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CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF MR. FOOTE, OF MISSISSIPPI,

On the Resolution declaring the Measures of Adjustment to be a definitive settlement of the questions growing out of domestic slavery; delivered in the Senate, December 18 and 19, 1851.

[CONCLUDED]

I have now traced out the honorable gentleman's history as a secessionist, from which it will appear that he is quite an old offender in this line. The Nashville Convention would seem to have made a most judicious selection of the individual to draught the address issued by that body; and the honorable senator's course of proceeding since this address was promulged is in most happy accordance with his long-cherished creed. It is certainly to be somewhat lamented that the honorable gentleman's early history as a plotter of disunion had not been better known before he was allowed to interpose his counsels so fatally in stimulating several of the southern States of the Union to extreme action against the government and its most wise and salutary enactments.

Mr. President, much has been said in the course of this debate touching the abstract right of secession. I have no idea of exhausting the patience of the Senate by renewing controversy upon this point. Certainly a great deal of plausible argument has been at different times offered on both sides of the question. The right of a State to secede from the Union, *at pleasure*, has been strongly contended for during the last twelve months by a particular class of southern politicians; though I believe that most of those that belong to the secession school have been of late quite willing to acknowledge that, although the right to secede is a *constitutional* one, (as they suppose,) yet its exercise can only be justified by such measures on the part of the general government as amount to *intolerable oppression*. Now, if intolerable oppression can alone authorize a resort to this remedy, it is perhaps not at all material to decide whether it is a constitutional or a merely revolutionary remedy, since it is certain that its successful exercise must inevitably bring about a subversion of the government. The honorable senator from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] has not hesitated to declare it to be "a reversed *right*." *How* reserved, I should like to know, and *when?* If reserved at all, it must have been at the period of the adoption of the constitution. Now, *the* Union at *present* subsisting—that is to say, the Union existing under the present constitution—came into existence with the constitution itself. How, then, could a right to secede from the Union be *reserved*, by *implication* too, in the very act of forming it?

But a truce to argument upon a question that has been oftentimes debated by the first minds of the country with a logical cogency and a fullness of illustration seldom exhibited either in our halls of legislation or before the judicial tribunals of the republic. To the recognition of what is called the *constitutional* right of secession, there strike me to be two important practical objections: 1. Let the doctrine which upholds this right obtain universal prevalence, and the system of domestic slavery which exists in the South will be speedily broken up and destroyed. Let the large free States bordering upon the slave States once receive this notion as orthodox, and let them, in addition, become unduly excited on the question of slavery, and does not every one perceive that they will naturally resort to the exercise of this supposed right, when its existence shall have been universally acknowledged, with a view to getting rid of the obligation now existing under the constitution to restore fugitives from service? 2. But there is another practical objection to the general recognition of this right, which is this: Admit it once to be an unquestionable constitutional right—I ask, will not some southern State which may have grown tired of the Union, and may desire the formation of a southern confederacy, be tempted to resort to its exercise—seeing that by her own separate action she has it in her power to break up the Union when she pleases, and feeling that she can do so with impunity, inasmuch as she will in seceding only resort to a movement admitted on all hands to be perfectly legitimate in its character? Is it not most apparent that extraordinary exertions have been made of late to secure the general prevalence of this dogma, avowedly as an *abstraction* merely, with a hope, after getting all the southern States committed upon the question in its abstract form, that if South Carolina should at any time declare herself out of the Union, and the general government should attempt to maintain and execute the laws of the Union within her limits, all the States which might have been thus induced to acknowledge the constitutional right of secession would be inclined to co-operate with South Carolina in upholding the right and in vindicating its exercise by arms?

Much has been said, sir, in relation to the opinions of Mr. Jefferson and other distinguished republican statesmen in support of this secession principle. I must frankly confess that this citation of great names has had but little effect upon me, and for two reasons: First, because I am satisfied that the question was never fully looked into until the administration of General Jackson, when it was thoroughly explored in all its bearings, and decided in a manner entirely satisfactory to the whole country; and, secondly, because, after looking into all the authentic memorials now existing which could be supposed to supply information touching the views of those illustrious American statesmen who have been classed as advocates of secession in the progress of this debate, I have come to the conclusion that there was not one of them who entertained the opinion that a constitutional right to secede from the Union at pleasure was reserved to each of the States of the Union at the time that the confederacy itself was established. Several of Mr. Jefferson's letters, which have been several times cited here, show, as I think, that he regarded secession only as a revolutionary remedy. Mr. Madison, in his celebrated letter to Mr. Everett, denied, in the strongest and clearest manner, that the resolutions of Virginia, of 1798, were intended to justify either secession or nullification; and, though some few of the fiery disunionists of the day have presumed to charge him with suffering under the influence of *dotage* when he wrote this letter, yet I believe that every man whose judgment is entitled to respect on this subject has expressed the opinion that this same letter evinces the possession of intellectual powers of a high and commanding character, such as God in his providence has seldom allowed to be enjoyed by any descendant of Adam.

