FAYETTEVILLE OBSERVER.

SEMI-WEEKLY.

[VOL. X.] FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., DECEMBER 6, 1860. [NO. 976.]

PRINTED MONDAYS AND THURSDAYS.

EDWARD J. HALE & SONS,
EDITORS AND PROPRIETORS

Price for the Semi-Weekly OBSERVER $3 00 if paid in advance; $3 50 if paid during the year of subscription, or $4 after the year has expired.

Price of the Weekly OBSERVER $2 00 per annum, if paid in advance; $2 50 if paid during the year of subscription, or $3 00 after the year has expired.

☞ ADVERTISEMENTS inserted for 60 cents per square of 16 lines for the first, and 30 cents for each succeeding publication. Yearly advertisements by special contracts, at reasonable rates. Advertisers are requested to state the number of insertions desired, or they will be continued till forbid, and charged accordingly.

Advertisements to be inserted *inside*, charged 50 per cent extra.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

From and after this date, no name of a new subscriber will be entered without payment in advance, nor will the paper be sent to such subscribers for a longer time than is paid for.

Such of our old subscribers as desire to take the paper on this system will please notify us when making remittances. Jan'y 1, 1858.

FAYETTEVILLE HOTEL,
T. WADDILL, PROPRIETOR.

THIS, the most commodious Hotel in North Carolina, fronting 300 feet on Hay and Donaldson Streets, located in the centre of the business portion of the town, and surrounded by all the Banking Houses, Wholesale Merchants and principal Produce Dealers.

☞ Business men will find the Hotel a convenient and comfortable house.

The Stages arrive and depart from this Hotel.
Fayetteville, Oct. 1, 1858. 57-

SHEMWELL HOUSE,
FEW DOORS NORTH OF THE MARKET HOUSE.

OWING to the extensive increase of patronage to this House, during the year, I have extended my facilities by the addition of a number of comfortable sleeping rooms, with other important improvements, which will add materially to the comfort and convenience of those favoring me with their patronage.

To those who have been my kind friends and customers for the past six years, I tender my most sincere thanks, at the same time respectfully soliciting a continuance of their patronage, and also the patronage of a large number of new patrons.

I have good Stables and a No. 1 Ostler.
P. SHEMWELL.
Jan'y 16, 1860. 84-

EAGLE HOTEL,
ASHEVILLE, N. C.,
J. M. BLAIR, Proprietor.

The Proprietor knows that his location gives him unrivalled facilities for procuring articles conducive to eating, and he will dispense them to his guests in a liberal style.

Every comfort usually to be had in a first class Hotel, will be furnished to his guests.

Stage office for Morganton, at this House.
" " " Charlotte, " " "
" " " Spartanburg, S. C., " " "
" " " Greenville, " " "
" " " Greenville, Tenn., Daily, "

Besides which, good hacks and careful and attentive drivers can at all times be had to convey parties to any part of the splendid Mountain scenery of this region, such as the Black Mountain, the Swannanoa Gap, the Hickory Nut Gap and Falls, the Warm Springs, &c., all of which are within a short day's ride of Asheville.
Sept. 24, 1860. 58-1y

WESTERN RAIL ROAD.

THE following rates will now be charged for Passengers on this Road, viz:

To Little River,	50 cts.
To Spout Spring,	75 "
To Jonesboro',	1 00
To McIver's,	1 25

Train leaves the Depot Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at 8 o'clock A. M. Returning, leaves McIver's at 1 o'clock P. M.

C. B. MALLETT, Pres't.
Nov. 19, 1860. 71tf

NEAREST AND QUICKEST
ROUTE TO THE RAILROAD!

BEAMAN & ROBINSON'S
FOUR HORSE STAGE LINE TO KENANSVILLE,
VIA WARSAW,

Is the shortest and most expeditious for travelers going North or South. Leaving Fayetteville every day at 4 o'clock P. M. THROUGH IN TEN HOURS.

Our Coaches are large and comfortable, drivers sober and gentlemanly, our teams good and sure of five miles per hour.

The traveling public who would study their comfort and convenience will take the Warsaw Stage.

☞ THROUGH TICKETS TO WELDON may be had at the Stage Office, Fayetteville.
May 25, 1860. 25-tf

FAYETTEVILLE MUTUAL INSURANCE COMPANY.

