

THE UNION OF THE STATES.

Under this head the National Intelligencer has an article of great force and beauty, filling four of its columns. It commences as follows:

"The Convention of the Whigs of the United States, recently assembled at Baltimore, among other resolutions expressive of their sentiments, placed at the head of them all, as no less first in order than foremost in importance, the declaration of their reverence for the Constitution of the United States, their unalterable attachment to the National Union, and a fixed determination to do all in their power to preserve them for themselves and their posterity. At a period when, in the judgment of many, the stability of that Constitution and the integrity of the Union founded upon it, are, if not menaced with danger the most immediate, at least passing through an ordeal sufficient to awaken the gravest consideration on the part of all thoughtful and patriotic citizens, such a declaration cannot but be regarded as equally appropriate in its terms and timely in its promulgation, as serving at least to show in a conjunction of difficulty and trial what the Whigs think of the Republic."

And, after adducing many arguments in favor of the value of the Union, expressing a confident belief in its permanency, and contending that the selection of a sectional President would be no justification for dissolution, the Intelligencer closes with the following beautiful paragraphs:

"At the very origination of the Constitution under which we live, and when men like Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, were commending it to the adoption of the people, it was held by the defenders of that instrument almost superfluous to offer arguments to prove the utility of the Union." Still less at this day do we deem it necessary to argue the worth of that Union, after nearly a century's experience of its untold and incalculable blessings. As well might we seek to prove the value to man of a sun in the heavens, and as nothing but a physical blindness the most incurable could lead any to doubt of this latter, so nothing but a political blindness the most judicial can furnish to us an explanation of the indifference manifested by some to the idea of a severance of the tie which binds us to 'one country, one constitution, and one destiny.' The causes which in the beginning led to the formation of the National Union still survive in all their binding force, and the avowed objects of its formation—as found in the common defence of the members; the preservation of the public peace, as well against internal convulsions as external attacks; the regulation of commerce with other nations; the superintendence of our intercourse, political and commercial, with foreign countries—still exist to plead in behalf of its perpetuity. And of the causes which rendered a union of the States not only a political necessity but a natural outgrowth of civil and social tendencies, we may say that they plant their roots too deep in the heart of the nation ever to be eradicated; for are we not now, as at the era of the formation of the Constitution, 'one connected country, inherited by one united people; a people descended in the main from the same ancestors, speaking the same language, professing the same religion, attached to the same principles of government, very similar in manners and customs, and who, by their joint councils, arms, and efforts, fighting side by side throughout long and bloody wars, have nobly established their general liberty and independence. Greatly do those mistake the broad foundations on which the Union rests secure in the affections of the people, who regard it merely as a civil expedient for purposes of administrative detail and convenience. 'It is all this, but something vastly more. Ingrained in the very texture of our national character, it will abide so long as that character preserves its identity. As has been well said by a thoughtful student of our political history, the Union was the work of time, the natural consequence of events, a growth from circumstances, or whatever other phrase may be used as a substitute for an express acknowledgment of a Providence in the destinies of mankind. 'It is not possible,' adds the same authority, 'to trace the Union to any premeditated plan, the idea of any one man, or the concert of any body of men. You can find no authority to pronounce it the direct product of human foresight or of political wisdom and experience. You cannot point to any day in our history, and say that in such a day union existed and on the day before there was nothing of the kind. In truth, the Union was not made; it grew. It grew as the tree grows, planting its roots deeper and deeper, and lifting its branches stronger and stronger and higher and higher, its vital forces coursing upward and outward to its highest leaf. The Union grew as the forest grows, and the seed was not sown by man's hand. This element of government is at the same time an element of national character. It is a part of the life of Sax on liberty, and it came with the Saxon race to be developed and expanded in a land which seems to have been reserved to be the Saxon's heritage."

The Union, then, is older than the formation of the Constitution in 1787, older than the Articles of Confederation signed in 1778, older than the first Continental Congress of 1774, older than the Convention of the nine Colonies assembled in 1765 to protest against the stamp act, older than the Albany Congress of 1754; older than any or all of these, because, in substance, underlying from the first the very existence of a people possessing a common lineage, speaking the same tongue, sharing in the same hopes, and encompassed by the same dangers. The Union is an heirloom of the Anglo-American race, and as such worthy to be called a "possession forever." It is native to our soil, older even than the civil freedom of which it now forms the surest pledge and guarantee. It is not so much a part of our political life as the very seat and core of our national existence.