It would be quite easy to show that Philip P. Barbour, Spencer Roane, and all the other illustrious republican statesmen who have been boldly classed on this occasion as belonging to the secession school, were, in their day and generation, true friends to the Union, both in opinion and in action. But I shall go no further at this time than simply to put myself upon the well-known Jackson democratic platform, and leave to others who choose to decry the principles successfully asserted and maintained by this illustrious democratic President all the glory which could be reasonably expected to arise from the unauthorized citation of high-sounding and influential names, or the exhibition of all that belongs to the most consummate chicane in controversial warfare, and the most adroit and practised powers of dialectic digladiation. Before I take leave of this particular topic, though, Mr. President, I will mention one name that I am sure even the honorable gentleman will himself acknowledge to be entitled to more than ordinary respect. It is the name of a democrat, who is such both in principle and in name; whose love of the Union is ardent, disinterested, inextinguishable; whose high attainments in political science and whose thorough acquaintance with the history of our own beloved republic are such as to make his opinion upon any question which could be expected to arise under the action of our complex governmental machinery peculiarly valuable; whose morals are as pure as his spirit is fearless; who has, in his life as a public man, been more than once subjected to new and unexpected tests, in which, in order to sustain himself and to come off triumphant, it was necessary that there should be called into exercise that imperturbable calmness of soul, that astonishing keenness and circumspection of mind, and those rare powers of discrimination as to men and things around, which marked out this noblest of Carolina's gifted sons as one of the most striking and imposing characters of the age in which he lived. Of course, sir, I am alluding to Joel R. Poinsett, who is well known to have expressed the opinion, formerly and of late, that no such constitutional power existed as that of separate State secession. Sir, I rejoice that this true-hearted American yet lives in the full enjoyment of his high faculties, to stand by the institutions of his country in this moment of embarrassment and of danger, and to aid the friends of the Union in the most perilous battle which they have yet had to fight with the myrmidons of faction.

Mr. BUTLER. I have just learned that he died the other day.

Mr. FOOTE. Most profoundly do I regret to hear the announcement of this distressing intelligence. The death of this man, at the present moment, I hold to be a serious national calamity! [Here the speaker paused for a few seconds, and continued:] Amidst the feelings of patriotic lamentation which this sad announcement has awakened here, allow me to say, sir, that I rejoice that, in withdrawing from life, he has not taken with him his cheering and edifying example, and the memory of his resplendent achievements. He has bequeathed to his countrymen the invaluable legacy of his opinions, which now, canonized as they are from the grave, will, I trust, receive double respect from those whom he has left behind. *Requiescat in pace!*

Mr. President, I profess to be an old-fashioned democrat of the unadulterated Jackson school. I sat under the teachings of this truly great man whilst living, and I am not willing to surrender the benefit of his invaluable admonitions now that he is in the tomb. When he was battling with the hydra-headed monster of nullification and secession formerly, I sympathized with him most intensely, and sustained him to the fullest extent of my limited powers. I read his proclamation, his nullification message, and his farewell address, at the period of their emanation. With the exception of one or two sentences in the proclamation, which had no connexion with the question of secession, I approved the whole of that noble State paper, and most certainly I still do. The honorable senator from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] suggests that he was not the author of it, but that it was written by Mr. Edward Livingston, who was then in his cabinet. This may be so, and may not be so. It is not at all important to have this point settled, though I perceive that the worthy editor of the Union has lately supplied very conclusive evidence to the contrary of this statement.

Sir, this is not the first time that the proclamation has been attributed in this hall to the pen of Mr. Livingston. When this was attempted on a former occasion, Mr. Livingston was denounced as a federalist, in order to cast discredit upon what was accused of emanating from his pen. Well, sir, at the very moment of this accusation being presented, I sent to our library, procured the fourth volume of Mr. Jefferson's writings, and read therefrom that admirable letter of the Sage of Monticello, in which Mr. Livingston is recognised as a republican of the '98 school, and in which his early support of the principles of the old republican party is acknowledged in language of most cordial commendation. Well, sir, what is now said of Mr. Livingston? Why, the honorable senator from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] says that he had just delivered in Congress a good State-rights speech, a copy of which he sent to Mr. Jefferson, and that he thus procured a recognition as a republican. This is decidedly an unfortunate statement for the honorable gentleman, inasmuch as we are all quite familiar with the speech of Mr. Livingston which is thus referred to, and know that it nowhere recognises either nullification or secession as remedies belonging to our political system, and is in perfect harmony in all respects with the doctrines of the proclamation which has been so much denounced.

But, Mr. President, I am inclined to be altogether liberal towards the honorable gentleman from South Carolina, and will not quote the proclamation against him. Let me ask him, though, what he thinks of Jackson's nullification message and his farewell address to his countrymen? Were these written by Mr. Livingston, too? or did some other federalist, whose name is not yet ascertained, draw them up? Let me read a little from both these documents. This is what the hero and sage of the Hermitage says in his nullification message:

"The right of the people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of the other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged. Such a course is believed to be utterly repugnant both to the principles upon which the general government is constituted, and to the objects which it was expressly formed to attain."

Illustrious magister! I bow with profound homage to thy noble teaching!

But he proceeds to say further:

"That a State, or any other great portion of the people suffering under long and intolerable oppressions, and having tried all constitutional remedies without the hope of redress, may have a natural right, when their happiness can be no otherwise secured, and when they can do so without greater injury to others, to absolve themselves from their obligations to the government, and appeal to the last resort, need not, on the present occasion, be denied."

He says, in continuation:

"The existence of this right, however, must depend upon the causes which may justify its exercise. It is the *ultima ratio*, which presupposes that the proper appeals to all other means of redress have been made in good faith, and which can never be rightfully resorted to unless it be unavoidable."

I wish now to read a little from the farewell address of General Jackson. I wonder if Mr. Livingston wrote that, too? In that address, speaking of the constitution, General Jackson says:

"Experience, the unerring test of all human undertakings, has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who formed 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."

So say I, Mr. President; so say you; and so says every other member of the ancient democratic party of the country, who has not lately run after false gods, and forgotten the purer worship of our fathers. "*At every hazard, and by every sacrifice, this Union will be preserved*," despite all the imbodied energies of the secessionists who have plotted its destruction, and as long as love of country and sound republicanism shall continue to prevail in our national councils.