Capital in Premium Notes amounts to $267,688 26
Cash on hand and other assets, 5,077 35
Total, $272,765 61

The Company have paid all losses promptly, and have never made an assessment on their premium notes.
Total losses paid, $29,682 69

OFFICERS:
GEO. McNEILL, President.
D. A. RAY, Vice President.
C. A. McMILLAN, Sec'y.

DIRECTORS:

Henry Lilly,	W. N. Tillinghast,
H. L. Myrover,	S. J. Hinsdale,
S. T. Hawley,	Wm. McLaurin,
Nathan A. Stedman,	T. S. Lutterloh,
C. B. Mallett,	A. W. Steel,
James Kyle,	J. G. Cook,
A. A. McKethan,	Hon. J. G. Shepherd,
J. D. Williams,	R. F. Brown, Wilm'gton.
S. W. Tillinghast,	A. E. Hall,

John Collins and C. C. McCrummen, Traveling Agents.

☞ The Company invite applications.
May 28, 1860. 21-1y

Fall Stock of
BOOKS AND STATIONERY.

We are now receiving a very full supply of Law, Medical and Miscellaneous Books; School Books; Blank Books; Writing Papers; Envelopes, &c.
E. J. HALE & SON.
October 8, 1860.

JAS. C. McRAE,
Attorney at Law,
Office West end of the Insurance Building,
Hay St., Fayetteville, N. C.
March 26, 1860. 3tf

FRENCH STRANGE,
Attorney at Law,
Fayetteville, N. C.
Office that recently occupied by C. G. Wright, Esq., over the one now occupied by him in Dr. Robinson's building, Green Street.
Dec'r 2, 1859. 72-

WM. McL. McKAY,
Attorney at Law,
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
WILL attend the County and Superior Courts of Cumberland, Harnett, Moore and Robeson Counties. Prompt attention given to the collection of all claims entrusted to his hands.
Oct. 17, 1859. 58-tf

LAW NOTICE.
THE Subscriber having removed from Summerville to Fayetteville, will attend the County and Superior Courts of Cumberland, Harnett and Moore. His office will be at his residence, on Green Street, opposite the Episcopal Church.
His correspondents will please address him hereafter at Fayetteville, instead of Summerville.
NEILL McKAY.
Jan'y 21, 1860. 85-tf

Law Notice
THE subscriber having retired from the Bench, with purpose to devote himself to the practice of the Law, will attend hereafter the counties of Cumberland, Robeson and Bladen, at all the Courts, and the Superior Courts of Richmond, Harnett and Sampson.
J. G. SHEPHERD.
June 4, 1860. 23tf

JOSEPH BAKER, Jr.,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
HAS taken an office next door to Wm. B. Wright's Law Office on Green Street. He will attend and practice in the County and Superior Courts of Cumberland, Bladen, Robeson and Sampson.
March 23, 1859. 79tf

A. D. McLEAN,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,
SUMMERVILLE, N. C.,
WILL attend the Courts of Cumberland, Moore, Johnston and Harnett Counties. PROMPT attention given to the collection of all claims entrusted to his care.
Dec'r 20, 1859. 78-1y

RORY McNAIR,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,
LUMBERTON, N. C.
WILL attend and practice in the County and Superior Courts of Robeson, Richmond and Cumberland. All business intrusted to him will receive prompt attention and collections punctually remitted.
Oct. 6, 1859. 55tf

JOHN P. FULLER,
Attorney and Counsellor at Law,
WILL PRACTICE IN THE COURTS OF
Robeson, Cumberland, Columbus and Bladen.
Office at Lumberton, Robeson Co., N. C.
July 5, 1859 29tf

Dr. THEO. MARTINE,
OFFICE, HAY STREET, opposite the Post Office.
Medical Electricity applied.
Fayetteville, Oct. 17, 1860. 62tf

MEDICAL NOTICE.
D. McL. GRAHAM, M. D., offers his professional services to the public. Office on Hay Street, four doors West of Post Office, where he may be found at all times, when not professionally engaged.
July 13, 1860. 35-1y

DENTAL NOTICE.
R. SCOTT may be seen regularly at his Office on Person Street, two doors East of the Market, during the hours of from 8 A. M. to 1 P. M.; 2 P. M. to 6 P. M.
Oct. 1. 57-tf

DENTISTRY.