"Custom is man's home. Was then to them Was by inherent hands upon his old Home farmstead. The dew inheritance From his forefathers. For time consecrates; And what is gray with age becomes religion."

It then, the causes which rendered the establishment of a National Union not only practicable but natural, and if the objects which made its formation a civil necessity still survive in all their vigor, why is it that the ear is strangled and the heart pained in these latter days with threats of its dissolution? Simply because, in spite of these in-

fluences and these objects, there are those who, in the pursuit of an ideal good, are willing not only to relax their grasp on present political blessings, but to renounce the hereditary spirit of amity and conciliation which, with all our natural advantages, is indispensable to the peaceful and harmonious working of our complex political system. The Union can be preserved in its beauty and its symmetry only by the observance, on the part of the North and of the South, of the same mutual justice not only to each other's virtues, but forbearance toward each other's faults, which characterized the early days of the Republic, and perfected the work of the Revolutionary Fathers in that capstone and yet foundation of our political edifice, the Constitution of the United States.

A LETTER FROM MR. FILLMORE.

It is a source of the highest satisfaction to us to lay before our readers the following letter from Mr. Fillmore, the original of which is in the possession of the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle. This leaves no longer the shadow of a doubt as to the conservative and patriotic position of our candidate. People of the South read it, and then decide whether a man who thus boldly stands out in defence of your rights and interests is not most worthy of your support. Like a true patriot he has no opinion for the South which he does not proclaim at the North. The whole nation ought to stand by such a man;—men of the South especially, you owe it to yourselves and the country, to stand by him, and unite with the great army of conservative patriots in electing him to the first office in the world:

Charleston Oct. 6th, 1856.

Dear Sir: Enclosed you will find a letter from Mr. Fillmore, which you will please publish with the enclosed article, also sent me by him, enclosed in his letter, having endorsed on it, "My sentiment—M. Fillmore," as you will perceive. Now, while I am free to admit that Mr. Buchanan is conservative, especially so far as the South is concerned (leaving out "Ostend," and have no doubt he would make a good President; yet I prefer Mr. Fillmore, because he is not a Platform with self-adjusting planks that may be removed and substituted at pleasure. I trust the "Nervous Politicians" in Georgia will be satisfied that Mr. Fillmore is reliable on this as on all other points, the "Iron-riddled Democracy" to the contrary, notwithstanding. Your obedient servant,

J. W. M. BERRIEN.

Buffalo, N. Y., Sept. 23, 1856. J. W. M. Berrien, Esq.—Dear Sir: Your two favors of the 25th inst., have just come to hand, and furnish additional evidence that I am constantly misrepresented both North and South. In the North I am charged with being a proslavery man seeking to extend slavery over free territory, and in the South I am accused of being an abolitionist. But I am neither, and as I have invariably refused to give any pledges, other than such as might be inferred from my known character and previous official conduct, I have not answered to the public any of those charges. If, after all I have done, and all the sacrifices I have made to maintain the Constitutional rights of the South, she still distrusts me then, I can only say, that I hope she may find one more just and more fearless and self-sacrificing than I have been, and that when found, she may show her gratitude by her confidence. And so of the North—if after all I have done to maintain her constitutional rights and advance her interest, she distrusts me, I hope she may find one more worthy of her confidence and bestow it accordingly. I shall have no regrets for myself in either case. I am only anxious that the country should be well governed, and that this unfortunate sectional controversy between the North and the South should be settled, and a fraternal feeling restored. But I apprehend, that the difficulty is, that the extremes on each side want a President favoring their own peculiar views as against their opponents. I cannot consent to be such a candidate for either side. I am for the whole Union, North and South, East and West, and if my countrymen will not accept me on those conditions, I shall not complain. The enclosed article, copied into some of the Southern papers from the Buffalo Commercial, speaks my sentiments on the Missouri Compromise. It may or may not suit your latitude, but I have not one thing for the South and another for the North, and therefore I send it.

In conclusion, permit me to express my sincere thanks for the kind interest you have manifested in my success as the candidate of the Union. I remember your lamented brother well, and was proud to call him my friend. I wish his valuable life could have been spared to aid us in this struggle to save our country.

With sentiments of respect, I am, truly and sincerely, yours,

MILLARD FILLMORE.

