all this, I might have voted for Mr. Fillmore, trusting to his patriotism and conservatism to rebuke and check this sectional spirit, had the American party at the South stood firmly by the Kansas bill, and endorsed its principles and insisted upon their support. Alas! to their shame be it said, they have loved Caesar more than Rome, and their party better than their country. They have deserted the South in the hour of her danger and united with her foes.

Like Belshazzar of old, who sent a message unto Balaam, to come and curse the Israelites for him, that he might drive them out

of the land, so the American party at the North have called upon their brethren at the South, to curse for them the Kansas Nebraska Bill and its friends. They possibly be able to drive them out of the land, but to give the election to the present House of Representatives, from which every true patriot and honest man will exclaim, my God deliver us! Under the critical circumstances which surround us, I sincerely believe that the Union and the Constitution and the rightful equality of the States, under the Federal compact, are in imminent peril; and leaving others to judge for themselves, for myself I feel it to be my duty to vote in company with thousands of firm and true old line Whigs throughout the nation, for the candidates of that party which will have the ability, in political power, as well as the patriotic disposition to preserve and perpetuate the Union, the Constitution and the equality of the States. Under existing circumstances the party of which Mr. Fillmore is the candidate, cannot in any probable contingency, be in a position to exercise such an influence. And the nominees of the Democratic party are the only candidates now before the people, who may have it in their power to prolong if not to perpetuate the blessings which are guaranteed to us by the free institutions under which we have heretofore so happily and so prosperously lived.

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of the land, so the American party at the North have called upon their brethren at the South, to curse for them the Kansas Nebraska Bill and its friends. They possibly be able to drive them out of the land, but to give the election to the present House of Representatives, from which every true patriot and honest man will exclaim, my God deliver us! Under the critical circumstances which surround us, I sincerely believe that the Union and the Constitution and the rightful equality of the States, under the Federal compact, are in imminent peril; and leaving others to judge for themselves, for myself I feel it to be my duty to vote in company with thousands of firm and true old line Whigs throughout the nation, for the candidates of that party which will have the ability, in political power, as well as the patriotic disposition to preserve and perpetuate the Union, the Constitution and the equality of the States. Under existing circumstances the party of which Mr. Fillmore is the candidate, cannot in any probable contingency, be in a position to exercise such an influence. And the nominees of the Democratic party are the only candidates now before the people, who may have it in their power to prolong if not to perpetuate the blessings which are guaranteed to us by the free institutions under which we have heretofore so happily and so prosperously lived.

My purpose is, therefore, to give my support to those distinguished Statesmen, Messrs. Buchanan and Breckinridge, who are eminently qualified for the highest positions in the government, and who are the candidates most likely to defeat Fremont, the sectional and abolition candidate, and to be able, under Divine Providence, to allay the fanatical strife and the bitter and bloody distractions which now unhappily divide our country and threaten the very existence of the Constitution, and the Union. Surely, surely, it is time for the South, the entire South, and all conservative men everywhere to be fraternal and united in the face of the dangers which beset us!

I am, dear sir, truly and respectfully, Your obedient servant, D. M. BARRINGER.

To WM. A. HOUCK, Esq.

Letter of Geo. D. Gray, Esq.

OF VIRGINIA

TO THE FILLMORE AND DONELSON CLUB OF CULPEPPER.

GENTLEMEN: At the first meeting of your Club, held more than a month since, you did me the honor to elect me your President, much against my own wishes. I then stated as you will remember, both before and after my election, that I reserved to myself the right to vote for Mr. Buchanan should I hereafter be convinced in my own mind that Mr. Fillmore had no chance for an election, and that the contest for the Presidency of the United States was between Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Fremont.—That contingency has happened. I am now thoroughly convinced that there is not a shadow of chance for Fillmore's election by the people.

This is conceded indeed by his warmest friends, but it is contended by some of them that he will get States enough to prevent any election by the people, and thus throw the chance of President upon the House of Representatives—an event greatly to be dreaded at all times, but more especially now, when it is remembered that the election is made by the same House that elected N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, their Speaker. They then argue that Mr. Fillmore has the best chance of an election by this House of Representatives. Let us see how they arrive at this wonderful conclusion. It takes sixteen States to make an election. Mr. Fillmore has only three in Congress—Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky. The contest is between the Democratic and Black Republican parties, and of course I cannot hesitate in my choice between them. Nor is this the only or the strongest reason why I cannot vote for Mr. Fillmore. This is amply sufficient; but it did this not exist, there is another and stronger and more powerful reason than that for the determination to which I have come, after long and serious reflection. The contest in which we are engaged is purely a sectional one. The Slavery question is the only issue, and the most prominent feature of it is the Kansas Nebraska Bill. The Democratic party, always the strongest on the question of Slavery, have in their platform endorsed this bill, and stand fully pledged to its support. The Black Republican party in their platform denounce it, and demand its repeal. The American Convention which met in Philadelphia in February last, adopted no platform, but the National Council which met at the same time, repealed the famous 12th section, which is the only resolution ever adopted by the party, with any pretensions to soundness on the Slavery question, and resolved to ignore that question entirely, and it did adopt a platform in which they too denounced the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the Kansas bill. Mr. Fillmore endorses this platform, and in one of his speeches made since his return from Europe, has condemned in the strongest language the repeal of this Compromise and the passage of this bill. The whole American party at the North cry out with one voice and with one tongue, down with the Kansas Nebraska Bill, and thus echo the sentiment of the Black Republican party. Only two of Mr. Fillmore's Northern friends in Congress voted against the recent bill restoring the Missouri Compromise. In Indiana there is an open, avowed and complete union between the two parties. They have formed the same electoral ticket—in the language of the leading Fillmore paper, "The cause of one is the cause of the other." Know-Nothingism and Black Republicanism are indissolubly joined together in holy wedlock. No longer throughout the entire North, is the old watchword of the American party heard—"Americans must rule America." This is not now in all their hearts, and I do not believe it ever was, but for the purpose of deception and fraud, they have adopted it. Their real principle is, the North ought to rule America. "Oh ye Pharisees, hypocrites, there is no faithfulness in your mouths, your inward part is very wickedness, your throat is an open sepulchre; you that say ye love God, yet you outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity." But this is not all, nor is it the worst of it; notwithstanding all this, I might have voted for Mr. Fillmore, trusting to his patriotism and conservatism to rebuke and check this sectional spirit, had the American party at the South stood firmly by the Kansas bill, and endorsed its principles and insisted upon their support. Alas! to their shame be it said, they have loved Caesar more than Rome, and their party better than their country. They have deserted the South in the hour of her danger and united with her foes.

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