JOHN SPELMAN, PRINTER TO THE STATE, . SATURDAY: DECEMBER 8, 1860.

Below we present that portion of the Presilents Message relating to Federal Affairs. Hereafter we will give the remainder :

PRESIDENTS MESSAGE. Fellow-citizens of the Senate .

and House of Representatives : Throughout the year since our last meeting,

the country has been emi nently prosperous in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundent, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and un ple returns. In short, no nation in the The day of evil may never come, unless we shall tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensixely prevails, and the Union of the States. which is the source of all these blessings, is ned and intemperate interference of the Northt em people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its naunal effects. The different sections of the Union we how arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of the protection of the Constitution. his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long forescen and often forewarned my count ymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely en endured by the South without danger to hese causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length i produced its malign infsience on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar .-

throughout all generations But let us take warning in time, and respove the cause of danger. It cannot be denied that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been inthroughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to in- good reason for a dissolution of the Union. surrection, and produce all the horrors of a servue war." This agit tion has ever since been duty which have yet been committed consist in

which the slave States have ever contended, is danger from it as a precedent. The validity to be let alone, and permitted to manage their this law has been established over and over again domestic institutions in their own way. As sov- by the Supreme Court of the United States wit meign States, they, and they alone, are respon- perfect unanimity. It is founded upon an ex tible before God and the world for the slavery press provision of the Constitution, requiriexisting among them. For this, the people of that fugitive slaves who escape from service the North are not more responsible, an I have no one State to another shall be "delivered up more right to interfere, that with similar insti- to their masters. Without this provision it is tutions in Jussia or in Brazil. Upon their good well-known historical fact that the Constitution sense and patriotic forbearance I contess I still itself could never have been adopted by the Co greatly r ly. Without their aid, it is beyon i the vention. In one form or other under the acts a power of any President, no matter what may be 1793 and 1850, both being substantially ti his own political proclivities, to restore peace same, the fugitive slave law has been the law and harmony among the States. Wisely limited | the land from the days of Washington until t and restrained as is his power, under our Con- present moment. Here, then, a clear case stitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but presented, in which it will be the duty of the

ederal Government must be guilty of 'a delibrate, palpable, and dangerous exercise" of pow- to execution in every contested case since the not granted by the Constitution The late presidential election, however, has been held in thoug often it is to be regretted, with great ke strict conformity with its express provisions. How, then, can the result justify a revolution to trust that the State legislatures will repeal the destroy this very Constitution? Reason, jus- unconstitutional and obnoxious enactments. tice, a regard for the Constitution, all require Unless this shall be done without unnecessar that we shall wait for some overt and dangerous delay, it is impossible for any human power act on the part of the President elect before re- save the Union.

sorting to such a remedy. hoblest system of government ever devised the remainder. In that event, the injur

and its high responsibilities, he must necessarily be conservative. The stern duty of administering the vast and complicated concerns of this Government affords in itself a guarantee that he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right After all, he is no more than the ch ef executive officer of the Government His rovince is not to make, but to execute, the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that notwithstanding t'e repeated efforts of the antislavery party, no single act has ever passed Congress, unless we may possibly except the Missour ri Compromise, impairing, in the slightest degree. the rights of the South to their property in slaves And it may also be observed, judging from pres-

by mortals? From the very nature of his office.

ent indications, that no probability exists of the passage of such an act, by a majority of both Houses, either in the present or the next Con gress Surely, under these circumstances, w. ought to be restrained from present action by the precept of Him who spake as never man spoke, that "sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

rashly bring it upon ourselves. It is alleged as one cause for immediate secession that the Southern States are denied equal rights with the other States in the common Territories. But by what and ority are these denied? Not by Congress, which has never passed, and I threatened with destruction? The long contin- believe never will pass, any act to exclude slavery from the Territories: and certainly not by the Supreme Court, which has solemnly decided that slaves are property, and, like all other property, their owners have a right to take them into the common Territories, and hold them there under

