NEW SERIES VOL. II-NO. 49.

WADESBOROUGH, N. C., THURSDAY, AUGUST 16, 1860.

WHOLE NO. 101.

## NORTH CAROL NA ARGUS.

PUBLISHED FEELY
FENTON BARLEY.

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advance.

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From the Nashville Patriot. CONSPIRACY TO BREAK UP THE UNION.

THE PLOT AND ITS DEVELOPMENTS. IRREFRAGIBLE PROOF OF A DELIBERATE AND SETTLED PURPOSE TO REVOLUTIONIZE THE GOVERNMENT.

Who are the Supporters of Breckin-ridge and Lane?

LET THE MASSES READ AND PONDER

The first serious attempt to dissolve the Union and revolutionize the Government of this Republie was made by the State of South Carolina in 1832-3. It met with no sympathy outside of the State, and Gen. Jackson, then President, gave it an effectual quietus. The suprocates of accession, at that day, and in that State, were forced to retire from their unequal contest in disgrace, or surrender their position, and to address themselves to the correction of what they conceived to be evil and injustice in a constitutional way. Hence we heard but little more of secession and disunion for nearly twenty years.

In 1850-51, however, the agitation of the

question of slavery growing out of the acquisi-tion of territory from Mexico, gave rise to a state of feeling between the North and the Southwhich was fearfully violent. There was, before that time, a latent spirit of enmity toward the Union, lurking in the breasts of a few discontented and restless spirits-of which it is sufficient evidence to recite the course of Mr. Wm. L. Yanesy in an effort to break up the Baltimore Democratic Convention of 1849. The agitation of 1850 was disposed of by the series of acts passed by Congress during that year, familiarly known to the country as the "compromise measures." Upon the passage of these the small dis-union faction suddenly rose to an importance which it never had attained before. In several of the Southern States, in elections following, the issue was made of submission to those measures, or dissolution of the Union. The question was discussed before the people, and every effort made to fire the public mind, to arouse the pop-ular passions, and to bring about a violent disruption of the Government. It was at this time that Hon. Jeff. Davis, now the leading secessionstain of degredation" which those measures, in his estimation, imposed. He ran as a candidate for Governor of Mississippi on that issue, and was defeated before the people. In other States similar issues were made, and the people throughout the South placed the seal of their condemnation upon the enemies of the Union at the ballot-box. this excited feeling was at its highest pitch, a southern convention was called to convene in this city, to extend the spirit of disunion, and make

Thus covered with defeat, baffled at every point, rejected, spurned, and driven from place. and the hope of place, the disunionists retired from the contest in humiliation and same. In be known as the 'Leaguers of the South;' and 1852, they, with the shame hypocritical solemnious more than the shame hypocritical solemnious more motto shall be, A Southern Republic is our ty which distinguishes their present professions only safety. love, and admiration, and friendship for the Union, met with the Democracy in national convention, and proclaimed that the "Compromise measures" of 1850, were a just and final settlement of the slavery question. They gave their adhesion to the Union, as they now pretend to do, and declared they would shed their blood in its and declared they would such of injustice, ag-defense. We heard no more of injustice, aggression and unconstitutional enactments." now the spirit of treason and disunion is a rain abroad in ourland. It now has no congressional compromise as a point of attack, as a rallying cry. But the enemies of the Union have what they imagine will serve their purpose equally as well. They now hold that the election of a Black Republican to the presidency, is a just cause for sepeople, for such a thing has scarcely been seriously considered by them, but the leaders. It is the inception of this idea and the means to be used to bring that contingency about, that is the United States. We propose to present such an array of facts, as will satisfy all that it is the purpose of certain of the leaders of the Baltimore "8. Each primary league may send as many secession movement which nominated Breckinridge for the Presidency, to overthrow and terminate the existing government of the United

people it was rejected with scorn and indignation.

States.

We begin this array by citing a fact, which was disclosed for the first time in Knoxville, in this State, on the occasion of a Union meeting held in that city in the month of January last.

held in that city in the month of January last.