DR. J. DAVIS having decided on permanently locating in the Town of Fayetteville, respectfully offers his services to the citizens of this place and surrounding country. In all the various branches of his Profession, including the manufacture of Mineral Teeth, he is satisfied, after an extensive experience, to which is added a thorough Dental education, that he can give entire satisfaction as far as is in the power of Dentistry. All irregularities of the Teeth treated in a proper and careful manner, as well as diseases of the mouth. None but the proper metals are made use of in the various operations. Charges will be moderate, that the benefits of the Profession may be placed within the reach of all who may feel an interest in the preservation of the Teeth.

☞ Office over Houston's Jewelry Store, where he may be found at all times.
May 10, 1858. 9tf

W. H. CARVER,
Dealer in Dry Goods, Groceries, and Provisions,
WILL always keep a good Stock of Seasonable Goods on hand, to sell cheap for Cash, or exchange for Produce at Cash prices.
Hay Street, Fayetteville, N. C., April 16. 9-tf

B. F. PEARCE,
—WITH—
A. N. McDONALD,
Commission Merchant and Produce Dealer,
AND DEALER IN
Groceries, Provisions,
Hardware, Cutlery,
Boots, Shoes and Leather,
Bagging, Rope, Saddlery, &c.,
Foreign and Domestic Liquors.
Sheetings and Yarns at Manufacturers' prices.
☞ Strict attention paid to orders. ☜
SOUTH SIDE HAY STREET,
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
Sept. 24, 1860. 55tf

M. A. BAKER,
COPPER SMITH.
TURPENTINE STILLS manufactured on the most favorable terms. All work warranted.
Call and see for yourselves, at Fayetteville, N. C.
Oct. 22. 63tf

T. C. & B. G. WORTH,
Commission and Forwarding Merchants,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
Jan'y 28, 1859 84tf

WILLIAM J. PRICE,
Inspector of Turpentine,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
☞ Will attend promptly to all business entrusted to his care.
March 29. 4-1ypd

ALFRED ALDERMAN,
Inspector of Naval Stores,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
WILL attend promptly to the transaction of all business consigned to his care.
Nov. 9. 69-6m pd

W. P. KENDALL. J. S. KENDALL.
W. P. KENDALL & SON,
General Commission Merchants,
SOUTH WATER STREET.
WILMINGTON, N. C.
ORDERS from the Country respectfully solicited. On consignments of Cotton and other Produce, liberal cash advances will be made when desired.
Oct. 17, 1860. 63tf

JOHN M. CLARK,
Commission and Forwarding Merchant,
—DEALER IN—
Lime, Cement, Plaster, Hair, &c.
LUTTERLOH'S WHARF, WILMINGTON, N. C.
AGENCY FOR STEAMERS KATE McLAURIN AND SUN.
April 20, 1860. 11tf

A. W. FULLER,
WHOLESALE GROCER
AND
Commission Merchant,
NORTH WATER ST.,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
Oct. 8, 1860 59-6m

G. W. BULLARD.
Commission Merchant,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
PROMPT and PERSONAL attention will be given to the sale of Naval Stores, Cotton, Lumber, Timber, and all other country produce.

REFER TO
O. G. PARSLEY, Pres't Com. Bank at Wilmington.
JOHN DAWSON, " S. N. C., at do.
Messrs. H. & E. J. LILLY, } Fayetteville.
Messrs. PEMBERTON & SLOAN, }
A. PARKER, Esq., Harnett County, N. C.
May 7, 1860. 15tf

C. H. ROBINSON. H. H. ROBINSON.
C. H. ROBINSON & CO.,
Commission and Forwarding Merchants,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
☞ Consignments and country orders will receive prompt personal attention.
March 17, 1860. 2tf

Wm. H. TURLINGTON,
Commission Merchant,
WILMINGTON, N. C.
WILL give special attention to the sale or shipment of all Naval Stores, Cotton, Flour, Timber, and other country produce.
Refers to: H. R. Savage, Cashier Bank of Cape Fear, Wilmington; Jno. Dawson, Pres't Wilmington Branch Bank of North Carolina; W. H. Jones, Cashier Raleigh Branch Bank of Cape Fear.
Nov 9, 1859 65-tf

JOSEPH R. BLOSSOM.
COMMISSION
AND
Forwarding Merchant,
Wilmington, N. C.
☞ Prompt personal attention given to all Consignments, and Cash advances made on Produce to be shipped to other ports or sold in this market.
Feb. 12, 1855. 67tf

JNO. S. DANCY, JNO. H. HYMAN, F. M. HYMAN,
Late of Tarboro'. Late of Scotland Neck. Late of Warrenton.
DANCY, HYMAN & CO.,
GROCERS & COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
124 Pearl Street,
NEW YORK.

