# The Raleigh Register.

PUBLISHED BY SYME & HALL, Editors and Proprietors

TERMs: - One Copy one year,

Six Copies one year, 10
Ten Copies one year, 15
No paper will be sent unless the money s paid in advance, and all papers are discontinued at the expiration of the time for which they are paid, unless the subscription is renewed by advance payment.

RALEIGH. N. C.

SATURDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 13, 1860.

#### THEY ARE OFF.

Both the Editors of the Register have cut out to-Salisbury to attend the Great Union Mass Meeting which met on Thursday. They took care, however, before cutting out themselves, to cut out something for the Register, than any thing that either of them could contribute. To-day's Register contains the speech of the Hon. Jere. Clemens, delivered at Hunteville, Ala., on the 8th of September. They beg their friends to read the better account than in doing so.

#### OLD BUCK A CONTRIBUTOR TO BON-NER'S LEDGER.

Old Buck is about to become a contributor to Bonner's Ledger. If Old Buck will only contribute a historyfof his own life and times, it will be the sensationist article that ever per, the New York Ledger. In a fortnight put on the stage, night after night, to overflowing houses. Such cunning, such trickery, such corruption, such utter want of all greatest lover of sensation.

#### THE STATE FAIR.

We understand that a much larger number of articles have been received for exhibition next week than were ever before entered so early. The Fair next week will doubtless surpass any exhibition of the kind ever held in the State. The Committee of Reception have made ample arrangements for the accommodation of all who may come.

UNION MASS MEETING .- The friends of Bell and Everettin Edgecombe, Wilson and Nash Counties will hold a Union Mass Meeting, at Rocky Mount, on Friday, the 26th of October. Hon Geo. E. Badger, Hon. Wm. A. Graham, Hon. B. F. Moore, Henry K. Nash, Esq., Hon. Z. B. Vance, Hon. John Pool, Jas. W. Hinton, Esq., C. C. Clark, Esq., and other distinguished speakers, are expected to attend.

A Public Dinner will be given on the occasion. The Ladies, friends of the Union, and the public generally, are cordially invited to attend.

### IT IS A FACT,

That John C. Breckinridge voted for Stephen A. Douglas in the Cincinnati Convention, in opposition to James Buchanan. Breckinriage was a delegate to that Convention, from the State of Kentucky, and on the 17th ball at the entire Kentucky delegation voted for Stephen A. Douglas, he receiving upon that ballot 122 votes.

# STATE ELECTIONS.

Three great States, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, all held their elections on last Tuesday. Each chose Representatives in the next Congress, while of State Officers. In liana chose her Governor for a term of four years; Pennsylvania for three; chosen in Pennsylvania and Indiana will each have to elect a United States Senator.

We append the returns from these elections from which it will be seen that the Black Republicans have carried all three of the States named. This doubtless ensures all three of them for Lincoln, and now the only hope of defeating him rests upon New York.

# PENNSYLVANIA.

PHILADRLPHIA, Oct. 10, A. M .- Returns indiceste that the Republican party have carried

Florence (Administration Dem.)

[SECOND DISPATCH.] PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 10, P. M .- The Evening Bulletin (Rep.) says the Republicans claim a maority of 20,000 to 25,000 in the State, and 18 to out of 25 Congressmen, as well as a majority in both branches of the Legislature. It gives the following as the members of Congress elected:
Republicans — Morris, Verree, Kelley, Davis,
Hickman, Killinger, Campbell, Swanton, Rowe,
Hale, Junkin, (uncertain,) Macpherson, Blair, Covode, Morehead, McKnight, Stuart, Patton, (uncertain,) and Babott. Democrats.-Lehman, Cooper, Ancony, Stephens, Peples, Johnson, Lazaar, (uncertain.) McKinley is elected for the short term in the Eighth District. Welch, Chairman of the Democratic State Executive Committee, has called a meeting at Reading for the 12th, to consider business of great importance.

ORIO. CLEVELAND, Oct. 10 .- Scattering returns show increased Republican gains, and the success of their ticket in the State. S. S. Cox (Douglas Dem.) is elected to Congress

in the 12th District over Horton, (Rep.)

[SECOND DISPATCH.]