Judge Bailey, who was a citizen of Georgia until
within a short time previous to that time, delivered a speech on that occasion, in which, according to the Knoxville Whig:

"He said, that during the pesidential contest,
Governor Wise had addressed letters to all the
southern governom—and that the one to the
Governor of Florida had been shown him—in
which Wise said that he had an army in readiwithin a short time previous to that time, delivered a speech on that occasion, in which, according to the Knoxville Whig:

"He said, that during the pesidential contest, Governor Wise had addressed letters to all the southern governors—and that the one to the Governor of Florida had been shown him—in which Wise said that he had an army in reading his said that he had an army in reading houses to prevent Fremont from taking his seat if elected, and saking the co-operation of those to whom he wrote!"

whenover he shall deem it expedient; and any side of the Union, with those who have already solemnly shown the will, and would have acquired the orthogon for the applicant of the dectrine of non-intervention, we are fold the discount of the dectrine of non-intervention, we are fold the considered as a part of the Governor of Florida had been shown him—in which Wise said that he had an army in readicled, and asking the co-operation of those to elected, and saking the co-operation of those to elected, and saking the co-operation of those to the league of shown the will, and would have acquired the ontour the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant to the during the pesident and to the cleague of shown the will, and would have acquired the ontour carried the cleague of shown the will, and would have acquired the other of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. Buchanan: If we ask for the applicant of the dection of Mr. B

Here we have the fact that it has been in conmplation from the first national struggle after the organization of the Republican party, to re-sist the inauguration of a member of that party as President of the United States-though he were elected fairly by the people under the sanc-tions and all the forms prescribed by the Federal Constitution, without awaiting any hostile dem-onstration, or any overt act which should justify resort to such extremities.

We next trace the course of Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabams, who is now the recognized leader in the accession movements in the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic conventions, which even-tuated in the nomination of Mr. Breckinridge for the Presidency. Though a disorganizer in 1848 and a disunionist in 1850-51, we begin our quotations from his out-givings with the 10th of May, 1858, as it was only then that he began to of which the subjoined is an extract :

"I must be allowed, at least on my own behalf, welcome you too, as but the foreshadowing of that far more important body; important as you evidently will be, that if injustance and wrong shall continue to rule the hour and councils of the dominant section of the country, must, ere long, assemble upon Southern soil for the purpose of devising some measure by which not only your industrial, but your social and political rela-tions shall be placed upon the basis of an independent sovereignty, which will have within itself a unity of climate, a unity of soil, a unity of production and a unity of social relations; that unity which alone can be the basis of a successful and permanent government."

At that session the chief topic of discussion in the convention was the re-opening of the American slave trade, and a general exposition of the supposed wrongs of the South. Mr. Yancey had a good opportunity of conferring with the ultraists of other Southern States, on the subject of secession and disunion, which, we are led to believe, he industriously improved. For within about a month afterwards be addressed a letter to Mr Jas. S. Slaughter, dated June 15th, 1858, which is as follows:

"I hardly agree with you that a general movement can be made that will clean out the Augean show. would result in giving place to a greater and hun-grier swarm of flies. The remedy of the South is tion of her true men, for prompt resistance to the can precipitate the cotton States into a revolution.

South by Mr. Ruffin-has been taken up and ing up their old party relations on all other ques-

Advertiser had taken it up and recommended it ist in the National Legislature, declared that "he was for resistance, and would never submit to the and sustain the treason, were to retain their tunately for Mr. Yancey and his fellow conspiraparty relations on other questions-they were to tors, one, supposed to be suitable in all respects, give their entire faith to their leaders, have their was found in the idea of Congressional proteccipitate the cotton States into a revolution." Delta, a well known disunion paper, cautiously Mr. Yancey lost no time in setting on toot the put forward the doctrine of Congressional proproposed organization, and to enlist the masses' tection. under his disunion and revolutionary banner. On the 10th of July following he repaired to in the first days of January, 1858, it was formal cording to the established creed of the North are the country, and at Bethel church, in the county it paramont in the Southern States. It also re-sulted in an ignominious failure. Wherever, and ple who had assembled to hear him. His theme, in whatever shape, the issue was presented to the of course, was the wrongs and oppressions of the South. At the conclusion of his speech a "League" was formed, under the following constitution as a basis of organization:

" 1. The members of this organization shall be known as the 'Leaguers of the South;' and

2. There shall be primary leagues, State leaugues, and a league of the Southern States. "3. Any five or more Southern citizens may form a primary league by subscribing their names

to this constitution.