I shall not go into an examination of the question brought forward by the honorable senator from South Carolina, touching the comparative value of the Union to the different States of the confederacy. It is sufficient for us to know that the Union is of inappreciable value to every portion of this wide-spread republic; that there is no part of it that is beyond its protective arm, or which is so situated as to be relieved from the obligation of respect and obedience. That the general action of the government has been more or less unequal and oppressive to our local interests of the South cannot be denied. But it is certain that of late southern opinions are beginning to exercise a more potential sway in the councils of the nation than they formerly did, and it must be admitted that southern men have at all times been allowed an equal share of public power, and been permitted to participate equally with their brethren of the North, both in the dignity and the emoluments of office.

The honorable senator [Mr. RHETT] says: "Now is the time for secession. I am for secession, whether joint or separate; let one State make this issue with the general government," &c., &c. Well, sir, this means simply—what the gentleman has been insisting upon all the past summer—that if South Carolina should go out of the Union at once, and the general government should attempt to maintain her authority within her confines, all the southern States, or at least several of them—enough to secure the formation of a respectable southern confederacy—would follow her example. In connexion with this declaration, the honorable senator refers to the State which I have the honor to represent here, and says that he does not yet despair even of Mississippi. If the gentleman means to say that he has any hope that the State of Mississippi will ever unite with the secessionists of South Carolina in overturning the Union on account of anything contained in the measures of adjustment, or that there is the least likelihood that any other State will participate in a movement at once so uncalled for and so replete with mischief, I must tell him, with all possible earnestness, that he has indeed been laboring under a great mistake. Nineteen-twentieths of our people in Mississippi, though all of them do not approve as heartily of the plan of compromise as I do, have yet deliberately declared their cordial acquiescence in it; nor could a man be elected to a constableship, in any part of our noble State, who should be known to entertain such sentiments as the honorable senator from South Carolina has declared on this occasion. The truth is, that all in the State of Mississippi, who six months ago concurred with the honorable gentleman in regard to the extreme views expressed by him, have of late openly repudiated both his opinions and himself, and are now laboring with a most untiring assiduity to throw into utter oblivion the interesting fact that they ever did concur with him at all. I have attended nearly two hundred public meetings in the State of Mississippi in the last eight or nine months, and I do not recollect one of them where any public speaker seemed to deem it discreet to mention the name of the honorable senator from South Carolina with even the ordinary indications of respect.

The honorable senator has given us to understand that he conceives the present period to be one of great and intolerable oppression to the southern States and to the Union, and that the time has come when warlike expedients are proper to be resorted to without delay. He reminds us, in addition, of certain scenes in the revolutionary struggle of our fathers, which he seems to regard as worthy of our special consideration at the present time. He appears to dwell with particular satisfaction upon the fact that certain valiant sons of South Carolina, on a very noted occasion, undertook to seize upon twelve hundred muskets belonging to a British garrison, and actually discharged their artillery upon certain British ships then lying in the harbor of Charleston. Sir, it is easy enough to understand this language. The gentleman wishes to incite his fellow-citizens of South Carolina to an immediate attack upon the forts of the general government in South Carolina, and thus to bring about a regular struggle of arms between that State and the general government. The honorable gentleman, in all that he has ventured to say here, has been quite consistent with his ordinary course of proceeding when mingling with his fellow-citizens at home. I find that the honorable gentleman delivered a speech on the 28th of June last, in which he used language the import of which no one could fail to understand. These were his words:

"He had been striving for twenty-odd years in the cause of the South with no success. But what could he do, when Mr. Calhoun, with all his genius, all his powers, failed to effect anything? They had fought to fail, and in their battles had taken one long lingering look to the only place of hope and safety, the only hope of transmitting to their posterity the glorious inheritance of freedom bequeathed to them by their forefathers—to South Carolina alone. He had been to Nashville. He had tried co-operation, and despaired of it from any other source but from South Carolina alone. We want it. Let us obtain it as our fathers did. How was Fort Johnson gained? They sent men who seized the stamps and destroyed them. How did they act when again assailed? Did they gain their liberties by eating and drinking? No; by fighting."

I do not think that some of these bluster and bravado gentlemen have as much appetite for fight as they pretend to have. The gentleman continued:

"We, however, do not want to begin the fight; but if any in this Union desire it, in God's name let them come on. A friend near him had bespoken the foremost place in the conflict, but, if he got ahead of him, it would only be by a *leetle*. He would say with *Patrick Henry*, '*Let us fight!*'"

Such was the gusty language of the senator to an assembly of excited citizens. Imagining himself to be the Henry of the present time, he thunders forth with that magnificent voice of his, and in that imposing oratorical manner which has given him so much distinction as a public speaker, "LET US FIGHT!" Well, sir, I believe that under the counsels of the honorable gentleman, and of some other equally bellicose personages, something like a formal preparation has been made in South Carolina for the civil war expected shortly to come off. I hold in my hand a statement from which it would seem that the revolutionary spirit is blazing forth most ferociously in that State, and that enormous expenditures have been already incurred in making ready for the impending contest. I do not doubt that in the war anticipated the honorable gentleman may become a sort of lieutenant general himself. He formally rejects our Mississippi leaders. He says he never looked to that State for military commanders. Indeed the honorable gentleman now denies that he ever expected any fighting to occur at all between the State of South Carolina and the general government. Yes, sir, such is the reported language of the honorable gentleman in reply to me. Yet at home he exclaims, "*Let us fight;*" and urges his fellow-citizens at once to seize upon forts and arms of the United States. Sir, I have no more right than other senators to intermeddle with the domestic concerns of South Carolina; but I will venture to say that the criminal wasting of the public money of that State which has taken place in preparing for a war with the general government, without the occurrence of any event which made it even probable that any attack was to be made upon that State by that government, is not likely to be submitted to patiently by the patriotic people of South Carolina, who will yet learn to feel the grinding operation of most onerous and exhausting taxation, in consequence of this effort to put the State in military array against the power of the nation. In illustration of what I have just said, I will read a printed slip just placed in my hands by a friend, and which bears the most unequivocal marks of authenticity and accuracy:

"ORDNANCE REPORT.—We have before us the report of Major Trapier, of the Ordnance department, showing the progress made up to this time in the purchase of ordnance and ordnance stores in pursuance of the act of last session.