So far, then, as Congress is concerned, the objection is not to anything they have already done, but to what they may do hereafter. It will surely be admitted that this apprehension of future from the claim on the part of Congress or the danger is no good reason for an immediate disterritorial legislatures to exclude slavery from | solution of the Union. It is true that the terhe Territories, par from the efforts of different ritorial legislature of Kansas, on the 23d of Beb-States to defeat the execution of the fugutive- ruary, 1850, passed in great haste an act, ever of the instrument there was no foundation for such of the United States. slave law. All or any of these evils might have the veto of the governor, declaring that slavery apprehensions In that mighty struggle between 'is, and shall be, forever prohibited in this Ferhe Union, (as others have been,) in the hope ritory." Such an act, however, p'ainly violating hat time and reflection might apply the remedy | the rights of property secured by the Constitution, The immediate peril arises not so much from will surely be declared void by the judiciary whenever it shall be presented in a legal form.

Only three days after my inauguration the Su-

preme Court of the United States solemnly adjudged that this power did not exist in a territorial legislature. Yet such has been the factious temper of the times that the correctness of this decision has been extensively impugued before This feeling of peace at home has given place to. the people, and the question has given rise to apprehension of servile insurrection. Many a langry political conflicts throughout the country. matron throughout the South retires at night in | Those who have appealed from this judgment of dread of what may befall herself and her chil- our highest constitutional tribunal to popular asdren before the morning. Should this appressemblies would, if they could, invest a territorial heasion of domestic danger, whether real or im- legislature with power to annul the sacred rights aginary, extend and intensly itself until it shall of property. This power Congress is expressly pervade the masses of the Southern people, then forbidden by the Federal-Constitution to exercise disunion will become inevitable. Self preserva- Every State legislature in the Union is forbidden tion is the first law of nature, and has been im- by its own constitution to exercise it. It cannot planted in the heart of mansby his Creator for be exercised in any State except by the people the wisest purpose; and no political union, how- in their highest sovereign capacity when traming ever fraught with blessings and benefits in all or amending their State constitution. In like other respects, can long continue, if the neces- manner, it can only be exercised by the people of sary consequence be to render the homes and a Territory represented in a convention of delethe firesides of nearly half the parties to it had gates for the purpose of framing a constitution atually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or ta- preparatory to admission as a State into the Union. for the bonds of such a Union must be severed. Then, and not until then, are they invested with It is my conviction that this fatal period has not power to decide the question whether slavery shall yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He | or shall not exist within their limit. This is an would preserve the Constitution and the Union | act of sovereign authority, and not of subordingte territor al legislation. Were it otherwise, then indeed would the equality of the States in the Territories be destroyed, and the rights of property in slaves would depend, not upon the guarantees of the Constitution, but upon the shifting cessant. In 1835 pictorial hand bills, and in- majorities of an irresponsible territorial legisladimatory appeals, were circulated extensively ture. Such a doctrine, from its intriusic unsoundness, cannot long influence any considerable portion of our people, much less can it afford a The most palpable violations of constitutional

continued by the public press, by the proceed the acts of different State legislatures to deficat ngs of State and county conventions, and by the execution of the fugitive-slave law. It abolition sermons and lectures. The time of bught to be remembered, however, that for these Congress has been occupied in violent speeches acts, neither Congress nor any President can on this never-encing subject; and appeals in justly be held responsible. Having been passed, pamphlet and of er forms, endorsed by distin- in violation of the Federal Constitution, they at guished names, have been sont forth from this therefore null and void. All the courts, but central point, and spread broadcast over the Union. State and national, before whom the question How easy would it be for the American peo- has arisen, have from the beginning declar. ple to settle the slavery question forever, and to the fugitive slave law to be constitutional. The restore peace and harmony to this distracted | single exception is that of a State court in Wis consin; and this has not only been reversed b They, and they alme, can do it. All that is the proper appellate tribunal, but has met wit necessary to accomplish the object, and all for such universal reprobation that there can be m little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous next President, as it has been my own, to act wi vigor in executing this supreme law against the And this brings me to observe that the elec- conflicting enactments of State legislatures. ion of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office | Should be fail in the per'o mance of this hi of President does not of itself afford just cause for duty, he will then have manifested a disregal dissolving the Union. This is more especially of the Constitution and laws, to the great injuthe if his election has been effected by a mers of the people of nearly one half of the States Parality, and not a majority, of the people, and the Union. But are we to presume in advanhis resulted from transient and temporary causes, that he will thus violate his duty? This won which may probably neveragain occur. In order to be at war with every principle of justice and ustify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Christian charity. Let us wait for the over act. The fugitive-slave law has been carried in