"4. The State league shall be formed by the primary leagues within the State; and the league of the Southern States shall be formed by the union of the State leagues.

" 5. Each league shall elect a president, vicepresident, secretary, treasurer, and such other officers as it may deem useful; and the officers shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors shall have been elected.

"6. As soon as it shall be ascertained that three primary leagues have been organized, the cession, disunion, and revolution. They have presidents thereof, or a majority of them shall cultivated this idea for several years—not the agree upon a time and place for the organization agree upon a time and place for the organization of a State league, and when organized it shall direct the time and place of its meetings.

"7. And as soon as it shall be ascertained that three State leagues have been organized the purpose of this article, and to present the evidence presidents, or a majority of them, shall agree up-of a preconcerted, cold-blooded, deliberate, heart- on a time and place for the organization of the less conspiracy to break up the Union of these leagues of the Southern States, and, when or. thus stated it:

representatives as it may select to the assembly the State league, but its vote shall be counted proportion to the number of its members.

"10. The president of any league may call a meeting of the league over which he presides

the masses, which was to "control parties, legislatures and statesmen." To what extent and how rapidly it succeeded, we have no means of knowing; but subsequent events would indicate that Mr. Yancey thought the plot had grown to Le wide and strong enough to warrant a bold attempt to sectionalize the country in the present Presidential campaign. In the meantime, the and there are peculiar reasons why such a move-revolutionary letter to Mr. Slaughter having ment should be undertaken now and here. Indeed, been published in the newspapers, and being severely criticised by the Richmond South, Mr. Yancey wrote a letter to the editor, Mr. Roger of this city, of all parties, and the plans of a A. Pryor, by way of defense and explanation. Southern organization have been set on foot and A. Pryor, by way of defense and explanation,

ginia to take any initiative steps towards a dissoprepare actively to consummate the aim which had a partial fruition at Baltimore. On that day, the Southern convection met in the city of Montgomery. At the opening of that convention, he delivered an address of welcome to the delegates, and approved by the ablest men in Virginia, as you yourself must be aware,) would seem to demand that, when such a movement takes place by any considerable number of Southern States, Virginia and the other border States should remain in the Union, where by their position and their counsels, they could prove more effective friends than by moving out of the Union, and thus giving the Southern confederacy a long, abolition, hostile border to watch. In the event of the movement being successful, in time Virginia and the other border States that desired it. could join the Southern confederacy and be protected by the power of its affirmance and its di-

Here we have the important disclosure that the scheme had been submitted to, understood and approved by the ablest men in Virginia, and that Mr. Pryor was also then in the secret. In publishing this extract on the 9th of September, 1858, in the columns of the Patriot we asked Mr. Pryor the question, "who are these ablest men in Virginia, who had digested, understood and approved" this well considered southern policy?-and though we exchanged with the South, and doubtless it was cognizant of the question, he failed to answer. Undoubtedly Gov. Wise was one of the men referred to, as a circumstance presently mentioned will more fully

The foregoing completely demonstrates that a preconcerted, deliberately planned and organized scheme to break up the Union of the States was not such a process. It is in a diligent organiza- concocted, taking its shape from secret consultations held by men from various Southern States next aggression. It must come, in the nature of during the sitting of the southern convention at it becomes us to prepare for an immediate withthings. No national party can save us; no sectional party can do it. But if we could do as our fath-that Wm. L. Yancey, the head and front of us together; and we hold it to be the first duty, ers did, organize committees of safety all over the Breckinridge party at the South, was the as it should be the first object of Southern states the cotton States, (and it is only in them that we leading spirit in the wicked and traitorous procan hope for any effective movement) we shall ceeding. It also proves, beyond question that ern Confederacy, and thereby establish Southern fire the Southern heart-instruct the southern the entire design, plot and aim rested, in its in- independence. mind - give courage to each other, and at the proper coption, on no ground other than cold blooded moment, by one organized, concerted action, we precipitate the cotton States into a revolution. union per se, of itself and without cause, would This idea has been shadowed forth in the suspected Mr. Yancey of a lack of sense. He recommended in the Advertiser, under the name well knew that the whole conspiracy would fail, of "League of United Southerners," who, keep- and that he and his condjutors would be overwhelmed with disgrace, unless the people could tions, will hold the southern issue paramount, and be brought up to its support. The plan was all will influence parties, legislatures, and statesmen.