CLEVELAND, Oct. 10.—The Republican State ticket is successful by nearly 20,000 majority. Democratic Congressmen have been elected from the 1st, 3d and 12th districts, and probably from

HON, JERE, CLEMENS.

s represented here, and in each division, or section, I recognize friends who have been very dear assemblage I choose rather to make a speech for the country, than for a party. Seeking no office, and desiring none, I may afford to say, what the political aspirant would shrink from avowing, that I have lived long enough, and have seen enough of the tendency of all parties to grow cor-rupt as they grow old, to wear my party harness substantial nature of the promises made in party platforms to be thoroughly disgusted with them, and enough of party leaders to trust none of them, upon the faith of such promises, unless backed by a record which gives unmistakable evidence of as an advocate for the continued Union of these States. I wish to recall some portion of that brotherly regard which existed when "Massachusetts and South Carolina stood hand in hand which will be more acceptable to its readers around the Administration of Washington, and felt his own great arm lean upon them for support." I am here as an earnest pleader for the preservation of that Temple whose foundation stone was laid at Lexington, and which has continued to grow in war, and in peace—in storm and in calm, un.il it has been me the wonder of the world. Wicked and sacrilegious hands are now busily at work to demolish that sacred edi-Deluded for a time you may be, for that is insepwhich your common sense tells you can be insured by no other condition of society, or form of civil Government. I do not believe that you are prepared to exchange blessings such as Providence never bestowed upon a people before, for the des-sitution, and mi-ery, and wickedness of civil disension. I do not believe that you have forgotten he teachings of George Washington, and Andrew Jackson, or that these are names you have ceased to reverence. Let me recall those teachings. Let us refresh our minds, and purify our hearts, by reading from their last legacies to the land which one of them braved the scaffold to redeem from

> On the 17th of September, 1796, Gen. Washington announced his purpose to retire from public life, and accompanied that announcement with an address to his countrymen, every word of which is worthy to be printed, like the three great poems of Arabia, upon plates of gold, and hung up in all the temples and public edifices of the Republic. Allow me to read to you that part of it which is most appropriate to the present occasion: "The unity of government which constitutes you

preserve unconquered and unsullied.

one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) diit is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your na-tional Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immoveable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and to speak of it as a palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned Pennsylvania and Indiana elected their Governors and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning and Legislatures also, and the latter a full ticket of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts. "For this you have every inducement of sympawhile in Ohio a Judge of her Supreme Court, At- thy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of torney-General, and a member of the Board of a common country, that country has a right to Public Works were elected. The Legislatures concentrate your affections. The name of AMER-ICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than an appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principle. You have, in a common cause. bught and triumphed together; the independence

and liberty you possess, are the work of joint councils, and joint effects—of common dangers, sufferings, and success. "But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more mmediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding mo-

The only important Congressional change is the election of Lehman (Douglas Dem.) in place of union of the whole. "The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a com- of wisdom and foresight, but the voice of prophe mon government, finds in the productions of the cy foretelling events and warning us of the evil latter, great additional resources of maritime and to come. Forty years have passed since this imcommercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same The federal constitution was then regarded by him intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the as an experiment, and he so speaks of it in his ad-North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated-and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to

ing counties, not tried together by the same gov-ernment, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce; but which opposite for eign alliances, attachments and intrigues, would purpose to make a partizan speech to-night.— will avoid the necessity of those overgrown mili-fis represented here, and to each distribution of the stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown mili-tary establishments, which I should feel rebuked by the presence of this idience, if I had at any time entertained the rnment are insuspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to repubto me in the past, and who, I trust, will continue lican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union to be so to the end of my existence. To such an ought to be considered as a main pro of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

"These considerations speak a persuasive lan-guage to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large somewhat loosely. I have seen enough of the un- a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to ere speculation in such a case were criminal.-We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions. will afford a bappy issue of the experiment. With sincere devotion to liberty, and the country. It such powerfu and obvious motives to union, afis not as a partizan that I wish to address you, but | feeting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any guarter may endeavor

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern characterizing parties, by geographical discriminations-Northern and Southern; Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular speech. They cannot turn a little time to fice, and no effort has been left untried to involve districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and sims you in the deep damnation of the guilty work.— of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves

Men gifted with extraordinary eloquence, and too much against the jealousies and heart burnings skilled to make the worst appear the better reason, which spring from these misrepresentations; they have been performing missionary labors through-out North Alabama, and with such apparent suc-to be bound together by fraternal affection. The cess that I have repeatedly heard, of late, the ex- inhabitants of our western country have lately had a gressions; loaded with taxes to pay armies and alting declaration, that Union speeches had lost useful lesson on this head. They have seen in the their charms for the people, and could no longer negotiation by the executive, and in the unani-be relied upon as barriers to stay the torrent of mous ratification by the Senate of the treaty with throughout the United States, a decisive proof how astonished the readers of that sensation pa- arable from the frailty of our nature. But that unfounded were the suspicions propagated among you can deliberately desire, or intend, to tear down them of a policy in the General government and the Government of Washington, and bury your in the Atlantic States, unfriendly to their interest after it appeared, it would be dramatized and own hopes, and the hopes of your childen beneath in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witits ruins, is as much impossible as for darkness to | nesses to the formation of two treaties, that with spread its gloomy pall over the land, when the Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to sun is riding unclouded in the heavens. I do not them every thing they could desire, in respect to believe that you have lost that love of the Union our foreign relations, toward confirming their which you sucked in with your Mother's milk .- prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for nerve, physical, moral, or political, could not I do not believe that you have lost that love of the preservation of these advantages on the union fail to satisfy the most morbid taste of the peace, of law and order, of domestic tranquility, by which they were procured? Will they hence of any State or States can deliberately do wrong. connect them with aliens?

> "To the efficacy and permanency of your union, government for the whole islindispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably extimes have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacions management of your common concern. This governbondage, and the other staked life, and honor, to ment, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed; adopted upon our full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers uniting security with energy, and containing just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws. equiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the ime exists, until changed by an explicit and auright of the people to establish government, pre-supposes the duty of every individual to obey

stablished government." Forty years afterwards, actuated by an earnest lesire to promote the happiness of the people he had severed so well, and whose affections in return had been so lavishly bestowed upon him. the Hero of the second war of Independence, at the close of his own public labors, left to us the rich legacy of his parting advice. Referring to the happy and prosperous condition of the country, he said "These cheering and grateful prospects, and these multiplied favors, we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the federal constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united, and flourish under our present form of government. Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who framed it; and has proved, that in the union of these States there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom, and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard, and by every sacrifice, this Union must be preserved.

"The necessity of watching with jealous anxiety for the preservation of the Union, was earnestly pressed upon his fellow-citizens by the father of his country, in his farewell address. He has there told us, that "while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bonds;" and he has cautioned us in the strongest terms against the formation of parties, on geographical discriminations, as one of the means to which designing men would be likely to resort.

"The lessons contained in this invaluable legacy of Washington to his countrymen, should be cherished in the heart of every citizen to the latest generation; and, perhaps, at no period of time could they be more usefully remembered than at the present moment. For when we look upon the scenes that are passing around us, and dwell upon the pages of his parting address, his paternal counsels would seem to be not merely the offspring perishable document was given to his countrymen. dress; but an experiment upon the success of which the best hopes of his country depended, and we

The honorable feeling of State pride and local at- The proposition to extend the line to the Pacific | trines cannot fail to produce. onscious of their own integrity and honesty of stituted for that of 1820.

history of republics. "What have you to gain by division and dissention? Deluden ot yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may be afterwards repaired. If the union is once severed, the line of separation which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation, will then be tried in fields of battle, and be determined by the sword. Neither should you deseive yourselves with the hope, that the first line of separation would be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of this Union. Local interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the common foe; the memory of victories won by their united valor; the prosperity and happiness they have enjoyed under the present constitution; the proud name they bear as citizens of this great republic; if these recollections and proofs of common interest are not strong enough to bind us together as one people, what tie will hold this Union dissevered? The first line of separation would not last for a single generation; new fragments would be torn off; new leaders would spring up, and this great and glorious republic would soon be broken into a multitude of petty States; armed for mutual agleaders; seeking aid against each other f om foreign powers; insulted and trampled upon by the nations of Europe, until barrassed with conflicts, and humbled and debased in spirit, they would be ready to submit to the absolute dominion of any military adventurer, and to surrender their liberty for the sake of repose. It is impossible to look on the consequences that would inevitably follow the destruction of this government, and not feel indignant when we hear cold calculations about the value of the Union, and have so constantly before us a line of conduct so well calculated to

weaken its ties. There is too much at stake to allow pride or passion to influence your decision. Never for a They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mistakes, they may be misled for the time by the suggestions of self-interest; but in a community so enlightened and patriotic as the people of the United States, argument will soon make them sensible of perience the infractions which alliances in all their errors; and when convinced they will be ready to repair them. I: they have no higher or better motives to govern them, they will at least perceive that their own interest requires them to be just to others as they hope to receive justice at their hands."