"The contract for heavy guns was given to a Richmond contractor. The original contract included 12 twenty-four pounder guns, 8 ten-inch mortars, [siege,] and 4 eight-inch columbiads, to which was afterwards added 20 twenty-four pounders, and 4 eight-inch siege howitzers. Thirty-two twenty-four pounders have been finished and inspected—the remainder of the guns to be ready about the 15th December.

"The contract for small arms—viz: 6,000 muskets, 1,000 rifles, 1,000 pairs of pistols, 1,000 sabres, and 1,000 artillery swords—has been taken by Messrs. Glaze and Flagg, of Columbia, all to be manufactured in this State; the delivery of these arms in January, 1852, and to be completed by the 1st of January, 1853. Messrs. Glaze and Flagg have also taken a contract to alter a large portion of the flint-lock muskets belonging to the State to percussion locks. Six hundred have been already altered.

"The contracts for furnishing infantry, cavalry, and artillery accoutrements, have been given to S. M. Hawel, of Columbia, and R. B. McKenzie, of Charleston. These accoutrements are expected to be finished by 1st May, 1852. The contract for gun-carriages has been given to C. Werner, of Charleston.

"Contracts for projectiles have been made with Messrs. Eason, of Charleston, and the Spartanburg Iron Works Company. The whole contract embraces about seventeen thousand balls and shells. Eighty thousand pounds of cannon powder have been contracted for with the Hazard Company, Connecticut. To guard against a spurious article, the powder is to be subjected to analysis. The company of ordnance soldiers has been completed. A barrack and store-house have been erected at Magnolia, near Charleston, where the company have been heretofore instructed and drilled.

"Attention is called to the condition of the arsenal at this place, and it is recommended that additional pillars be placed under the first floor. It is also suggested that appropriations be made for the protection of the magazines attached to the arsenal. The amount of money passed through the Major's hands is $75,000, of which $60,461 67 has been expended."

Sir, it is not at all my wish to disturb the composure of honorable senators, or unduly to alarm the country. I am not induced to think really that this vociferous outcry of "*Bella, bella, horrida bella,*" is at all likely to result in scenes of carnage. The good people of South Carolina are themselves at last fully roused to the dangers which designing demagogues have brought near to them, and will quickly put down these demagogues, and defeat all their disloyal schemes. I look a little into the newspapers printed in South Carolina, and have observed with great satisfaction the proceedings of public meetings there; and the honorable gentleman will have to produce evidence far more potential than any yet brought forward by him, in order to prove that his extravagant schemes are at all likely to be consummated in the present generation. I intend no offence, Mr. President, when I venture to predict that the only result of any solid and lasting importance which is at all likely to arise in South Carolina is the thorough reformation of her State constitution, which, in my judgment, needs much emendation before it can be justly asserted to be strictly republican in its character.

The honorable senator from South Carolina who sits nearest to me [Mr. BUTLER] complains that, in offering this resolution for the consideration of the Senate at the present time, we are aiming to turn our plan of compromise into a sort of Noah's ark, and suggests, in addition, that we hold out a blazing sword, which is to be used upon all those who are not willing quietly to accept that salvation from the flood of submerging waters which is kindly offered to them. Well, sir, in the first place, the honorable gentleman is grossly in error in supposing that the friends of the Compromise desire to exercise the least coercion upon those who are ambitious of diluvial honors; and they are not desirous of subjecting to the least punishment of any kind those who have heretofore honestly differed with them in opinion in regard to the measures of adjustment, or any one of them. They freely admit that the questions involved in this plan of settlement were questions upon which honest and enlightened might well differ; and all that they desire at present is, that no further disturbance of the public mind may take place until the efficacy of these measures shall have been more fully tested.

One of the honorable senators from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] says that he does not in the least degree blame the abolition factionists of the North for opposing the compromise enactments. This declaration, coming as it does from that gentleman, does not at all surprise me. The sympathy which he feels for those who so happily concur with himself in disapproving and opposing the execution of these measures is but natural. He proceeded also to say that unjust as the people of the North generally must hold these measures to be in regard to their southern brethren, and eminently advantageous to themselves, yet in adhering to them and claiming all the benefits resulting therefrom, they acted altogether a natural part, and in fact just such a part as the South would act under similar circumstances. This, sir, is really placing a very low estimate upon southern justice; and I fear that the honorable gentleman, in undertaking to speak for the whole South, did not take quite so extended a view of our southern people and their characteristics as he might have done.

The honorable senator now in my eye, [Mr. BUTLER,] with less than his usual liberality, accuses me of deserting the camp to which I once belonged, and then firing upon my ancient comrades who have chosen to remain in it. The honorable senator is much more facetious than equitable in thus accusing me. I never was a secessionist. I was always, in the fullest sense of the word, a compromise man, and have abandoned no principle which I ever advocated. If I have not been willing to see my country involved in a predicament which the evil counsels of others were about to bring upon her, and to which I have never even thought for a moment of yielding my assent, I cannot perceive how I can be regarded as at all censurable on this ground.