I have no time to enlarge, but suggest merely."

He had introduced into the Southern convention He had evidently now pretty well matured his at Montgomery, or procured to be introduced. suggestions. So far as the plot had gone, its but it was soon found that such a pretext alone diabolical excellence was never surpassed. Mr. would not meet the popular acceptance and ap-Ruffin had agreed to it, and the Montgomery proval, and that it could not be relied on to answer the purpose. Another more directly affectpassions duly aroused by fiery appeals, and at tion to slavery in the Territories. About the the proper moment, we (the leaders) can pre- 10th of September, 1858, the New Orleans

> Here the finger of Gov. Wise is plainly discernible. But a short time previous he had approved that the doctrine of Congressional protection was

The parties of this disunion intrigue perfectly well knew that the proposition was impracticablethat there was no reasonable hope of bringing Congress, under existing circumstances, to grant the emand. They knew, also, that it would inevitably create a division of the Democratic party, whereby it would be demoralized and denational ized. At the time they did not know, however, that the present movement would be so successfully brought forward. The calculation was to break up the Democratic party (as Mr. Yancey intimated in his Slaughter letter) to excite vio lent sectional antagonism, to unite the North against the South, and the South against the North, and thus insure the election of a Republican candidate. Upon this event, thus designedly effected, the programme was and is to resist his inauguration, and bring on the final catastrophe. At this juncture, Jefferson Davis appears upon the stage to play his part in the infamous drama. In the autumn of 1858, on his return from a tour through the Northern and Eastern States, he delivered an address at Jackson, Miss., in which he broached the idea of a disunion in the event of the election of a Republican. This was the first declaration of this purporse by a leading man. He

"If an Abolitionist be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the Government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies? Without pausing for your answer, I will state my own position to be Each State league may send as many that such a result would be a species of revolution representatives as it may select to the council of by which the purposes of the Government would events have more than confirmed this opinion, the speaker argued that Mississippi sepa that we have but little hope in looking to a Fedinger of the States shall have but one vote.

The president of any league may call a manner as should be most expedient, I should In every combat we have lost ground; in every connection with the Abolition States." deem it your duty to provide for your safety out- argument our forces have been weakened; in

remembering always his duty to the South." 1859, the newspapers began to prepare the pubshould be contented. If we demand the rendistrance of true states. Thus was the organization set on foot among lie mind for the issues concocted, in the manner tion of our fugitive slaves, we are pointed to their manship in the South, and such as to bring above recited, and to be enforced by the leaders statute books, to laws nullifying the laws of Conabout the desired southern confederacy. He
during the then approaching summer campaign. during the then approaching summer campaign. We now group a few expressions from that source;

The times are now ripe for the organization of political movement in the slave holding States. espective, of course, of all old party designations; we are credibly informed that conferences have already been held by leading patriotic gentlemen in the course of which he says:

"It is equally true that I do not expect Vircarnestly hope the good work may go on, and

The country, we repeat, is ripe for the move- that we should seek our redress. ment, and if judiciously inaugurated, it will sweep over the land with a force that no opposition will and to keep themselves from all entangling al-

The Charleston Mercury, in April, 1859, said of the Democratic Presidential Convention of the present year, "Unless it is limited exclusively to lelegates from the South, it will be no Convention of the Democratic party." How truly it spoke the disunion sentiment late events have fully

TFrom the New Orleans Delta, April 1859. In 1860 the South and the North are to be arrayed in deadly contest; the battle of the sections is then to be fought for the last time, and its issue is to be decisive of our fate.

[From the Montgomery Advertiser, March, 1839.]
It is important that we should send such men o represent us [in Congress] as possess the abili ty to combat the approaches of Republicanism, and the nerve to secode from Washington in case abolitionism should instal one of its leaders in the Executive mansion of the nation. It is important to the South also, that her delegation show resent a united front of State-rights Democrats, or in the principles and the doctrines of the State rights Democracy rest the hope of the South in the Union or out of it.