These are waters from a fountain which we know to be undefiled. These are the warnings of Sages who had nothing more to ask of their countrymen, before whom the grave was opening-whose thoughts were fixed on another world, and only within itself provision for its own amendment, has of anarchy and the dangers of unchastened ambition. The evils which they foresaw are upon us. The dangers which they feared now stare us in the face. For ten years we have heard the mutterings of the thunder, and it will be our own fault if the tempest finds us unprepared people to make and to alter their constitutions of to meet it. To be deceived as to the true nature government. But the constitution which at any of the contest in which we are engaged argues an amount of judicial blindness, such as never afflicts a people whose destruction has not been decreed thentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obliga-tory upon all. The very idea of the power and by an offended God. To permit party attachments and prejudices to control your conduct at such a time is a crime against patriotism, which is almost certain to be followed by blood and tears, and to end in chains and slavery.

This is no ordinary election. Something more is to be decided than the temporary ascendancy of this or that party in the Government. Your property, your happiness, your lives and liberties, and the lives and liberties of your children are at stake. Your honor is involved .--Your loyalty and patriotism are on trial, and it becomes you to pause, to examins, to reflect, before taking steps which you will find it difficult to retrace, and which you may have deep reason to repent. I have no motive to deceive you, for your fate, whatever it may be must be mine; but nevertheless I would not have you accept any statement or opinion of mine without examnation. I may assist you somewhat by recalling facts you have overlooked or forgotten and suggesting the proper deductions from them. Be yond that I have no wish to influence your opin-

Almost from the time of the adoption of the Constitution there have been occasional manifestations of discontent, and exhibitions of a restless and refractory spirit under its whelesome restraints. Perhaps at no period has there been entire and perfect acquiescence; nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that there was a rebellion in Heaven, and that Lucifer and his angels madly cast from them its blessings under the promptings of that bad ambition which had 'rather reign in hell than serve in Hsaven."

The first civil disturbance in our listory, the "Whisky Insurrection," in 1794 The sedition laws of the elder Adams next supplied a pretext for threats of violence. The embargo and non-intercourse laws of Mr. Jeffersen, were encountered by like opposition. In 1832 the Nullification Ordinance of South Carolina was passed, and in 1850 we had the two Nashville Conventions. The first of these conventions met during the pendency of the Compromise Measures, and the result of its deliberations was the adoption of resolution demanding the extension of the Mis souri line to the Pacific, declaring that these were the only terms upon which the South could honorably consent to remain in the Union. In company with the great body of Southern Senators and Representatives, I voted to extend the line as they directed, but it is due to truth to say, that it was from no desire to comply with the wishes of all know that he was prepared to lay down his a body whose assemblage I had strongly condemnlife, if necessary, to secure to it a full and fair tri- ed. I gave that vote because I was satisfied

The trial has been made. It has succeeded was a fair and equitable settlement, and was a beyond the proudest hopes of those who framed it. regarded by the people whose representative Every quarter of this widely extended nation has | was. It was your will, and not that of the Nashwhich itself is equally adapted. The East, in like felt its blessings, and shared in the general prot ville Convention, which I obeyed. Four years intercourse with the West, already finds in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. - ciently apparent to awaken the deepest anxiety in | South. What am I to think of the political sag- help thinking you ought to have been allowed The West derives from the East supplies requisite the bosom of the patriot. We behold systematic to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps efforts publicly made to sow the seeds of decord fessions, were so widely mistaken? What estito its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity over the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence and the future maritime strength of the Union, directed by an indissoluble side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenor by which the West can hold this essential salvantage, whether derived from its own sensorate. an "extreme concession," and I certainly agree zenship, and a still lower regard for the popular with them that it was an extreme concession, if it judgment, integrity, and patriotism. A repub-Democratic Congressmen have been elected from the first, 3d and 12th districts, and probably from the first, 3d and 12th districts, and probably from the first, 3d and 12th districts, and probably from an apostate and unnutural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

INDIANA.

INDIANA.

INDIANA.

INDIANA.

INDIANA.

INDIANA.

Interest case of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of the same time feels an immediate and particular interest, in mined to so-combined cannot fail.