The same honorable gentleman propounds to me what he calls a dilemma. He says I either voted for all the compromise measures, or I did not vote for all of them; and asks if I did not vote for all of them, why is it that I cannot pardon those who acted a similar part? The case is well put, Mr. President, and I answer it thus: I did not vote for several of the compromise measures, and I more than forgive those that acted a similar part; and all that I ask of them at present is, that they shall sustain the scheme of compromise, now that it has been adopted, for the sake of the public repose and happiness.

The senator says I denounced General Taylor for interfering with California affairs. He did not intend, I know, to do me injustice; but he makes a great mistake about this matter. I drew up a resolution of inquiry on that subject in the early part of the first session of the last Congress. I found that my friend from Alabama [Mr. CLEMENS] had drawn one for the same purpose, which he brought to my attention. On comparing the two, I found that his was the more comprehensive, and I accordingly deferred to him. The resolution was presented by him. A similar resolution had been adopted in the House of Representatives; and how was it answered? By a positive denial of the charge. If the charge had been substantiated, I should have stood up here and denounced the administration, as it would in that case have deserved to be denounced, not in the spirit of party, but under the impulses of a genuine patriotism. But when that charge was negatived by the answer of the President to the resolution of the House, this body, much to its honor, agreed unanimously to lay our own resolution of inquiry upon the table. Why? Because we believed that the venerable gentleman who was then President of the United States, whatever political faults he had, and however inferior to certain other great personages who have formerly filled that elevated place in regard to civic qualifications he may have been, was, notwithstanding, honest and truthful—that he was a patriot, and that he would not *lie*. If any man had risen here in this chamber and undertaken to question the veracity of that negative statement, my late colleague, [Mr. DAVIS,] if nobody else had been willing to perform the task, would have inflicted such a castigation upon the accuser as to have rendered it impossible that its reception would have ever been forgotten. I will say frankly and distinctly now, that after I saw that General Taylor had sent in his answer I never entertained the least particle of doubt in regard to his conduct in the affair. He was a whig, and a thorough one; I was and am a democrat, inflexible and unswerving. But yet it is due to truth to say, that I always recognised him to be a gentleman, and knew him to be a genuine patriot. I felt the deepest gratitude to him for his conduct on the tented field, and always found him sociable and kind in private intercourse. I shall never forget the last scene in which he participated as a public man. The humble individual who is now addressing the Senate chanced to be called upon to deliver the Fourth of July Oration in Monumental Square, in this city, in the year 1850. I delivered it in my own poor way. It was a time of great perplexity and danger, and I threw the best Union doctrine into it which I could produce, hoping that it might, perchance, have more or less influence in allaying existing irritation. At the close of the address that noble-hearted old man, with tears running down his furrowed cheeks—such tears as patriots alone can shed—requested me, through a member of his cabinet, to approach him—grasped me affectionately by the hand, and filled my heart with gratitude by thanking me for that same unpretending harangue. I never saw him afterwards. That day he was taken sick, and was in a few days numbered with the dead. I never hear his name pronounced without this picture of the past being once more vividly presented to my memory and my sensibilities.

But the two honorable senators from South Carolina have united in one declaration, which, in order to vindicate the truth of history, I must correct. They both mingled their voices in asserting that, in the progress of the passage of these measures of adjustment, a general declaration was made by the northern members of this body that no slave State should ever again be admitted into this Union, and they urge that California was admitted upon this express understanding. With great deference to the recollection of the gentlemen, I must say that I consider them entirely mistaken. I did not hear any such general declaration; and I know that it was not in accordance with the solemn assurances of numerous northern senators. Actions speak louder than words; and we solemnly provided, by territorial bills, for the admission of future slave States into this confederacy. Then I must appeal to my friend from South Carolina [Mr. BUTLER] for justice to those who are likely to be injured in the public estimation by this sweeping allegation, and ask him to withdraw the accusation.

Mr. BUTLER. I cannot withdraw it. Mr. Webster certainly, on this floor, and since he has been off the floor, in a more responsible station, has made that declaration.

Mr. FOOTE. I think that even the fact thus mentioned does not justify the honorable senator in the comprehensive charge which he has preferred. Sir, I beg it to be recollected that a majority of the northern senators actually voted for the territorial bills containing the provision to which I have alluded.

Mr. BUTLER. I cannot be mistaken in the reference to Mr. Webster. The senator cannot but recollect the fact that Mr. CLAY himself said that no power on earth would induce him, by any act of legislation, to carry slavery beyond its present limits. I did not say the whole body of northern men said so, but that in the current debate such was the intimation.

Mr. FOOTE. It has been said that the fugitive-slave law is no part of the Compromise. I have heard that stated often. I know that the resolution introduced by me for the appointment of the Committee of Thirteen embraced that subject as well as others—that the resolution provided for the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the resolutions of the senator from Kentucky, [Mr. CLAY,] and the resolutions of the senator from Tennessee, [Mr. BELL,] in all their amplitude, and gave the committee full power over the whole subject of slavery. The report of the committee comprehended the whole subject also; and the fugitive-slave bill, in its present form, is essentially the same as that which was recommended by the committee. It is perfectly idle to talk about the fugitive-slave law not being a part of the measures of adjustment. It is not only a part of the plan of settlement, but it is one of the most vital features of the whole scheme.

The gentleman from South Carolina [Mr. RHETT] said that, in adopting the Compromise, the democracy followed the lead of the whigs. I am not very sensitive on this subject myself.

Mr. BADGER. It was a good lead, wherever it came from.