HYMAN, DANCY & Co.,
Commission Merchants,
NORFOLK, VA.
The New York House will be conducted by JNO. S. DANCY, aided by R. W. HYMAN.
The Norfolk House will be conducted by JNO. H. HYMAN and F. M. HYMAN.
☞ Particular attention given to the sale of COTTON, CORN, WHEAT, NAVAL STORES, &c.
Sept. 11, 1860. 53tf

EDWIN H. RANNEY,
General Commission Merchant,
32 South Wharves, between Market & Chestnut Sts.
PHILADELPHIA.
Consignments of Cotton, Naval Stores, Flour, Rice, &c. will always receive his prompt personal attention.
Advances will be made only on actual Consignments.

REFERENCES:
T. S. & T. G. Bunn, Charleston. Walker, Evans & Co. Charleston
S. Wyatt & Co. " Ellis & Mitchell, Wilmington.
James Tupper, Esq. " Henry Nutt, Esq. "
R. C. Dessley, Esq. " Jno. James & Taylor, Richm'd.
W. Y. Leitch, Esq. " Rev. J. Lewis Shuck, California
William Pettigrew, M. D. " Jesse W. Benedict, Esq. N. Y.
Rev. W. B. Carson, 2d So. Bap. John W. Sexton, Esq., Phila.
March 9. 99-1Y

SHAD SEINE TWINE.
W. MacINTYRE
HAS RECEIVED
100 BUNDLES COTTON SEINE TWINE.
25 bundles Hemp Seine Twine.
Fayetteville, Nov. 19, 1860. 71-3w

Notice to Contractors.
PROPOSITIONS for the building of a Wooden Court House at Lillington, Harnett County, will be received until the second Monday in December 1860. Plans and specifications may be seen by applying to Benjamin F. Shaw, at Summerville, Harnett County.
For information address the undersigned at Johnsonville, N. C.
R. C. BELDEN,
For Building Committee.
Sept 14, 1860. 53-t10D

Negroes! Negroes!! Wanted.
GENTLEMEN, your old customers are yet in market. All who have negroes for sale, would do well to give us a call or address us.
J. A McARTHUR }
L. A. POWELL. } POWELL & McARTHUR.
Clinton, N. C., July 9, 1860. 33-6mpd

NOW IN MARKET.
ALL persons having NEGROES for sale, will do well to address the subscriber at Clinton, Sampson county, as he is determined to buy and pay as liberal prices for them as the state of the market will permit.
By addressing him he will call immediately, and make liberal offers, as all will find who will try him.
CHARLES T. STEVENS.
Clinton, Sampson Co., Sept. 10, 1860. 52-1ypd

ALMANACS FOR 1861.
FARMER'S AND PLANTER'S.
TURNER'S NORTH CAROLINA.
October 16. E. J. HALE & SONS.

HUSKE & ANDERSON,
—DEALERS IN—
Staple and Fancy Dry Goods,
Ready-Made Clothing,
And Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods
of every description.
BALLOU'S FRENCH YOKE SHIRTS,
Boots and Shoes, Hats and Caps, &c. &c.
☞ Five per cent. off for all Cash Bills of $25 and upwards.
Nos. 46 and 48 Hay St., (Hotel Building,)
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.
WRIGHT HUSKE, JOHN H. ANDERSON.
Formerly B'k Cape Fear. For'ly with J. A. Pemberton.
Nov. 28, 1860. 74tf

Call at M. A. BAKER'S and get your Fire Arms!
GUNS, RIFLES and PISTOLS of all the best patterns now in use, and at as low prices as they can be had in any city or town in the United States or England.
M. A. BAKER.
Fayetteville, Dec'r 3. 75tf

The Undersigned
IS prepared (at short notice,) to supply families and *others*, with Oak and Pine Wood of the best quality, and at the lowest market prices. B. ROSE.
Dec. 3. 75-3t