commencement of the present administration and inconvenience to the government. Let a

The Southern States, standing on the basis It is said, however, that the antecedents of the the Constitution, have a right to demand this a President elect have been sufficient to justify the of justice from the States of the North. Shou fears of the South that he will attempt to invade, it be refused, then the Constitution, to which their constitutional rights. But are such appre- the States are parties, will have been wilfully hensions of contingent danger in the future suf- olated by one portion of them in a provision ficient to justify the immediate destruction of the sential to the domestic security and happiness

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RALEIGH, N. C., SATURDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1860.

ernment of the Union.

olutionary resistance, because it has been claim- ally invaded, or in such imminent danger as will the way of executing the laws for the collection last desperate remedy of a despairing people, at ed within the last few years that any State, whenever this shall be its sovereign will and pleasure, may secede from the Union, in accordance with the Constitution, and without any interposition, it is provided "that this Constituviolation of the constitutional righ s of the other members of the Confederacy. That as each be- be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties came parties to the Union by the vote of its own | made, or which shall be made, under the authorpeople assembled in Convention, so any one of ity of the United States, shall be the supreme them may retire from the Union in a similar law of the land; and the judges in every State manner by the vote of such a convention.

In order to justify secession as a constitutional remedy it must be on the principle that the Federal Government is a mere voluntary association of States, to be dissolved at pleasure by any one of the contracting parties. If this be so, the Confederacy is a rope of sand, to be penetrated and dissolved by the first adverse wave of public opinion in any of the States. In this manner into as many petty, jarring, and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever any sudden excitement might impel them to such a course By this

history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution. After it was framed, with the greatest deliberation and care, it was submitted to conventions of the people of the several States for ratifi cation. Its provisions were discussed at length in these bodies composed of the first men of the country. Its opponents contended that it conferred powers upon the Federal Government dangerous to the rights of the States, whilst its advocates maintained that under a fair construction the first intellects of this of any other country, it stitution, and deriving its authority from the never occurred to any individual, either among sovereign people of each of the several States; opropents or advocates, to assert, or even to in- has precisely the same right to exercise he powtimate, that their efforts were all vain labor, er over the people of all these States, in the because the moment that any State felt her- enumerated cases, that each one of them possesself aggrieved she might secode from the Union. ses over subjects not delegated to the United What a crushing argument would this have prov- States, but "reserved to the States, respectively, ed against those who dreaded that the rights of or to the people.' the States would be endangered by the Constintion. The trut h is, that it was not until many was then met and refuted by the conclusive argu- textually inserted therein. ments of General Jackson, who in his message of 16th January, 1833, transmitting the nullifying the following language: "The right of the prothis Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such authorny is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the General Govern-

was expressly formed to attain." It is altogether founded upon inf. rence, not from high powers might v olate the reserved rights of States by which it was ratified. But is it beyond vent the danger! But they did not fear, nor the power of a State, like an individual, to yield had they any reason to imagine, that the Cona portion of its sovereign rights to secure the re- stitution would ever be so interpreted as to enahas been called the father of the Constitution:

It was formed by the States—that is, by the people in each of the States, acting in their highby the same authority which formed the State

"Nor is the Government of the United States created by the Constitution, less a Government in the strict sense of the term, within the sphere of its powers, than the governments created by the constitutions of the States are, within their old governments have been destroyed, and new several spheres. It is, like them organized into ones have taken their place. It is embodied in legislative, executive, and judiciary departments. strong and express language in our own Declara-It operates, like them, directly on persons and things; and, like them, it has at command a physical force for ex cuting the powers committed to it.