Mr. FOOTE. I showed yesterday that I was not sensitive on this subject; for when my friend from North Carolina suggested that the resolution introduced by me should be so modified as to incorporate the very words of the President's message—which in truth did not at all alter it in substance—with a view to increasing the number of its supporters, and thus enhancing its effect upon the public sentiment of the country, I at once assented to the proposition. But in point of historical verity the gentleman is entirely in error. It is true that a very distinguished whig, (if he can now be called a whig, who is, in fact, no party man at all, but simply a Union man,) the venerable senator from Kentucky, [Mr. CLAY,] not now present, was at the head of the Committee of Thirteen, and thus far he may be said to have had the lead. His high character, his noble qualities of mind and heart, his long experience, his extended influence, especially over the feelings and action of his own particular party, (who are indebted to him for such brilliant and valuable services as no man ever performed for the benefit of any party in this country before, except Jackson for the democracy,)—these circumstances did point him out as the most proper person to take the lead in this great movement. It is known, sir, that the honorable senator from Michigan [Mr. CASS] was urged by his democratic friends in this body to allow his name to be sustained for the chairmanship of the Committee of Thirteen; but he, with that magnanimity and disinterestedness which belong to his character, declined the proffered honor, and urged upon us that Mr. CLAY was the most suitable man in every respect who could be selected for the high place in question.

Now, in addition to this, I beg leave to mention the fact, which is intended to have no disparaging influence whatever, that all the measures of adjustment were actually carried by a majority of democratic votes.

Mr. President, I regret to have detained the Senate so long, but hope to be excused in consideration of the immense importance of the questions discussed. I hope the Senate will soon come to a vote upon the resolution before us.

JUST OPENED.—The particular attention of ladies is requested to the following:
20 very superior and cheap long cashmere shawls
10 fine Scotch long shawls, high colors
30 dozen superior silk hose, all grades
10 boxes superior embroidered handkerchiefs.
The above, with a variety of other cheap and useful goods, are worthy the attention of buyers.
YERBY & MILLER,
Penn. av., opposite Centre Market, between 7th and 8th streets.
Dec 18—1mif

The Revolution in Paris.

We compile from the New York journals the particulars of this movement, as given in the mails brought by the Europa. The news by the Baltic is four days later—being of the 10th instant from Liverpool. A brief telegraphic summary of this has already appeared in our columns.

One of the New York journals mentions a private letter from London, under date of the 5th instant, which states that the army "*had gone over to the deputies.*" This appears to be plainly contradicted by the general tenor of the later advices by the Baltic.

It will be perceived that the account of the revolutionary movement which we give below is made up principally of the official papers issued by the various authorities:

PARIS, Tuesday, Dec. 2, 1851—11, a. m.

The President of the republic accomplished a *coup d'état* this morning. The principal streets in Paris were occupied at an early hour by strong bodies of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and the following decree was posted on the walls of Paris:

In the name of the French people, the President of the republic decrees—

ART. I. The National Assembly is dissolved.

ART. II. Universal suffrage is re-established. The law of the 31st of May is repealed.

ART. III. The French people are convoked in their elective colleges from the 14th to the 21st of December.

ART. IV. The state of siege is decreed in the whole of the first military division.

ART. V. The Council of State is dissolved.

ART. VI. The Minister of the Interior is charged with the execution of this decree.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Appeal to the People.

FRENCHMEN: The present situation cannot last much longer. Each day the situation of the country becomes worse. The Assembly, which ought to be the firmest supporter of order, has become a theatre of plots. The patriotism of three hundred of its members could not arrest its fatal tendencies. In place of making laws for the general interest of the people, it was forging arms for civil war. It attacked the power I hold directly from the people; it encouraged every evil passion; it endangered the repose of France. I have dissolved it, and I make the whole people judge between me and it. The constitution, as you know, had been made with the object of weakening beforehand the powers you intrusted to me. Six millions of votes were a striking protest against it, and yet I have faithfully observed it. Provocations, calumnies, outrages, found me passive. But now that the fundamental part is no longer respected by those who incessantly invoke it, and the men who have already destroyed two monarchies wish to tie up my hands in order to overthrow the republic, my duty is to baffle their perfidious projects, to maintain the republic, and to save the country by appealing to the solemn judgments of the only sovereign I recognise in France—the people.

I, then, make a loyal appeal to the entire nation; and I say to you, if you wish to continue this state of disquietude and *malaise* that degrades you and endangers the future, choose another person in my place—for I no longer wish for a place which is powerless for good, but which makes me responsible for acts that I cannot hinder, and chains me to the helm when I see the vessel rushing into the abyss. If, on the contrary, you have still confidence in me, give me the means of accomplishing the grand mission I hold from you. That mission consists in closing the era of revolution, in satisfying the legitimate wants of the people, and in protecting them against subversive passions. It consists especially to create institutions which survive men, and which are the foundation on which something durable is based. Persuaded that the instability of power, that the preponderance of a single Assembly, are the permanent causes of trouble and discord, I submit to your suffrages the fundamental bases of a constitution which the Assemblies will develop hereafter.

1st. A responsible Chief named for ten years.

2d. The ministers dependent on the Executive alone.

3d. A Council of State, formed of the most distinguished men, preparing the laws and maintaining the discussion before the legislative corps.

4th: A legislative corps, discussing and voting the laws, named by universal suffrage, without the *scrutin de liste* which falsifies the election.

5th. A second Assembly formed of all the illustrious persons of the nation—a preponderating power, guardian of the fundamental pact and of public liberty.