P. S.—I write in haste, without time to copy.

We have already published once the article alluded to, but again give it a place in our columns. Let it be read, and re-read, by patriots of all sections.

From the Buffalo Com. Advertiser, Sept. 17. RESTORATION OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

"As the duties of a statesman are not precisely those of a debating club, it always tries the patience of practical men to see effort wasted in discussions from which nothing can possibly result. In great and critical conjunctures especially, a statesman will study to discover the measures best adapted to meet existing exigencies, and he will not lend himself to the promotion of any scheme, whatever its intrinsic excellence may be, for a single moment after he is satisfied he has no chance of success. Like a wise physician, he will keep himself accurately informed of the progress of the disease, and the condition of the patient, and will not insist that a medicine shall be administered to-day, because it would have prevented the malady had it been taken ten days ago. His business is to deal with the disease in its present stage, and if the patient refuse to take the medicine which is best in itself, he must not, therefore, suffer him to die while he is wasting time in a vain effort to conquer his obstinacy. If he refuse the best medicine, he must give him the best he can get him to take.

We notice that several conservative journals in the South have lately advocated the

restoration of the Missouri Compromise as the most suitable remedy for the present unhappy and distracted condition of the country. Could the South see the error which was committed in its repeal, and voluntarily come forward for its restoration, it would at once end all controversy; but this we conceive to be morally impossible. Therefore, we cannot forget to remark that we consider the discussion of this question at this time as unwise and ill-timed. The subject which now absorbs public attention is the approaching Presidential election, and we cannot see that the restoration of the Missouri Compromise is a question which the National Executive will ever, in his official capacity, be called to consider. The Missouri Compromise line was established by an act of Congress; and if it is ever restored, it requires an act of Congress to restate it. If the question of its restoration is of any importance in the Presidential election, it must be because there is a likelihood, or at least a possibility, that Congress will pass an act for that purpose, which will be submitted to the President for his approval. If it is certain beforehand that no such act will ever come before the President, the whole question is frivolous and idle, or at least has no pertinence to the Presidential election.

We suppose it will not be controverted that if Congress ever passes an act reinstating the Compromise, it will be prior to the passage of an act admitting Kansas into the Union as a State. Subsequent to that event, its restoration would amount to nothing, for the two-fold reason that Congress has no constitutional power to control the domestic institutions of a State, and that, even if it possessed the power, its exercise would be either idle or impossible—idle if Kansas should come in as a free State—impossible if she should come in as a Slave State; for the same injustice which admitted her as such would prevent the restoration. The whole question, then, so far as it has any bearing on the Presidential election, reduces itself to this: Whether there is any possibility that such an act can be passed before Kansas is able for admission as a State? If the negative can be demonstrated, then all agitation of the subject is futile and unwise.

The present Congress, which has rejected a bill proposing the restoration of the Missouri Compromise line, will go out of power on the 4th of March next; its successor on the 4th of March, 1857; and the successor of that Congress will commence its first session three years from the first of next December. Long before that time Kansas will either be in the Union or knocking at the doors of Congress for admission. If then an act for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise is not passed by the present or the next succeeding Congress, it is certain that it will never be passed at all. The present Congress will pass no such act, for the South has a large Democratic majority. The next Congress will not pass it, for the reason that the Democrats will still have the ascendancy in the Senate. Even the most sanguine of the Republican journals admit this, and no man in that party is extravagant enough to claim that in the next Congress the Senate will be favorable to their views. The New York Evening Post made an estimate, day before yesterday, in which, after claiming the election in several States which the Republicans are likely to lose, it reckoned on 25 of the 62 members of the Senate for Fremont. Burlingame, in his speech in Boston, two or three days since, made a threat that with a Republican President and a Republican House of Representatives, they would grind the pro-slavery Senate of the next Congress "as between the upper and the nether mill-stone," thus clearly admitting that they had no hopes of the Senate.

We may consider it demonstrated, therefore, that an act for restoring the Missouri Compromise will never come before the President for his consideration. As connected with the Presidential election, the question is perfectly idle—a mere abstraction, unworthy the consideration of a practical statesman. It is unwise to discuss it as an element of the Presidential canvass; it would be equally unwise ever to agitate it again in Congress. The Missouri Compromise is the water spilled upon the sand; it can never be gathered up. Its repeal was a great blunder, but it is now too late to correct it. The attempt to restore it at the late session of Congress is defensible on the ground that it was well to offer to the Senate an opportunity to reconsider its action. But the Compromise is dead, and it would be as rational to expect the reanimation of any other corpse as of this. Nothing remains but to pronounce its eulogy and bury it out of sight.