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties. The old articles of confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation | more nor less than revolution. It may or it may and Perpetual Union between the States v and by the 12th article it is expressly declared that revolution. "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be per etual.". The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having express reference to the articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect union." And yet it is contended that this "more perfect union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

ual appears conclusively from the nature and ex- | the State of Sauth Carolina, so far as the laws of tent of the powers conferred by the Constitution | the United States to secure the administration of on the Federal Government. These powers em- justice by means of the Federal Judiciary are brace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both the sword and the purse under its control. Congress has power to can be carried into execution, have already remake war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign governments. It is invested with the power to coin money, and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States. It is not necessary to enumerate the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers uto effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect certained that the marshal with his passe comitaall other taxes.

these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopt- and employ the army and navy to aid him in ed effectual means to restrain the States from in- performing this service, having first by proclaterfering with their exercise. For that purpose mation commanded the insurgents to disperse it has, in strong prohibitory language, expressly and retire peaceably to their respective abodes. declared taat "n. State shall enter into any trea- with n a limited time." This duty cannot by p sty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of cial authority exists to issue process, and where credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a there is no marshal to execute it, and where, tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of at- even if there were such an officer, the entire tainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation ob contracts." Moreover, "witzout the consent of Congress, no State shall lay any imposts or duties on any imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for exthis amount, the excess shall belong to the U. S.

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States, after having first used all peaceful and | And "no State shall, without the consent of constitutional means to obtain redress, would be Congress, lay any duty of tonage; keep troops, justified in revolutionary resistance to the Gov- or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with I have purposely confined my remarks to rev- a foreign power; or engage in war, un'ess actunot admit of delay."

ted exercise of these high powers against State in Charleston; and should the collector unfortuander this free Government there is an incessant tion and the laws of the United States which shall shall be bound thereby, anything in the Consti- of forts, magazines, arsenals," &c., and over Congress can contribute much to avert it by protution or laws of any State to the contrary not- | these the authority "to exercise exclusive legiswithstanding."

The solemn sanction of religion has been superadded to the obligations of official duty, and all senators and representatives of the United States, all members of State legislatures, and all executive as d judicial officers, "both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound our thirty-three States may resolve themselves | by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." In order to carry into effect these powers, the Constitution has established a perfect Government in all its forms, Legislative, Executive, and Judicial; and this Government to the extent of process a Union might be entirely broken into its powers, acts directly upon the individual citi fragments in a few weeks, which cost our fore- zens of every State, and executes its own decrees Cathers many years of toil, privation, and blood by the agency of its own officers. In this respect creation. He presents no power to change the reit differs entirely from the Government under the Such a principle is wholly inconsistent with the old Confederation, which was confined to making requisitions on the States in their sovereign character. This left it in the discretion of each whethto comply with such requisitious It thus bebarrier, and "in order to form a more perfect! Union," to establish a Government which could ! act directly upon the people, and execute its own

This has been accomplished by the Constitution?