In the particular quarter of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of the legal question. I submit to their decided the legal question. I submit to their decided the legal question. Is ubmit to their decided the legal question. Is ubmit to their decided the legal question is the united mass of means and effort and these who desides of the country, instead of fulfilling the duties of the c

schments, find a place in the bosoms of the most was made in various forms and voted down in mlightened and pure. But while such men are all. Finally the Compremise of 1850 was sub-

and that, however mistaken they may be in their key, was satisfied with the action of Congress, views, the great body of them are equally honest and declined to take part in the second meeting. and upright with themselves. Mutual suspicions So did others of the more conservative members. and reproaches may in time create mutual hostil- The Convention met, nevertheless, in the month ity, and artful and designing men will always be of November, and published an address to the found who are ready to foment these fatal divis- people of the Southern States, advising all parties ions, and to inflame the natural jealouses of differ- at the South to refuse to go into, or countenance. ent sections of the country. The history of the any National Convention. It was here for the first world is full of such examples, and especially the time that the warnings of Washington were openly derided, and a body of men, claiming to be American patriots, seriously proposed the formation of parties upon geographical lines. Let it be remembered that this proposition emanated from the weaker section - From those who could have had no hopes of obtaining, in this way, redress for the grievances of which they complained, and who must have looked to ultimate disunion rs the inevitable consequence of their acts. To divide parties by Mason & Dixon's line, would be, simply, to give up the absolute and uncontrolled direction of the government to the Northern States. If this extraordinary surrender was proposed from 'an unounded trust in their wisdom and patriotism, it that the powers so abandoned would be exercised in such a manner as to render a separation of the Confederacy desirable it was treason. There was no want of intelligence in that body, and they must be taken to have intended the reasonable and probable consequences of their acts. The Northern Congress. To array that majority against us, by the formation of sectional parties, is to exclude shaping the policy of the government. It is easy to foresee that such a state of things could not long endure without producing discontents and jealousies, and finally open rebellion. The recomdation of the Nashville Convention was therefore a direct proposition in favor of disunion, and the means pointed out were exactly those best calculated to effect the object in view. It was understood at the time by the Southern Rights party of Alabama, and in Febuary, 1851, they met in Convention at Montgomery, and resolved, among other things, that, "the question of the secession of Alabama from this government is reduced to that of time only."

There was no questson as to the right of Secession; and none as to the magnitude of the grievances which called for its exercise. Those grievauces were alleged to be a wilful disregard of the objects for which the government of the United States was formed-"commencing with the law It is not my fault if history assigns to these

gentlemen a singular instability of opinion in reerence to the oppressions of which they comolain, and on account of which they have at various times proposed to raise the standard of revolt against the best government the world has ever known. In 1852 they met in Convention at Baltimore, and not only endorsed the system of measures they had pronounced intolerably oppressive a little more than a year before, but made it a part of their National Platform, and have retained it there to the present hour. The same measures which were intolerable oppressions in 1850, became national blessings in 1852, and the democracy coolly appropriated all the credit of their passage.

But I am departing somewhat from the chronological order of events. My purpose is to place before you a connected chain of facts which clearly prove that the Southern Rights leaders have for ten years persistently and assiduously labored to destroy the government. There is no escape from this conclusion except upon a plea of lunacy. If they had the least conception of the necesary consequences of their acts, they were, and are, disunionists. First the non extension of the Missouri line was held to be sufficient cause for disunion. Then came the recommendation to break up all national parties. After that we had resolutions declaring that the Compromise of 1850 ought to be resisted to the extremity of revolution.

It would seem that men who were not determined to destroy every hope of a peaceful settlement, might have paused here; but they went further. At a public meeting at Enon in the county of Macon, on the 31st of May, 1851, these resolutions were adopted: 1. That the right of secession results from the

sovereignty of the States, and is clear and indis-2. Should South Carolina as one of the Sovereignties forming the Union choose to withdraw from the general government her delegated powers; and should the general government, on that account, or for any other reason affecting the common interest of the Southern States, attempt the use of force against South Carolina, we, as citizens of Alabama, will use all lawful exertions to

3. Should the State of Alabama, regardless of her own honor and rights, refuse in such an emergency to co-operate with South Carolina. (the fear of which we do not for a moment entertain) then, in that event, we should feel at liberty to transfer our citizenship-and in, consequence, our allegiance to the State of South

bring to the aid of South Carolina, all the resour-

It was thought possible that the State of Alabams might refuse to commit treason on her own account, and it was therefore deemed advisable to provide a mode by which she might be dragged nto it through the action of another State. Surely those who claimed to be State Rights men par excellence could never have contemplated placing Alabama in the position here assigned her, unless they had previously made up their minds that Secession was right in itself, and was alike demanded by our bonor, and our interests. Even in that view the last resolution leaves us no alternative but to regard them as predetermined rebels, not only to the authority of the general Government, but of their own State also.