For more than thirty years the whole country acquiesced in it, and it had acquired a sacredness in public estimation which it was unwise to disturb. It had settled a dangerous controversy, which it was folly, not to say madness, to reopen. Its repeal, as Mr. Fillmore justly remarked in one of his speeches, was the Pandora's box, from which have issued all our present evils. As Mr. Fillmore was opposed, at the time, to its disturbance, he has not changed his opinion that its repeal was an act of folly. But we are quite sure we do not misrepresent his sentiments, when we say that he does not think it would be wise to attempt its restoration, and he desires no agitation having this object either in Congress or out of it. He is too sagacious not to perceive that the question has become obsolete, and too wise to pour water around the root of a tree which was girdled two years ago, in the hope of again seeing it covered with foliage.

Nothing now remains for the territories but to see that by wise legislation, properly enforced, the people are protected in the enjoyment of peace, and ultimately in the right of determining the character of their own institutions, without intimidation by mobs and without interference from the States. The sooner this doctrine is acquiesced in, the sooner will that quiet be restored to the country, of which it is so greatly in need."

The following endorsement is made on this article: "My sentiments." M. F.

SPEECH OF HON. FRANCIS GRANGER.

At the Whig Convention, held in Philadelphia on the 17 and 18th of September, 1856.

HON. FRANCIS GRANGER, of New York, was now loudly called for. He accordingly arose and addressed the Convention as follows: After what has been so justly and so eloquently said by the distinguished gentleman from North Carolina, it seems to me that New York is the last State that should be heard upon this occasion. I had hoped, as the gentleman had clearly designated his preference for the President, that New York would not have been

called upon to respond in any manner until gentlemen had been heard from every other delegation here assembled, to express most freely and frankly their views upon the subject. I trust now that some other gentleman will be prepared to take the floor, and that this meeting will feel with me, that New York shall be the last heard upon this question so interesting and so dear to her. If, however, it is the desire of this meeting to hear what little I may say, I shall say it as a Whig and nothing but a Whig—[Loud applause.] No matter who else falls off, for the remnant of my days I stand forth as I ever have been, a Whig. [Applause.] Although I stand like one of the messengers of Job, to declare that I am alone of that gallant party to which I was proud to belong.

It is due to the Whig party of the State of New York to say that, during the present canvass, everything that seduction could offer or threat induce has been applied to them. They have stood fast in their consistency. They no less regard a favorite son because others with whom they have no special connection, may prefer him. They cast not off the tried public servant because he may in the first place have been presented in a manner other than that which they would have chosen. For myself I always speak out, and although I have nothing to do with the mysterious orders of the day, while philanthropists throughout the world echo that sentiment of Daniel O'Connell, that all he asked for his country was that Irishmen should rule Ireland. [Tremendous cheers.] I make no war upon men from whom I may differ because they demand that Americans shall rule America. [Loud and long applause.] I came not here to present to your consideration a platform on which to place a President. I care not for any platform upon which he has been placed. He has created his own firm pedestal. [Applause.] Without reference to him, I trust I may be permitted here to say that the days of platforms will pass away with this fall election, and all that will be seen of the existing platforms, I trust, will be that they have formed dead planks upon which you can lay out the dead bodies of slain candidates. [Great laughter and applause.] What have you seen? A distinguished gentleman, whom I have long known, with whom I have long been upon terms of kind association, sacrifice his own identity, destroy his own individuality, to be down upon the plank of a platform. [Loud laughter and cheers.]