This system, created by the First Consul in the beginning of the present century, has already given to France repose and prosperity. It guaranties them still. If you partake it, declare so by your suffrages. If, on the contrary, you prefer a government without force, monarchical or republican, borrowed from some chimerical future, reply in the negative. Thus, then, for the first time since 1804, you will vote with complete knowledge of the fact, and knowing for whom and for what you vote.

If I do not obtain the majority of the votes, I shall summon a new Assembly, and lay down before it the mission I have received from you. But if you believe that the cause of which my name is the symbol—that is, France regenerated by the revolution of '89, and organized by the Emperor—is still yours, proclaim it to be so by ratifying the powers I demand of you. Then France and Europe will be preserved from anarchy, obstacles will be removed, rivalries will have disappeared—for all will respect, in the will of the people, the decree of Providence.

Done at the palace of the Elysée this 2d of December.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

Proclamation of the President of the Republic to the Army.

SOLDIERS: Be proud of your mission. You will save the country. I rely upon you not to violate the laws, but to command respect for the first law of the country—national sovereignty—of which I am the legitimate representative.

You long suffered, like me, from the obstacles that prevented me doing you all the good I intended, and opposed the demonstrations of your sympathy in my favor. Those obstacles are removed. The Assembly sought to impair the authority which I derive from the entire nation: it has ceased to exist.

I make a loyal appeal to the people and the army, and I tell them, either give me the means of insuring your prosperity, or choose another in my place.

In 1830, as well as in 1848, you were treated as a vanquished army. After having branded your heroical disinterestedness, they disdained to consult your sympathies and wishes, and nevertheless you are the *élite* of the nation. To-day, at this solemn moment, I wish the voice of the army to be heard.

Vote, then, freely as citizens; but as soldiers do not forget that passive obedience to the orders of the chief of the government is the rigorous duty of the army, from the general down to the soldier. It is for me, who am responsible for my actions before the people and posterity, to adopt the measures most conducive to the public welfare.

As for you, maintain entire the rules of discipline and honor. By your imposing attitude assist the country in manifesting its will with calmness and reflection. Be ready to repress all attempt against the free exercise of the sovereignty of the people.

Soldiers, I do not speak to you of the recollections attached to my name. They are engraved on your hearts. We are united by indissoluble ties. Your history is mine. There is between us in the past a community of glory and misfortunes: there shall be in the future a community of sentiments and resolutions for the repose and grandeur of France.

LOUIS NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

PALACE OF THE ELYSEE, Dec. 2.

The Prefect of Police to the Inhabitants of Paris.

PARISIANS: The President of the republic, by a courageous initiative, has baffled the machinations of parties, and put an end to the anguish of the country. It is in the name of the people in its interest, and for the maintenance of the press, that the event is accomplished.

It is to the judgment of the people that Louis Napoleon Bonaparte submits his conduct.

The greatness of the act makes you understand with what imposing and solemn silence the free exercise of the popular sovereignty ought to be manifested. To-day, as yesterday, let order be our watchword; let all good citizens, animated as I am by the love of the country, aid me in my unalterable resolution.

Have confidence in him whom 6,000,000 of votes have raised to the first dignity of the country. When he summons the entire people to express their will, the factious alone would place obstacles in the way. Any attempt at disorder shall be promptly and inflexibly repressed.

DE MAUPAS, Prefect of Police.

DECEMBER 2, 1851.

The prefect of police, M. de Maupas, has addressed a circular to all the commissaries of police, inviting them to watch with courage and energy over public tranquillity, and to allow no meeting the object of which should appear to them suspicious.

Tuesday morning, December 2, at an early hour, the Place de la Concorde, the Faubourg St. Honore, the Tuilleries, the Louvre, and the Place de Carousel, were covered with troops, the arrangements having been made during the night.

Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Bedeau, Lamoriciere, Leflo, Col. Charras, MM. Baze, Thiers, Brun, the Commissary of Police of the Assembly, and, it is said, twenty-two or twenty-eight others, have been arrested. The first named are committed to Vincennes, and I am assured will be transferred to-morrow to the fortress of Ham. General Changarnier attempted to harangue the soldiers sent to aid the police agents who arrested him; but it is said they refused to listen to him. Colonel Charras is said to have wounded one of the agents who arrested him. The same is reported of General Bedeau.

It is also reported that M. Michel (de Bourges) and M. Odillon Barrot are under arrest; but this is doubtful. The decree dissolving the Assembly, &c., was signed by M. de Morney, the new Minister of the Interior.

The new ministers are: M. de Morney, Interior; M. Fould, Finance; M. Rouher, Justice; M. Fortoul, Public Instruction; M. Chasseloup Laubat, Marine; General St. Arnaud, War; and it is said M. de Persigny will be the Minister of Foreign Affairs. General Magnan still retains command of the army. Orders have been given to take down the temporary hall where the representatives were wont to meet. Eight journals are suspended—among them the *Evenement*.

The prefects on leave of absence in Paris, or elsewhere, have been ordered to return instantly to their departments. The same order has been communicated to the other public functionaries on leave of absence.

A number of representatives met this morning at the residence of Count Daru. They were dispersed by the police. Some of them afterwards repaired to the municipality of the 10th arrondissement, but also received orders to retire.

The President wrote late last night an affectionate letter to M. de Thorigny, and also to the ministers, declaring that his mind was made up—that he could not allow himself to be sacrificed by his enemies, who were conspiring at that moment; but that, as he was unwilling to compromise them in any way by implicating them in his acts, he thought it better they should resign. It is unnecessary to say the request was complied with at once.