To the extent of the delegated powers the Constitution of the United States is as much a years after the origin of the Federal Government | part of the constitution of each State, and is as that such a proposition was first advanced. It binding upon its people, as though it had been

This Government, therefore, is a great and powerful Government, invested with all the atordinance of South Carolina to Congress, employs | tributes of sovereignty over the special subjects to which its authority extends. Its framers ple of a single State to absolve themselves at will never intended to implant in its bosom the seeds and without the consent of the other States, from of its own destruction, nor were they at its eretheir most solemn obligations, and hazard the ation guilty of the absurdity of providing for its liberty and happiness of the millions composing own dissolution. It was not intended by its framers to be the baseless fabric of a vision which, at the touch of the enchanter, would vanish into thin air, but a substantial and mighty ment is constituted and to the objects which it | fabric, capable of resisting the slow decay of time and of defying the storms of ages. In-It is not pretended that any clause in the Con- | deed, well may the jealous patriots of that day stitution gives countenance to such a theory .- have included fears that a government of such any language contained in the instrument itself. the States, and wisely did they adopt the rule but from the sovereign character of the several of a strict construction of these powers to premainde? In the language of Mr. Madison, who | ble any State, by her own act. and without the est so ereign capacity; and formed consequently | States without redress against the tyranny and

oppression of the Federal Government? By no means. The right of resistance on the part of the governed against the oppression of their governments cannot be denied. It exists independently of all constitutions, and has been exercised at all perious of the world's history. Under it tion of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed that this is re-olution against an established Government, and not a voluntary secession from it by vir ue of an inherent constitutional right. In short let us look the danger fairly in 'the face : Secession is neither not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is a

What, in the meantime, is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the coun try "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in whole or in part. has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control? Such But that the Union was designed to be perpet- at the present moment, is the case throughout limits, through whose agency alone these laws signed. We no lorger have a district judge, a district attorney, or marshal, in South Carolina. In fact, the whole machinery of the Federal Government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demol. ished; and it would be difficult, if not impos-

sible, to replace it. The only acts of Congress on the statue-book, bearing upon this subject, are those of the 28th February, 1765, and 3d March, 1807. These authorize the President, after he shall have astus is unable to execute civil or criminal process But the Constitution has not only conferred in any particular case, to call forth the militia sibility be performed in a State where no judipopulation would constitute one solid combination to resist him.

The bare enumeration of these provisions proves how inadequate they are without further legislation to overcome a united opposition in a ecuting its inspection laws;" and, if they exceed single State, not to speak of other States wno Our example for more than eighty years would us as a nation in all our past trials. may place themselves in a similar attitude. Con-

gress alone has power to decide whether the pre- | c.usive proof that man is unfit for self govern sent laws can or cannot be amended so as to car- ment. ry out more effectually the objects of the Con-

of the customs. The revenue still continues to | ter every other constitutional means of concile-In order still further to secure the uninterrup- be collected, as heretofore, at the custom house tion had been exhausted. We should reflect that nately resign, a successor may be appointed to ebb and flow in public opinion. The slavery perform this duty.

States in South Carolina. This has been pur- passed the culminating point. But if, in the chased for a fair equivalent, "by the consent of midst of the existing excitement, the Union shall the legislature or the State," "for the erection | perish, the evil may then become irreparible .lation" has been expressly granted by the Con- the several States the remedy for existing evils, stitution to Congress. It is not believed that which the Constitution has itself provided for its any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property by force; but if in this I should prove to be mistaken, the officer in command of the forts has received orders to act 5th article providing for its own amendment,strictly on the defensive. In such a contingen- Under this article amendments have been procy, the responsibility for consequences would posed by two-thirds of both houses of Congress. rightfully rest upon the heads of the assailants.