I do not agree with these gentlemen in any one of the positions assumed in their resolutions. I do not agree that it was creditable to make the commission of treason by Alabama, dependent of your territory. upon the treason of South Carolina. If we had wrongs to complain of, the manly course would have been to proclaim those wrongs, and announce our purpose te redress them. Submission to tyranny is none the less degrading because South Carolina submits to it also. Chains do not become respectable because they are worn by fellow-captives; nor is that man fit for freedom who waits for another to strike the blow which is to relieve him from bondage. If there was any cause to

he nature of their grievances, there is yet anothpurpose, they ought never to forget that the citizens of other States are their political brethren; own re-assembling. Its President, W. L. Sharremains to be mentioned. I deny in toto the sider—if there were no considerations appealing has the right to put in jeopardy the freedom and stitution is a perpetual compact in its nature, and its express terms,—that it was so understood by its framers,—that it contains no such absurdity its dangers and responsibilities as firmly as the as a provision for its own destruction, and that its most firy spirit among you. I will agree to make authority can only be abrogated or destroyed by a every plain a battle field, and every plantation resort to the natural right of revolution—a right to fence a breast work, and when all else has failed, be enforced by the armed hand, and the armed hand I will as cheerfully lay down my life upon the alone. There can be no such thing as stealing out last spot which is sacred to freedom. But I have of the Union; or begging out of the Union.

> He, and they, would be perjured if they permitted you peaceably to withdraw. I have heretofore argued this question in Senate of the United States, and do not mean to go over what was then said. A few authorities are all to wich I shall call your attention.

under his control, is sworn to execute the laws.

The Chief Magistrate, and every officer

When the Constitution was adopted, and submitted to the States for ratification, the idea of eserving a right to secede vas started in New York, and Gen. Hamilton wrote to Mr. Madison to obtain his opinion. His reply was :

"Yours of yesterday has this instant come to hand, and I have but a few minutes to answer it. I am sorry that your situation obliges you to listen to propositions of the nature you describe My opinion is that a reservation of a right to withdraw if amendments be not decided on under the form of the Constitution within a certain time, is a conditional ratification: that it does not make New York a member of the Union; and, consequently, that she could not be received on that plan. Compacts must be reciprocal. This principle would not in such a case be preserved. The Constitution requires an adoption in toto and

"It has been so adopted by the other States. An adoption for a limited time would be as defective as an adoption of some of the articles only. In shortany condition whatever must vitiate the ratification &c."

Subsequently the following proceedings were had in the New York Convention. "Mr. Lansing proposed a draft of a conditional ratification, which was carried-Mr. Jones moved to strike out the words "on condition"-carried.

The ratification stood absolute without any con-

"Mr. Lansing then moved to adopt a resolution that thereshould be reserved to the State of New York, a right to withdraw from the Union after admitting Missouri into the Union, and closing a certain number of years, unless the amendwith the late system of measures miscalled the ments proposed should be ratified. This motion was rejected. So the State of New Yorkexpressly refused to reserve the right to withdraw.

See Elliets Debates, Vol. 2, page 385. In 1798 Mr. Jefferson wrote to John Taylor of

"But if on a temporary superiority of the one party the other is to resort to a scission of the Union, no federal Government can ever exist. If, to rid ourselves of the present rule of Massachusetts tions. Still I do not wish to be misunderstood and Connecticut, we break the Union, will the for an hour, and therefore I repeat that I concede evil stop there? Are we not men still to the the right of revolution, in its fullest, and its broad-South of that, and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and Virginia party arise in the residuary confederacy and the public mind will be distracted by the party spirit. \* \*

If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple units."

In June 1851 Wm. R. King said: "I have ever been a State Rights man of the Jefferson school, and can fearlessly appeal to my whole public life in proof of the assertion. I am not, however, prepared to admit that the States possess either the Constitutional, or the reserved

right to secede from the Union." From this extract we may judge how appropriate was the invocation of Mr. Yancey to the spirit of Col. King, at the late Breckinridge ratification meeting in this place. He strikes directly at the base of Mr. Yancey's political creed. He denies the right of secession and destroys the foundation upon which the whole Southern Rights structure is erected.