But let us look at Millard Fillmore's acts. [Cheers.] If disturbance existed in the South he quelled it; if it existed in the North, where even neighborhood sympathies, you would suppose, might sometimes control action, did he not there also put his hand upon it and quell it? [Applause.] Does he not this day stand before the American people as one upon whom the responsibilities were thrown in a moment of deep sorrow and mourning to our whole people, and to no one more than himself, and it is he not the only man of this generation who has come out of the Presidency with purer and higher fame than when he went in? [Applause.] When he took an oath to administer the laws of the Union faithfully, it meant something. He looked back to the early formation of this government, and when rebellion first reared its head, he saw that Geo. Washington knew and felt this was a country of laws, and the moment the laws were trampled upon, no matter how distasteful to any section of the Union, they must be executed, or this government must fall. Thus it was that when rebellion first showed its head in this Union, George Washington assembled, in the imminent season of the year, a force more than half as large as had been at any time the force of our revolutionary army, that he might show to the world the necessity of crushing rebellion to laws in its very incipency. [Applause.] I stand not here, in the miserable insidious language of the day, to run any comparison between the candidate that I advocate and George Washington. I have seen, as connected with another candidate, lately, a clergyman undertake to run a parallel; he ran it, as it struck me, till he found that his candidate was always engaged in rebellion and mutiny, while George Washington always punished rebellion and mutiny; and he did not think it worth while to push it any further. Now, I run no such parallel. George Washington stands alone, [applause] and he who undertakes to run a parallel between any living man and George Washington knows little what he owes to his country, or to the proud fame that the records of that country will show. [Applause.] Let every American consider and confess that "none but himself can be his parallel."

But this much I will say: had the disturbances which now exist in this country commenced during the administration of Millard Fillmore, he would have crushed them at the outset. [Loud applause, and cries of "that is the fact."] Without claiming anything for military reputation, standing before the world as a civilian only, he would have shown an example to those of military fame, now in high office, which would have made them hide their heads. [Laughter and applause.] What have you seen? I stop not now to enter upon the question of whose may be the excess of blame in this agitation; I stop not to sift the exaggerated accounts on either side; I only say that civil war rages throughout the land—that brothers' hands are dipped in brothers' blood, and that upon every return made to the department of your government they remain as dumb as the bleeding victims of this inglorious contest. Such would not have been the case under the administration of Millard Fillmore. [Cheers.]

I am asked further why my preference is for him? It is because the victory of either of the other candidates can do nothing to quiet the agitation of this country. What is true of communities is true of nations, and let either of the other candidates obtain temporary triumph in this election, it is in my opinion but to keep the contest open with increased instead of subdued irritation. Canvass it by every thing around. I ask the men of the South who know the feeling that now exists, if they are to withdraw in case of the election of Col. Fremont. I ask my Northern brethren, from whom I differ on this subject, are they to sit down quietly and submit to what they may dislike in the administration of Mr. Buchanan, should he chance to be elected, by the entire Southern vote, joined with one or more Northern States? No, neither! But I believe in my innermost heart that nothing but the election of Millard Fillmore, or some man who could be placed exactly in his position, can ever stop this war that is now raging upon our borders. [Applause.] I ought here perhaps to say, as freely as I have stood up to declare it at the North, that I consider the nomination there made as hav-

ing been made entirely upon sectional ground, and that no man can for a moment dispute it. There has been some comment upon the speech made by Mr. Fillmore at Albany. If he had not made that speech and been assailed for making it, I would not have been upon the stump, as it is called, to defend him. [Applause.] Sir, those around me will know that it was my intention, although my opinions were very decided, not to have entered upon this campaign, but when I saw sentiments so purely national and patriotic, coming from him, seized upon and misrepresented, I said to myself, "Well, if this is the game and it is a free fight, count me in." [Laughter and applause.] No matter, my friends, how hard the knocks between now and next November, if my life is spared, I will not ask any man to "count me out." [Laughter and applause.]

What was the doctrine? It was that no section of this country could submit to an administration chosen and conducted upon sectional grounds. Does that declare that sudden revolt and rebellion is to arise out of it? No such thing; but with a power in Congress that can control one or the other branch of the government, and with an administration unfriendly to a particular section of the country, do you suppose that it could go on for a month without being blocked? Look at it in a practical point of view and see if Mr. Fillmore was not right. All I have to say is, not referring to it as a Northern question, should the South combine, and should it have power enough from two or three States to attempt to control the action of this government and carry it on without reference to the North, he who would not resist it is more of a doer than I am. I ask no more from the South than I would claim for the North.