CATTLE WANTED.
I WANT to purchase 100 head of Cattle, Heifers, Steers, and every other description. I will winter cattle for Five Dollars each, or if they die before March no charge. Persons wishing MILK or CREAM, can be furnished on application to Mrs. Ida E. Breece, on Dick Street, at the former McLeran residence.
JOSEPH BREECE.
Dec'r 3. 75-3t

Cigars! Cigars!!
36,000 CIGARS, CHOICE brands, just received per Str Flora and for sale low, by
MRS. M. BANKS.
Nov. 29. 74-2w

Smoking Tobacco.
30 BALES of Virginia Powhatan Tobacco, a first-rate article, for sale by MRS. M. BANKS.
Nov. 29. 74-2w

Star Polish of the South!
MANUFACTURED BY
A. J. WOODWARD,
FAYETTEVILLE, N. C.

That Polish! How it Shines. Many of you recollect nine years ago that I travelled through North Carolina and a portion of South Carolina for the purpose of introducing this Polish. As time elapsed I found that it would mould. I have succeeded in making it perfect and will warrant it to give satisfaction. It can be had at retail for 10 cents per box or at wholesale for sixty cents per dozen. Dealers will forward their orders two weeks previous to the time they wish them filled.
May 5, 1860. 15-1y

ÆTNA INSURANCE COMPANY,
HARTFORD, CONN.
Incorporated 1819. Charter Perpetual.

Authorized Capital,	$1,500,000 00
Paid up Capital,	1,500,000 00
Assets,	2,030,423 80

DIRECTORS.

T. K. BRACE.	S. S. WARD.
S. TUDOR.	H. Z. PRATT.
J. CHURCH.	A. DUNHAM.
R. BUELL.	G. F. DAVIS.
E. FLOWER.	D. HILLYER.
E. A. BULKELEY.	T. A. ALEXANDER.
R. MATHER.	W. KENEY.
E. G. RIPLEY.	C. H. BRAINARD.

W. F. TUTTLE.
E. G. RIPLEY, Pres't. T. A. ALEXANDER, V. Pres't.
T. K. BRACE, Jr., Sec'y. A. A. WILLIAMS, Adjuster.
☞ Rates as low as PERFECT SOLVENCY and fair profit will allow. ☜

ASSETS.—July 1859.

	Market value
Bank Stocks in New York, Hartford, Boston, St. Louis, &c.,	$915,344 00
United States Stock and Treasury Notes,	215,126 50
State Stocks: New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri,	168,005 00
City Stocks, Hartford, Rochester, Brooklyn, Jersey City,	116,000 00
Railroad Stocks: Hartford and New Haven, Boston and Worcester, Conn. River,	87,058 00
Mortgage Bonds,	83,089 60
Real Estate, unincumbered,	70,103 78
Miscellaneous Items,	25,348 77
Cash, on hand and deposited on call, and in agents' hands,	350 303 15
	$2,030,423 80

LIABILITIES.

Claims: unadjusted and not due,	$88,242 08

☞ Agent of the above Company in Fayetteville,
E. J. HALE.
March 21, 1860. 3tf

THE NORTH CAROLINA MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,
NOW in the tenth year of successful operation, with growing capital and firmer hold upon public confidence, continues to insure the lives of all healthy persons from 14 to 60 years of age, for one year, for seven years, and for life—all life members sharing in the profits.
All slaves from 10 to 60 years of age are insured for one year or for five years for two-thirds their value.
All losses are punctually paid within 90 days after satisfactory proof is presented.
For further information the public is referred to Agents of the Company in all parts of the State, and to
R. H. BATTLE, Secretary, Raleigh.
E. J. HALE, Agent at
Jan'y 1859. Fayetteville, N. C.

Starkie on Evidence, Vol. 1 New
Edition, with Notes and References, by Sharswood.
July 10. E. J. HALE & SONS.