I have so recently read the opinions of Gen. Jackson in your hearing that I pass them over for the present. Indeed it is hardly worth while to adduce authority aga not the right of Secession, since, when conceded, it amounts to nothing more than a right of self destruction. It is at best the poor right of self murder-attended by all the consequences of that unpardonable singrief, and shame and wretchedness to those who

our protecting care. If Secession could be peaceably effected-if the Northern and the Southern States could be by common consent divided into two separate Confederacies-if not one drop of blood was shed, nor one blade of grass destroyed in making the change, t would still bring unnumbered evils in its train There would be a standing army to be maintained of no less than 50,000 men, at a cost of \$50-000,000, per annum. A navy must be built up, and the money for that purpose dragged from the pockets of the people. There would be a long ine of frontier extending from the Atlantic Ocean to the Western limit of Missouri, and from the Northern boundary of that State to the Rio Grande, which it would be necessary to stud with military posts, and every mile of which would equire to be scoured by armed patrels for the ouble purpose of enforcing the revenue laws, and preventing the escape of fugitive slaves. Every harbor along the vast extent of sea coast from Delaware Bay, to the mouth of the Rio Grande, would require an appropriation of millions for its fortification. The people would be ground down by taxes, and demoralized by the constant presence of troops among them who acknowledged no restraints but those of military law. Incessant quarrels would grow up between you and your Northern neighbors, and bloody wars would desolate your frontiers, if they did not spread destruction throughout every portion

But, fellow Citizens, it is idle to talk of a separation of this Confederacy; either peaceably or forcibly. It is bound together by links togetrong for human hands to break. You may create disturbances-you may cut each other's throats-its smiling fields may be laid waste, and its flourishing towns given unto the flames, but the Union. If the public prints an abstract of its provisions which is sufficient for my purpose. in some form, will endure forever. You may convert it into a grand consolidated despotism, but you cannot dissever its parts. I do not believe that, in the event of a civil war, the North can conquer the South, or the South can conquer the North .-What I fear is, that some military leader will der this act with arms and accourrements." conquer both—that wearied and impoverished by exactions, and sickened by carnage, the people will gladly welcome any change which promises

The sixth section requires the men to assemble at least twelve times a year for drill and exercise.

The 8th Section invests the Treasurer of the Com-

struck enthusiast— a dream interrupted by bloody conflicts with your neighbors; and a vile depend-A separation into two confederacies is an impossibility as long as the Mississippi flows from the North to the South, and a civil conflict once begun can have but one termination. In the language of Gen. Jackson, "the victory of the injured would not secure to them the blessings of liberty; it would avenge their wrongs, but they would

themselves share in the common ruin."

Believing this to be the condition to which you must be reduced by internecine war, I implore you to pause, and consider well before you allow teer Corps. yourselves to be plunged into it. It is easy enough

to talk of laying down our lives upon the battle Differing with them thus widely as to the pro- field, for a punctilio, and allow me to add in no posed mode of redress, and equally widely as to spirit of vain boasting, that I know of nothing which would be easier than to carry such a reso right of Secession. I deny that any one State to our judgments, or affections, but such as relate to our personal safety. But you and I are not in happiness of all the rest I affirm that the con- that condition. There are others for whose well being we are bound to provide. If fraternal strife does come I shall endeavor to meet my share of We no love for such scenes, and no desire to become must go out of it, if we go at all, at the cost of civil an actor in them. I hold it to be the duty of a good citizen to look well at all the consequences before plunging into revolution, either under the influence of his own passions, or at the direction of ambitious leaders. Conceding his full right to stake his own life upon the desperate game, it h still certain that he has no right to trifle with the lives and happiness of others. We have a ready refuge from tyranny, but in the meantime what is to become of that portion of our race to whom we are indebted for so many joys, and to whom we are bound by so many ties? What is to become of the wife who sheds a halo around your fireside, of these gentle and tender girls who are seattered like lovely flowers through this assembly -or of the little ones you have left at home in the sweet enjoyment of secure and peaceful sleep ?-They are debarred by nature, and the customs of society, from taking part in the flerce conflicts