Apart from the execution of the laws, so far as this may le practicable, the Executive has no authority to de i le what shall be the relations this process the country is indebted for the clause between the federal government and South Caro- | prohibiting Congress from passing any law reslina. He has been invested with no such dislatious heretofore existing between them, much right of petition. ess to acknowledge the independence of that State. This would be to invest a mere Execu- Rights, which secures the people against any tive officer with the power of recognising the abuse of power by the Federal Government. er to obey or to refuse, and they often declined dissolution of the Confederacy among our thirty- | Such were the apprehensions justly entertained three sovereign States. It bears no resemblance by the friends of State righ s at that period as to came necessary, for the purpose of removing this to the recognition of a foreign de fic's govern- have rendered it extremely doubtful whether ment, involving no such responsibility. Any the Constitution could have long survived withattempt to do this would, on his part, be a na- out these amendments. ked act of usurpation. It is, therefore, my duty | Again, the Constitution was amended by the laws without the intermediate agency of the States. ! to submit to Congress the whole question in all same process after the election of President Jefits bearings. The course of events is so rapidly ferson by the House of Representatives, in Fehastening forward, that the emergency may bruary, 1833. This amendment was rendered In short, the Government created by the Con- soon arise when you may be called upon to de- necessary to prevent a recurrence of the dangers cide the momen ous question whether you pos- which had seriously threatened the existence of sess the power, by force of arms, to compel a the overnment during the pendency of that State to remain in the Union. I should feel my- election. The article for its own amendment was self recreant to my duty were I not to express an intended to secure the amicable adjustment of opinion on this important subject.

stitution delegated to Cougress the power to co erce a State into submission which is attempting | This appears from contemporaneous history In to withdraw or has acutually withdrawn from the this connection, I shall merely call attention to a Confederacy? If answered in the affirmative, few sentences in Mr. Madison's justly-celebrated it must be on the principle that the power has report, in 1799, to the legislature of Virginia. In been conferred upon Congress to declare and to this he ably and conclusively defended the resomake war aginst a State, After much serious lutions of the preceding legislature against the reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that strictures of several other State legislatures no such power has been delegated to Congress These were mainly founded upon the protest of or to any other department of the Federal Gov- the Virginia legislature against the "Alien and ernment. It is manifest, upon an inspection Sedition Acts " as " palpable and alarming in of the Constitution, that this is not among the fractions of the Constitution." In pointing out specific and enumerated powers granted to Con- the peaceful and constitutional remedies, and he gress and it is equally apparent that its exercise | referred to none other, to which the States were is not "necessary and proper for carrying into authorized to resort, on such occasions, he conexecution ' any one of these powers. So far cludes by saying, "that the legislatures of the \* from this power having been delegated to Con- | States might have made a direct representation to gress, it was excressly refused by the convention. Congress with a view to obtain a rescinding of which framed the Constitution.

It appears, from the proceedings of that body, that on the 31st May, 1787, the clause "authorizing un exertion of the force of the whole against a delinquent State" came up for consid- or two thirds of themselves, if such had been eration. Mr Madison opposed it is a brief but their opinion, might, by an application to Conpowerful speech, from which I shall extract but gress, have obtained a convention for the same a single schitence. He obs rved: "The use of force against a State would look more like a declation of war than an inflict on of punishment : and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts the clause w s unanimously postnoned, and was advisable to attain the object. never I believe again presented. Soon afterwards, on the 8th June, 178, when incidentally to the final settlement of the true construction of adverting to the subject, he said: " Any Government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would lists or may hereafter exists. prove as visionray and fallacious as the governexisting Congress of the old Confederacy.

Without descending to part culars, it may be States into the Union, with or without slavery. safely asserted, that the power to make war against a State is at variance with the whole spirit and intent of the Constitution. Suppose such a war should result in the conquest of a State to another, restored and "delivered and State, how are we to govern it afterwards? Shall to him, and of the validity of the fugnive-slave we hold it as a province, and govern it by des- law enacted for this purpose, together with a postic pow r? In the nature of things we could delaration that all Statelaws impairing or defeatnot, by physical force, control the will of the | ing this right are violations of the Constitution, people, and compel them to elect senators and and are consequently null and void. representatives to Congress, and to perform all It may be objected that this construction of the other duties depending upon their own roli- the Constitution has already been settled by the tion, and required from the free citizens of a Supreme Court of the United States, and what free State as a constituent member of the Con- more ought to be required? The answer is that