Harness Horse for Sale.
I WISH to sell a first-rate medium size HARNESS HORSE. GEORGE B. BAKER.
Oct. 15. 61tf

Vol. 8th Bancroft's United States
July 10. E. J. HALE & SON.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

This morning's mail brought this anxiously expected document. Without stopping to read it we hasten to lay it before our readers.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:

Throughout the year since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress or the territorial legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union, (as others have been,) in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a matron throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. Self-preservation is the first law of nature, and has been implanted in the heart of man by his Creator for the wisest purpose; and no political union, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, can long continue, if the necessary consequence be to render the homes and the firesides of nearly half the parties to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and and twenty years, the agitation at the North, against slavery in the South, has been incessant. In 1835 pictorial hand-bills, and inflammatory appeals, were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war." This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appeals in pamphlet and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names have been sent forth from this central point and spread broadcast over the Union.

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this distracted country.

They, and they alone, can do it. All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right so interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or in Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forebearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his own political proclivities, to restore peace and harmony among the States. Wisely limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority, of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of "a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of powers not granted by the Constitution. The late presidential election, however, has been held in strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to destroy this very Constitution? Reason, justice, a regard for the Constitution, all require that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous act on the part of the President elect before resorting to such a remedy.

It is said, however, that the antecedents of the President elect have been sufficient to justify the fears of the South that he will attempt to invade their Constitutional rights. But are such apprehensions of contingent danger in the future sufficient to justify the immediate destruction of the noblest system of government ever devised by mortals? From the very nature of his office, and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right. After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government. His province is not to make, but to execute, the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missouri Compromise, impairing, in the slightest degree, the rights of the South to their property in slaves. And it may also be observed, judging from present indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Congress. Surely, under these circumstances, we ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spoke, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." The day of evil may never come, unless we shall rashly bring it upon ourselves.

It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what authority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from these Territories; and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under the protection of the Constitution.

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to any thingthey have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future danger is no good reason for an immediate dissolution of the Union. It is true that the territorial legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of February, 1860, passed in great haste an act, over the veto of the governor, declaring that slavery "is and shall be, forever prohibited in this Territory." Such an act, however, plainly violating the rights of property secured by the Constitution, will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration the Supreme Court of the U. S. solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a territorial legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugned before the people, and the question has given rise to angry political conflicts throughout the country. Those who have appealed from this judgment of our highest constitutional tribunal to popular assemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial legislature with power to annul the sacred rights of property. This power Congress is expressly forbidden by the Federal Constitution to exercise. Every State legislature in the Union is forbidden by its own constitution to exercise it. It cannot be exercised in any State except by the people in their highest sovereign capacity when framing or amending their State constitution. In like manner, it can only be exercised by the people of a Territory represented in a convention of delegates for the purpose of framing a constitution preparatory to admission as a State into the Union Then, and not until then, are they invested with power to decide the question whether slavery shall or shall not exist within their limits. This is an act of sovereign authority, and not of subordinate territorial legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting majorities of an irresponsible territorial legislature. Such a doctrine, from its intrinsic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a good reason for a dissolution of the Union.

The most palpable violations of constitutional duty which have yet been committed consist in the acts of different State legislatures to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law. It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts, neither Congress nor any President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are therefore null and void. All the courts, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning declared the fugitive slave law to be constitutional. The single exception is that of a State court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent. The validity of this law has been established over and over again by the Supreme Court of the United States with perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service in one State to another shall be "delivered up" to their masters. Without this provision, it is a well-known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention. In one form or other the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the the fugitive-slave law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here, then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor in executing this supreme law against the conflicting enactments of State legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will then have manifested a disregard of the Constitution and laws, to the great injury of the people of nearly one-half of the States of the Union. But are we to presume in advance that he will thus violate his duty? This would be at war with every principle of justice and of Christian charity. Let us wait for the overt act. The fugitive-slave law has been carried into execution in every contested case since the commencement of the present administration; though often, it is to be regretted, with great loss and inconvenience to the master, and with considerable expense to the government. Let us trust that the State legislatures will repeal their unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. Unless this shall be done without unnecessary delay, it is impossible for any human power to save the Union.

The Southern States, standing on the basis of the Constitution, have a right to demand this act of justice from the States of the North. Should it be refused, then the Constitution, to which all the States are parties, will have been wilfully violated by one portion of them in a provision essential to the domestic security and happiness of the remainder. In that event, the injured States, after having first used all peaceful and constitutional means to obtain redress, would be justified in revolutionary resistance to the gov't of the Union.

I have purposely confined my remarks to revolutionary resistance, because it has been claimed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the