But, my friends, I have already detained you too long. [Cries of "Go on."] I was in hopes not to have been called upon to address you, at any rate until after the committee should have reported. But I must say one word to this old Whig party. It is the only party that seems to me to thrive upon defeat; it is the only party that has ever existed in this country, in which under every variety of circumstance, under whatever disappointments of triumph or defeat, whenever an old Whig met an old Whig, there was no such thing as a sectional line that divided them North and South. [Applause.] It is that which has carried on this Whig party and kept up its heart during all the reverses through which it has gone—he who lived South knew and felt that there was a man North who cherished this national feeling, and who would defend it. So has it been, and so I trust it will be. [A little disturbance of some sort in the crowd at the further end of the hall here occurred, at which the speaker remarked that it was only some by-play and did not belong to the Whig party. [Laughter.] Calls were presently made to the speaker to go on.

I doubt whether I ought to go on. This much however I feel disposed to say: that in my humble belief there is in this body of men here assembled a power to control this contest and settle it this fall. [Cheers.] It strikes me that, as connected with one division of the opposing parties, coming events have already cast their shadow before them, and that it is this body of gallant Whigs coming up in unanimous voice and declaring that nothing shall seduce or frighten them, and that nobody shall betray them from the support of Millard Fillmore. Twenty days will not have elapsed before you will see such an accumulation of force to the ranks of Mr. Fillmore as is now claimed for Mr. Fremont. [Loud applause.] The people represented by the gentlemen upon this floor—and by them I mean the friends of the Union—are to march on in every State in which they have tickets, or in which they can be formed, irrespective of consequences, and go boldly on from this time until the ballot box closes and the victory is ours. [Cheers.] Yes, we can arouse a spirit in this land which, from the East and West, North and South, will carry conviction to the minds of men, that Whigs are to be found no where but where they can find Whig principles. [Applause.] Where else in this contest are they to be found but under the banner of Millard Fillmore. [Loud cheers.] I say then, my friends, this day having buckled on our armour, let us march on in unbroken ranks to the contest, and the victory is ours. [Loud applause.]

From the Fayetteville Observer.

ANOTHER BLAST FROM SOUTH CAROLINA.—It is not strange for the country, and particularly for the South, that all the mad ravings of the South Carolina disunionists are published throughout the free States as "Southern sentiment," just as the Brooks outrage in the Senate was heralded as a manifestation of Southern feeling, Southern character, and Southern manners. But so it is. One noisy brawler will make more fuss in the neighborhood than a hundred quiet citizens. And so one loud-mouthed disunionist in South Carolina out-cries a thousand Southern men who at heart condemn his sentiments, but who have no opportunity to give expression to their condemnation. There is danger, in this state of things, that what is thus avowed may become, in some sort, the public opinion which it is not now.

A week ago there was a great assemblage of the chivalry at Ninety-Six, in South Carolina, to honor Mr. Brooks with a public dinner; at which he was presented with a gold cup and a cane from one Di-me, a silver cup from another, and a cane from a third. Of course there were speeches,—by Gen. M. Gossan, Dr. Cain, Mr. Brooks, Senator Toombs of Ga. and Butler of S. C., and Gov. Adams. All these speakers openly advocated disunion. But Mr. Brooks out-heralded Herod. Whilst admitting that Mr. Fillmore had made "a good President," he was yet opposed to him. And why? Because, said he, "we don't want to throw back the tide of disunion!" He declared himself "zealously for Buchanan," and that because he thinks his election will not throw back the tide of disunion—"I do not believe," said he, "that the issue will be prevented by his election, it will only be postponed."

Now the reasons which Mr. Brooks gives for supporting Buchanan and opposing Fillmore, are the very reasons why the great body of the people, all over the country, North and South, ought to sustain Fillmore and repudiate Buchanan. The people, with here and there an exception, do want to throw back the tide of disunion. All they desire is to know how it can be done. Unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion upon that point. Most sincerely do we say, that in our opinion the election of either Fremont or Buchanan will roll on that tide,

The election of Mr. Fillmore may arrest it—probably it would. And that is saying as much, we think, as can be said in truth.

We will a few passages from the long speech of Mr. Brooks:—

"If we must live in the Union, let it be indeed a Union of equality and right. Let five agree to the South be equal to that number at the North; pass a law requiring the joint concurrence of the President and Vice President to give an act effect; and make an express provision that one or the other of the officers of Executive shall be a slaveholder. If this cannot be effected, then dissolution is our only hope."

"Do not love the Democratic party over much. I am somewhat doubtful of Democracy north of Mason and Dixon's line. Take any one of them, corner him, and ask him whether he is really in favor of slavery, and he will tell you no. They are not always to be trusted. Upon this question we want men who will go the whole hog."