"Where life is lost, or freedom won," and when we have gone down to bloody, though it may be honored graves, they will remain to become the victims, or the slaves of our murderers. Am I wrong, then in asking you to be certain that some intolerable grievance exists, for which there is no other han rable redress, before becoming a party to disunion? Lay your hands upon your bearts and tell me, if you can, what that grievance is What wrong are you suffering? What oppression weighs upon you? The sun which will rise to-morrow from behind youder mountains, in its long journey will shine upo no land so happy, and so blessed as ours. It will travel on from Continent to Continent, sometimes in joy, and sometimes in sorrow-looking down upon the chained captive in one place-upon the lordly proprietor in another-upon the widow's anguish in another, and the lover's raptures in another; but nowhere else will its beams be gladdened by the presence of universal peace, of universal plenty; and of universal freedom. Why then should you wish to destroy the Government under which, and by which, all this has been secured? What desire can you have to substitute for that splendid and glorious picture, a l whose waters are tears, whose vegetation has been blasted by fire, and whose inhabitants have been thinned out by the sword?

Let me not be temporarily misunderstood. I shall take care that no one has an excuse for permanent misunderstanding, by printing what I have this night uttered. I intend to allow no chances for newspaper, or other misrepresentsest sense; and in a proper case, and for just provocation, I shall be the last man among you to counsel its abandonment. I only insist that it shall be xercised intelligently, for good cause, and

after mature reflection Fellow-citizens, I have purposely avoided, as much as possible, any reference to individual opinions, because although they are, to some extent, indications of the public sentiment of a party, they are the weakest, and most unreliable of those indi cations, and I preferred to give you the resolutions of Conventions, and Public Meetings, which must be presumed to express the deliberate convictions of those who compose them. In pursuance of the same plan I propose to call your attention to the resolutions of our State Legislature.

From 1851 to 1854 there was a respite from the

slavery agitation. In 1852 both the great parties of the country endorsed the Compromise Measures, and incorporated them in their National Platforms. Harmony was restored in the country and the old feelings of brother y regard between the North and the South, begun once more to put forth its leaves. In 1854 the Missouri Compromise was repealed, and the Kansas troubles begun. The Northern demagogue was furnished with an excuse for stirring up the prejudices, and inflaming the bad passions of his section, and the Southern extremists soon found a new pretext for dissolving the Union. The result of the strife in Kansas "as the adoption of a Constitution, which those who ought to have been best informed upon the subject, assured us was the offspring of fraud, and bribery, and violence. Our Legislature took a different view of the matter, and passed resoluare most dear to us, and who are best entitled to tion to dissolve the Union if Kansas was not admitted as a State with the Lecompton Constitution. Mr. Buchanan, although he had instructed his Governor to submit the Constitution to a vote of the people, transmitted it to Congress with a recommendation that it be accepted. At this point the warfare between Buchanan and Douglas began. With that I have, perhaps, no business to interfere. I have my opinions of the justice of the quarrel, and those opinions do not favor the President. Still it was a family quarrel, and can be best settled in the family circle. There I leave it. My business is with the Alabama Legislature .-After declaring their purpose to resent the non-admission of Kansas by disunion, they discovered they had made a mistake, and that Mr. English a Representative from the State of Indiana, understood better what their honor, and their interests required than they did, and secondingly they accepted his bill as a better bill for the South.-Here was another evidence of the extreme eagorness of the Southern Rights party to find causes for a dismemberment of the confederacy; and here was another public acknowledgement that the assigned cause was not sufficient to justify a resort to the extreme measure proposed, since there was a remedy within the Government, and that reme-

> The Legislature of 1859 went still further. They not only resolved upon disunion in a certain contingency, but provided the means to enforce it. Upon a recent occasion I expressed to you my views of those resolutions, and promised at a future time to make some comments upon the "Military Bill." That Bill is too long to read to you, but I The first section provides for the enrollment of a volunteer corps of 8000 men, and aproportions the number among the several counties.

dy, according to their own confession, a better

nessure for the South than the one they had de-

The fourth section directs the Governor to "immediately supply all the companies organized unany with the powers of a constable, and author

orphans, for the purpose of creating a military fund, except such persons as have performed military duty in the Volunteer Corps or the militis.

The 20th section provides for the payment of a bounty of seven dollars to each cavalry or artillery soldier, and of five dollars to each infantry soldier. The 15th Section provides that the Volunteer

Corps "shall be subject only to the order, direction, or control of the Governor."

The 17th Sec. vests the Governor, Adjutant General, and Quarter Master General with extraordinary powers, and requires them to adopt a State flag, and prescribe a uniform for the Volun-

CONTINUED ON FOURTH PAGE ?