wise to exercise it under existing circumstances? | decision, and never will cease from agitation and The object would doub less be to preserve the admit its binding force until clearly established Union. War would not only present the most by the people of the several States in their sovereffectual means of destroying it; but would ban- eign character. Such an explanatory amendment ish all hope of its peaceable reconstruction. Be- would, it is believed, forever terminate the existsides, in the fraternal conflict a vast amount of ing dissensions and restore peace and harmony blood and treasure would be expended, rendering | among the States. future reconciliation between the States impossi ble. In the mean time, who can foretell what to the arbitrament established by the constitute would be the sufferings and privations of the tion itself would be received with favor by all people during its existence

opinion, and can never be comented by the blood any of these States shall separate these elves of its citizens shed in civil war. If it cannot live from the Union in the affections of the people, it must one day When I entered upon the duties of the presidenperish. Congress possesses many means of pre- tial office, the apect neither of our foreign mor serving it by conciliation; but the sword was domestic affairs was at all satisfactory. We not placed in their hand to preserve it by force, were involved in dangerous complications with countrymen to pause and deliberate before they in a state of revolution against the Government. determine to destroy this, the greatest temple A restoration of the African slave trade and nuwhich has ever been dedicated to human freed in merous and powerful advocates, " Unlawful since the world began? It has been consecrated military expeditions were countenance, by many by the blood of our fathers, by the glories of the of our citizens, and were suffered, in defiance c past, and by the hopes of the future. The Union the efforts of the Government, to escape for has already made us the most prosperous and ere our shores, for the purpose of making were mill long, will, if preserved, render us the most pow- the unoffending neople of neighboring repuberful nation on the face of the earth. In every with whom we are at peace. foreign region of the globe the title of American izen is held in the highest respect, and when experienced a revulsion in monetary affairs, pronounced in a forigen land it cause the hearts after my advent to power, of unexampled seven of our countrymen to swell with honest pride .- and of rainous consequences to all the great Surely when we each the brink of the yawning terests of the country. When we take a retrofatal plunge. B; such a dread catastrophe the trast this with its material prosperity at the hopes of the friends of freedom throughout the of the late presidential election, we have about world would be destroyed, and a long night of ant reason to return our grateful thanks to t leaden despotism would enshroud the nation .- merciful Providence which has never forest

It is not every wrong-nay, it is not every grie rious wrong - which can justify a resort to The same in uperable obstacles do not lie in such a fearful alternative. This ought to be the tion, like everything human, will have harday. Then in regard to the propert; of the United I firmly believe that it has already reached and posing and recommending to the legislatures of own preservation. This has been tried at different critical periods of our history, and always with eminent success. It is to be found in the and have been "ratified by the Ingislatures of three-fourths of the several States," and have consequently become parts of the Constitution. To pecting an establishment of religion, or abridging

To this we are, also, indebted for the Bill of

conflicting constitutional questions like the The question fair'y stated is: Has the Con- present, which might arise between the governments of the States and that of the United States. the two offensive acts, or they might have represented to their respective senators in Congress their wish that two-thirds thereof would propose an explanatory amendment to the Consititution.

This is the very course which I carnestly recommend in order to obtain an "explanatory amendment of the Constitution on the subject of slavery. This might originate with Congress or by which it might be bound." Upon his motion | the State legislatures, as may be deemed most

The explanatory amen ment might be confined the Constitution on three special points. 1. An express recognition of the right of

property in slaves in the States where it now ex-2. The duty of protecting this right in all the ment of Congress. " evidently meaning the then common Territories throughout their territorial existence, and until they shall be admitted as

> as their constitutions may prescribe. 3. A like recognition of the right of the maser to have his rlave, who has escaped from one

a very large proportion of the people of the But, if we possessed this power, would it be United States still contest the correctness of this

It ought not to be doubted that such at appeal the States of the Confederacy. In any event it The fact is, that our Union rests upon public ought to be tried in a spirit of conciliation before

But may I be permitted sclemnly to invoke my several nations, and two of our Territories were

In addition to these and other difficulties

The Property of the Control of the C

not only be lost; but it would be quoted as a con-