[From the Enfaula (Ma.) Express. March, 1859. Could we all think and feel plike, were our in terests identical and our occupations similar, we might adopt a common government without detriment to either; but as we are different in all these men and the Southern press to inaugurate a South-

There are of the members of Congress from the different States of the South a number of staunch State-rights men. As the Democratic party goes to pieces, these will form the nucleus of a Southern organization which must be formed to meet the aggressions of Northern consolidation through the general Government. \* \*

There can be no doubt that the politicians no less than the people of the South are strengthening in the opinion that nothing is left but taking their destinies in their own keeping. Yet there is a great reluctance to acknowledge the truth, and men hide their eyes to it as long as possible. By the end of the next session we may look to be out of the woods. When the Democratic party is resolved into its Northern and Southern elements. now incongruously joined for the sake of the spoils, then the South will wheel into line for the defense of her rights on the positions occupied by the State rights men.

[From the Enfaula Spirit of the South, March, 1859. The North and the South agreeing about some things and differing about others made a Union for their benefit and a Constitution for their com-It was shortly taken up by other journals, and mon government. The Supreme Court, who, acly promulgated by the Richmond Enquirer, the final expounders of that Constitution, say that by its provisions slavery is protected in the Territories, but the greater portion of the North dethe course of Mr. Douglas in his split with the nounces that decision openly, while the remainder Administration, and the sudden change of front coverily repudiate it. What remains then, but to by his organ shows an undoubted understanding do that which has been done in all ages and countries, by sensible and right-minded people, who to be made, for the first time, an issue by party have the misfortune to differ irreconcilably-to seperate.

(From the Charleston Meccury, May, 1859. A revolution is, the cfore, inevitable. mission or resistance will alike establish it. The old Union-the Union and the Constitution-of equal rights between sovereign States is abolished. It is gone forever; strangled by consolidation, and now the instrument of centralism, to establish an irresponsible despotism of the North over the South. To break up the present Union and establish another of the South alone, is no greater revolution than that which now exists. In fact it will be a lesser change. Let the struggle come when it may, the South, to achieve her safety, will have to trample down a Union party in the track of her political emancipation.

The above extract from the Washington cor- and make them a power of the earth. respondent of the Charleston Mercury, so clearly in the city of Washington, who had, at that early in preference to dishonor in it." day, arranged the entire course to be pursued. The

nett, a very prominent man in North Mississippi, in a letter to the editor of the Grenada Locomo-

"Since 1850, it has been my opinion, and recent

With a full knowledge of all these facts, I appeal to every fair-minded man in the South, if it is not time to cease this idle talk, and let our demand be made known in language that cannot be misunderstood, demanding congressional legis'ation for the protection of slaves in the Territories as being in unison with the phrinest principles of justice, equal rights, common sense and the man-

"This being refused as our common right under the compact in the Union: then let us seek equality outside of the compact of the Union where the laws of God, the rights of man, and the feelings of free men counsel us unerringly

" And having, as I do, but the faintest hope that over the land with a force that no opposition will be able to check. We therefore caution our friends not justly conclude that it is fatile to fix our in the country everywhere, to be prepared for it, hopes upon Congress for protection and aid? I answer, to ourselves, to the means within our liances which may hinder them from joining in it reach to the proper organization of our own at Jackson, Miss., on the 6th July. He said :

Hon. John J. Pettus, the present governor of Mississippi, during his canvass for that office some hostile demonstration toward the South bepian replied :

"The informant of the Whig is clearly in error. Col. Pettus, at all times and places, in his public speeches and private conversations, in his open Black Republican to the Presidency upon the avowed purposes of the anti-slavery organization. In his speech at Scooba, in his own county, on the 6th inst., (August.) he went so far as to declare, according to the DeKalb Democrat, whose editor was present and reported his remarks, that, " although he now held, as it were, the chief magistracy of the State in his hands, he would freely give it up and retire from the canvass, if h thought the people would not sustain "him in strong resistance to the inauguration of a Black

Republican President. In July, 1859, the following question were propounded to Hon. L. P. Walker, of Alabama, by the editor of the Pagtsville Advocate:

"1. Is it the duty of Congress to intervene for the protection of slavery in the Territories of the United States?