People have been taken so much by surprise, though such an event might have been foreseen, that it is difficult to say anything on the public feeling. All my accounts from the faubourgs are unanimous in declaring that the people are well pleased at what has been done; and it cannot be denied that the intrigues and plots of the chiefs of parties in the Assembly had long since disgusted them. Groups are, of course assembled at the different places where the proclamations are posted up. I have heard that in some places they were torn down. I have, however, seen nearly one hundred of them, and not one is either defaced or soiled. I have heard many make observations not over-flattering to the Assembly; that they richly merited what had befallen them; and the only thing most of them regretted was their 25f. a day.

The President, mounted on horseback, rode all through the Quays, the Champs Elysées, and other places of the city. He was followed by a crowd, shouting, "*Vive Napoleon!*" and "*Vive le President!*" One or two regiments marched along the Boulevards about 12½ o'clock, and the people also hailed them with cries of "*Vive le Ligne!*" "*Vive la Republique*" "*Vive Napoleon!*"

To say that Paris is not agitated would be absurd; but, so far as I have perceived, and heard from others, I do not see that the agitation is of an angry nature. The restoration of universal suffrage and the appeal to the people contribute to their good humor.

The troops are, I am assured, to be relied on, and express themselves well pleased with what has occurred. Though there are numbers of people along the Boulevards, yet in the other parts of the city where I have been the people seem to be at their work as usual.

The troops are still in the places mentioned above, to be ready to put down any disturbance that may be attempted.

It is stated that one of the men who arrested General Bedeau was wounded by him, and that the General had to be bound.

The President's reception last night was never better attended. Not the slightest suspicion existed of what was coming on.

Attempts have been made on the Boulevards to get up some disturbance, but to all appearance they have failed. A man who headed a procession of about fifty or sixty young men, shouting, was arrested. There are no soldiers along the Boulevards. Every precaution has been taken to prevent any disorder.

The Mountain is now sitting. It is said that a manifesto will be addressed by them to the people.

4 O'CLOCK, P. M.—Groups still assemble in the Boulevards. Whenever an officer of the staff passes on horseback, they shout out "*Vive la Republique.*"

The Rue St. Honoré and the Faubourg are still occupied by troops, and artillery and troops are on the Place de la Concorde, and surround the Assembly. The Palais Royale and the Chateau d'Eau are also occupied by troops. Pickets are at the corners of the streets to preserve order.

FIVE O'CLOCK.—A manuscript decree, purporting to emanate from the representatives who met in the municipality of the 10th arrondissement, under the presidency of M. Odillon Barrot, has just appeared. By that decree Louis Napoleon Bonaparte is declared outlawed, and the High Court of Justice is convoked to try him for high treason. The army is relieved from its allegiance, and a general appointed to command it.

General Lauriston is said to have placed the 10th legion of the National Guard at the disposal of the Assembly. Another report states that he has been arrested.

The Faubourg St. Antoine is perfectly tranquil. About 100 persons are on the Place de la Bastile discussing pub. affairs. A strong body of troops is stationed at the Chateau d'Eau, Portes St. Denis and St. Martin. Whatever agitation there is is on the Boulvards, and particularly observable among the *bourgeoisie*.

Beginning of Bloodshed.

[Correspondence of the Times.]

PARIS, Wednesday, Dec. 3—5, p. m.

The tranquillity that Paris enjoyed last night and early this morning has been interrupted for a short time, and blood has already flowed. Last night twenty sections remained *en permanence*, when it was decided that an attempt should be made at insurrection. The early part of the morning passed off very quietly; indeed, until near 10 o'clock there was no indication of *émeute* in that quarter, which is ever the first to stir itself on such occasions. About that hour a representative of the people, M. Baudin, a member of the Mountain, suddenly appeared on horseback in the Rue St. Antoine. He wore a travelling cap, and carried a naked sword in his hand. He was followed by six other representatives, and they all wore their insignia of representatives. The hour he appeared was that at which the workmen of the faubourg leave their workshops to breakfast.

Mr. Baudin's appearance attracted a great many groups, whom he harangued, and summoned to take up arms for the delivery of such of the representatives arrested yesterday as are still at the prison of Mazas, which is in the neighborhood. He was aided in his efforts by his colleagues, and soon the cry of "*Aux armes!*" was heard. A great deal of agitation was the consequence; and many of the workmen ran about to look for arms. This first attempt was made against the guard-house of Montreuil, which they surrounded, and soon succeeded in disarming the few soldiers that were there, overpowered as they were by numbers, and at a distance from all aid. Others of the insurgents set about making barricades. They succeeded in making two, which, however, were very fragile, being composed only of an omnibus, a dung cart, and a cabriolet.

The moment these indications of hostility were observed, expresses were despatched for aid, and in a very short time the insurgents were caught between two detachments of the troops—one from Vincennes, headed by General Maralay, and the other from an opposite direction, under the order of General Courtiges. The troops had received orders not to fire unless they were attacked. They advanced *l'armes au bras* up to the face of the barricade, when they were fired at. One soldier was killed, and one or two wounded. The troops returned the fire. M. Baudin, the representative, was killed on the spot, and, it is said, six or seven of the other insurgents wounded. A woman, who happened to be passing near the place, was, it is feared, mortally wounded. The insurgents, who were not in very large numbers, fled in all directions. The barricade, such as it was, was taken, and the soldiers advanced to the second, which they as quickly took and removed. Detachments continued to arrive, and soon the whole of the Rue St. Antoine was occupied by the troops.

The whole operation of taking the barricades which were at the corner of the Rue St. Marguerite did not occupy more than seven minutes. The second barricade was so wretched that only six men were sent to take it. The insurgents fled, some in the direction of the heights of Menilmontant, or the bridge of Austerlitz, towards the