"The Democratic party is responsible for many acts of injustice to the South, and had done much to consolidate the government. * * * Those very men [Northern Democrats] who had repudiated that restrictive line, were the first men to raise the cry of violated faith, and in three days these men, in the House of Representatives, started into circulation a paper which was the basis of the Kansas Aid Society, by which a large fund was raised to defeat the provisions of the Kansas-Nebraska bill."

"They would put a cordon of fire around the Southern States, if they could, and force slavery, scorpion-like, to sting itself to death. I hate them, as I hate the moccasin and the rattlesnake. And they are like unto the moccasin in nature, for while the rattlesnake gives us warning of his presence and attack, the moccasin instils its poison silently."

"Will you wait patiently until they have fastened the yokes upon your necks, or will you meet them in advance? It should be met in this way. The Constitution of the United States should be torn to fragments, and a Southern Constitution formed, in which every State should be a slave State. [Cheers.] The only hope of the South is in herself. Let us cut the bonds which hold the two sections together, and let our positions as a full-grown nation in the family of nations, [Applause.] I have been a disunionist from the time I could think. It is due to my friends to say that I think that the separate action of one State will reward rather than advance our great hope. Let them all go together. Some say if Fremont is elected, the South will submit. I do not believe it. But one State alone cannot break up the Union, and there is no man at stake to play the game lightly. We must have the co-operation of the entire South. Their moral aid is worth more than soldiers. For ourselves, I say, let South Carolina stand as an armed knight, with lance couched and not a feather of her plume in motion."

"I have told you we should dissolve the Union. It must be done. The dead carcass must be cut from the living body; they cannot exist together. Some of our Southern friends will not come up to the mark until the pending Presidential election is decided; Buchanan must be elected or defeated before they will consent to act. I tell you I do not believe in any party which does not believe in slavery. The Democratic party are on our side in this contest, therefore I shall go for Buchanan, and shall do so honestly and perhaps zealously. But I am by no means sure of his election. I act in this on the same principle that a good-hearted physician gives medicine while his patient is dying. I shall continue to use Buchanan pills. If they cure, well enough; if not, it cannot be helped. They do no harm, and it is our only chance. [Laughter.] I am obliged to go for Buchanan, for the only choice is between him, Fillmore, and Fremont. Mr. Fillmore is a gentleman, and made a good President, and perhaps, if he is elected, may decrease his own party, and do better than we expect. But we don't want to throw back the tide of disunion. It is true, Mr. Fillmore is a Know Nothing. I do not care much for that. If a man is true to the South, I will trust him, be he Know Nothing or not."

"But let us support Buchanan, as it is the best course we can pursue. I am not confident of his election by any means. Fremont may be elected. Suppose he should be. With eighty millions of dollars in his power, what must be the result? * * * We should meet the enemy half way, or take the sword, and hit the first blow. If Fremont is elected, I am in favor of the people of the South, whether in concert or not, seizing the treasury and the archives of the government."

We hope that there are but few, if any, of our readers, who do not condemn, from the bottom of their hearts, such sentiments and purposes. They show, we think, that we were not wrong in attributing the beating of Sumner to a desire to stir up such feeling as would precipitate the dissolution of the Union.

All the other speakers heartily applauded that beating. Mr. Brooks attempted to justify it, of course.

Dr. Cain said:—

"The act was noble; it was daring; and possibly it might be the means of solving the problem whether the South should have an equality in the Union, or a separate independence out of it."

Gen. McGowan said:—

"He had done his duty in a striking manner, and it was right he should be met by the assurance, 'well done, thou good and faithful servant.'"

Senator Toombs said:—

"I saw it done and I saw it well done." Gov. Adams said:—

"Your representative began in the right way and in the right place." "The act exhibited the three virtues of the Greek drama, —time, place, and action." "May South Carolina never need a champion to follow the course of your representative."

Senator Butler said:—

"When Fremont is elected, we must rely upon what we have—a good State Government. Every Governor in the South should call the Legislature of his State together, and measures of concert be decided upon. If they did not, and submitted to the degradation, they would deserve the fate of slaves. I should advise my Legislature to go at the tap of the drum. There is a great question to be settled, but whether I shall take the sword or the cartridge box, I do not know. [Applause.]

And all this is to pass as public sentiment in the South! But there is indeed much danger that the destiny of the South and of the country will