"2. Are you in favor of a repeal of the laws of Congress, which declare the foreign slave trade piracy?

"3. What position should the southern Democ-

racy assume in the Charleston Convention? The first two he apswered in the affirmative. and to the third replied:

"We should insist upon adopting a platform before making the nomination. This platform must embody the first of the foregoing proposisecond also. If the first of these propositions -viz: protection to slavery in the ries-is not adopted, the South should withdraw from the Convention and make its own nominations, and enunciate a platform with the dignity of sovereign States and the great right of selfprotection. \* \* \* \* We have a mission to fulfill, 'enobled by its danger and purified by its insolution.'

> Nor flinch in word or tone We'll be a glorious people yet-

Redeemed-erect-alon On the 9th of May, 1859; the Southern convention-an institution which figures conspicu-

"Resolved, That the success of the Republican party in the election of a President of the United States by a sectional majority in 1860 upon the principles above declared will be a virtual dissoution of the compact of the existing Union of the States; and in that event this convention recommends to the people of the slaveholding States to meet immediately in convention to de-

foreshadows the very events which have since las construction of the Cincinnati platform pre- States, have unceasingly continued with increastranspired, that the conclusion is almost irresisti- vailed at Charleston, I, for one, would not subble that there was a junta of these disunionists mit. I am for independence out of the Union forms, South Carolina, still deferring to her

Again, on the eve of his departure for Wash-

which should "control parties, legislatures and avowed himself in favor of the repeal of the to originate the movement of southern separa-On the 18th April, 1859, Judge H. S. Ben- ous crime the purchase of slaves in Africa, unitethereby constituting a system of legislation unfriendly to Southern institutions and detrimental to Southern interests! In the event of the electheir property from every enemy, and that for tion of a Black-Republican to the Presidency events have more than confirmed this opinion, the speaker argued that Mississippi separately, or gency, the sum of \$100,000 be appropriated for that we have but little hope in looking to a Fed- in concert with other Southern States, as she military contingencies." erai Congress for the protection of our rights. might elect, ought at once to discontinue her

Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, whenever he shall deem it expedient; and any side of the Union, with those who have already every compromise we have been the dupes of also lent his helping hand, the same who said, Republican President. They stand solemnly

leaguer shall vote according to his own conscience dustriously devoted. In the early part of the year to us the fugitive slave hill, and with that we were forming and that events were being so —remembering always his duty to the South." | 1859, the newspapers began to prepare the pubsished by contented. If we demand the rendished as to justify his estimate of true states. contemplated inspired him with unusual strength and vigor. The speech was in all respects conformable to the conclusion, which slone we quote at this time. Said Mr. Rhett:

"Should the public regard; after I am gone, ever reach my humble services, let it be remembered that, after twenty years of earnest effort to preserve the Union, by keeping it within the limitation of the Constitution, and arresting its fatal tendency to despotism, I turned at last to the salvation of my native land (the South,) and in my latter years did all I could to dissolve her connection with the North and to establish for

her a Southern confederacy."

During the year 1859, Mr. Yancey was not an idle spectator of the work he set on foot; he wrote letters and made specches on various occasions. Jeff. Davis, his greatest and most powerful conditator, was also active and realous. We give an extract from a speech of the latter

"The success of such a party would indeed produce an 'irrepressible conflict.' To you would be presented the question, will you allow last year delivered speeches in all sections in the the Corstitutional Union to be changed into the State, in each of which he declared that in the despotism of a majority? will you become the event of the election of a Republican to the subject of a hostile government, or will you, out-Presidency, he was for a dissolution of the side of the Union, assert the equality, the liber-Union. The Vicksburg Whig having been in- ty and sovereignty to which you were born? formed that Gov. Pettus had stated "that in the For myself, I say, as I said on a former occasion, event of his election to the Governorship, and a in the contingency of the election of a Presi-Republican should be elected to the office of dent on the platform of Mr. Seward's Rochester President of the United States, he would await speech, let the Union be dissolved. Let the great, but not the greatest of evils" come. For fore advising resistance," the Jackson Mississip- as did the great and good Calboun, from whom is drawn that expression of value, I love and veneratate the Union of these States-but I love liberty and Mississippi more."

From the newspapers and the hustings the ery of disunion and revolution rose to State legisladeclarations to the people at the hustings and in of disanion and revolution rose to State legisla-his councils with his friends, declares without tures and to Congress. Here the evidences of a reservation or qualification his approval of the purpose to dissolve the Union and revolutionize platform that nominated him, pledging the State the Government are so abundant that we have to resistance in the event of the election of a space for comparatively few. Governor Gist, of South Carolina, in his message to the legislature of that State, November 28, 1859, uses the following language:

"With an united South our course would be clear, and our future glorious; we could enforce equality in the Union, or maintain our independence out of it. If, as I soleunly believe, we can no longer live in pence and harmony in the nion-notwithstanding the associations of the past, and the rememberance of our common triumph, (being treated as enemies and aliens, rather than brothren of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance by the North,) we can form a confederacy with ability to protect itself against any enemy, and command the respect and admiration of the world. \* The election of a Black Republican President will settle the question of our safety in the Union; and although the forms of the Constitution may be complied with, its vital principle will be extinguished, and the South must consent to occupy an inferior and degrading position, or seek new safe-guards for her future security. Let South Carolina exhaust every means to get the co operation of the Southern States in this vital and important movement, yielding everything but principle for that purpose, prepared to follow any lead in resistance, but she should never forget that she is sovereign and an equal—that by her sovereign act she created the relationship of that State that now exists in the Federal Union, and that she has a clear and unquestionable right to resume her position as a sovereign in the family of the nations."

Gov. Perry of Florida, about the same time, in a like "state paper" said:

"True, Florida, as the youngest and least populous of the Southern sovereignties, can only fol low in action the lead of her sisters, yet this constitutes no reason why, at a time demanding the freest conference and frankest expression among those joined by a common destiny, she should remain silent. I believe that her voice should be heard in 'tones not loud, but deen,' ously in this treasonable business-met at Vicks- in favor of an eternal separation from those burg, Mississippi. Ex-Governor McRac, ex-Sen- whose wickedness and fanaticism forbid us longer to ater and present member of Congress from that for the hope that most of the Southern States State, being ill and unable to attend, gave it his live with peace and safety. There are good grounds encouragement by sending to it a letter of regret, will not consent to see the general Government in which he enclosed a series of resolutions, of pass into hands avowedly hostile to the South. which the following touches the main matter in hand:

If such is their purpose, it is not unlikely that they will prepare for the emergency of the approaching Presidential election."

Gov. McWillie, of Miss'ssippi, responded in

pretty much the same spirit for that State. And in due time, the Senate of South Carolina, on the 10th December, passed the following preamble and resolution, which were concurred in, in the House with very slight, if any alteration:

"Whereas, The State of South Carolina, by termine the mode and measure of upholding the her ordinance of 1852, affirmed her right to constitutional government as it at present exists, second from the Confederacy whenever the ocby preventing the installation into office of a Re- casion should arrive justifying her, in her own blican President and the inauguration of the judgment in taking that step; and in the resolu-Republican party in power; or, failing in that, to tion adopted by her convention, declared that resolve the slaveholding States into a separate in- she forebore the immediate exercise of that right dependent organization, with such constitutional in deference to her sister States; and whereas form of Government as will best secure their more than seven years have elapsed since that consafety, their honor, their rights and institutions, wention adjourned, and in the intervening time, the assaults upon the institution of slavery, and On another occasion he said: "If the Doug- upon the rights and equality of the Southern ing violence, and in new and more alarming Southern sisters, nevertheless respectfully an-nounces to them that, in her judgement, the newspapers were promptly and vigorously second-ington, on the 28th of November, he spoke at safety and honor of the slaveholding States imed by the leaders. Below we subjoin outgivings Jackson Mississippi—which the Mississippian peratively demand a speedy separation from the free soil States of the confederacy, and earnestly gress of the work of perfecting an organization "With his accustomed candor, Ex Gov. McRae invites and urges her sister States of the South Federal and State laws branding as an ignominition, in which she pledges herself promptly to

" Resolved, That the State of South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and the purpose of military preparation for any emer-

Mississippi and Alabama promptly responded, and passed resolutions pledging them to go out of the Union in the event of the election of a