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FOR TELEGRAMS,
FOR CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS,
FOR CITY INTELLIGENCE.
FOR DOMESTIC MARKETS,
FOR SHIPPING INTELLIGENCE.

IMMENSE UNION MEETING

AT THE MARYLAND INSTITUTE HALL.

GREAT ENTHUSIASM.

SPEECHES OF WM. H. COLLINS, ESQ., A. W. BRADFORD, ESQ., AND HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

DISTURBANCES IN THE HALL.

THE DISSENTERS PUT OUT.

Last evening the demonstration of the friends of the "Union as it is" took place in the Hall of the Maryland Institute. The gathering was the largest which has ever taken place in the city. The immense Hall was filled to its utmost capacity, and the greatest enthusiasm prevailed. Thousands could not get into the Hall, and were compelled to leave. Speeches were delivered by Wm. H. Collins and A. W. Bradford, Esqs., and Hon. Reverdy Johnson.

At six o'clock the doors of the Institute were thrown open, and the crowd commenced entering the Hall. By seven o'clock there was a perfect throng going into the building, and soon it was well filled. About this time the band stationed in the gallery of the south end struck up "Hail Columbia." In an instant there was the wildest applause. The cheers fairly shook the building.—Hats waived, and every demonstration of applause which it was possible to make was exhibited. This was followed by "The Star Spangled Banner," and again the applause really became riotous, and as the last strains of the air ceased to reverberate through the Hall, the crowd again commenced cheering. "Yankee Doodle" was then given, and the cheering continued, and at the close three cheers were given for the air, which was followed by three cheers for the American Union.

At half past seven o'clock William McKim, Esq., called the meeting to order, and then read the call under which the meeting assembled. He proposed the following officers for the meeting, who were unanimously elected:

President, Archibald Sterling. Vice Presidents, J. P. Kennedy, J. B. Morris, Galloway Cheston, Wm. Heald, Thomas Kelso, Columbus O'Donnell, Henry May, Thos. Swann, J. J. Abrahams, Wm. Cooke, James C. Skinner, Chas. A. Gambrill, Moses Wiesenfeld, Lewis Turner, James Hooper, Wm. Woodward, John Hopkins, Henry D. Harney, James Muller, Enoch Pratt, Charles F. Mayer, John B. Seidenstricker, S. J. K. Handy. Secretaries, C. L. L. Leary, Charles A. Grinnell.

Mr. Sterling stepped forward and delivered a short address, in which he accepted the position of President, and gave expression to strong Union sentiments. The band then played "Washington's March." This air was not familiar to the general ear, and there was no cheering. As the music ceased some one in the rear of the hall proposed "three cheers for Virginia." This met with a weak response. One voice proposed "three cheers for Major Anderson," and at the same instant "three cheers for the Union" were called for, and they were tremendous.

Wm. H. Collins, Esq., then rose and said:

Mr. Chairman—I have been instructed by the Committee in charge of the resolutions to be presented to this meeting to say a few words before offering them for consideration. Will I be pardoned if I do so?

Mr. Chairman, we are in perilous times. Our country is in danger; not from any foreign power (for that we would know full well how to meet,) but from discontent and distrust amongst ourselves. It is the conviction of this danger, together with a deep-rooted love for our common country, which has brought you, as also this vast audience, here to-night. *I say for our common country.*

Mr. Chairman and citizens of Baltimore, may I ask what is our country?

Is it the State of Maryland, with her noble bay and beautiful rivers piercing and blessing her two shores? Is it her plains and uplands, her mountains and valleys, her thriving cities, and towns and villages? Is it her healthful climate and productive soil, her free institutions, her people of a brave and vigorous stock? Is it our own beautiful city, with its industry, its thrift and its skill, its love of order, its comfortable homes, its throngs of loving wives and beautiful daughters, of manly husbands, and fathers, and sons? Are these our country? No, sir. Maryland is a pure and bright star in our constellation. *There may she ever remain.* True, faithful, loyal and brave, we love her as our own bright, particular star. She is our home, and we will watch over her welfare and honor with filial affection. This is natural, it is right, it is loyal.

But, Mr. Chairman, and people of Baltimore, Maryland is not our country. She is but a part of it, though a dear and treasured part. She has an area of but ten thousand square miles, whilst *our country* contains three millions. She has less than a million of people, whilst *our country* numbers thirty millions.

People of Baltimore, *our country, our true country*, extends from the great lakes of the North to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande, in the sunny regions of the South; and from the resounding shores of the Atlantic, over lowland and mountains and valleys and rivers and plains to the Pacific, where we look out upon China and Japan.

This, this is our country, the noblest, the grandest heritage which God has ever granted to one people, capable of containing and soon to be inhabited by a hundred millions of brave sons; this, our country, *if she prove true to our glorious Union*, is destined to be the happiest, the greatest and the freest nation, that by its great deeds has ever fired the poet's song or lent eloquence to the flowing page of history. In arms, in arts, in wealth, in patriotism, in liberty, in science, and in moral power, she will be the foremost nation of the world. *This*, Mr. Chairman and fellow citizens, is the grand and glorious country, to which we this night offer the devotion, the undying love of our hearts. This, our country, is yet in its youth, the beard has scarcely started in its cheek, and yet it has a history of which we may well be proud.

For more than thirty centuries, the great Hebrew warriors, leaders, legislators, scholars, poets, statesmen and prophets stood without a rival, admittedly the grandest man of all the world. This, our own young land, in her struggle for liberty, saw the majestic form of one of her own sons rise up into the view of the world, admitted by the greatest man of thirty centuries; approaching nearer to, if not fully equalling, in grandeur, the colossal proportions of the great Hebrew. With both, the love of their people was the grand and controlling passion. Washington, in his hours of despondence and devotion (and there were many such), had that same deep-rooted love of his people which burst forth from the lips of the great Hebrew in his impassioned prayer for his countrymen: "Yet now, if Thou wilt, forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray Thee, out of Thy book."

Through centuries of grandeur as well as disaster, scattered in every land; and in many oppressed, the Hebrew has never bent in reverent homage over the history of his great chief. For centuries and for scores of centuries to come, I humbly hope our countrymen will catch with attentive ears, and treasure up in pious hearts, the parting lessons of our great American.

It is to these parting lessons, which, if not written with the prophet's fire, are the grandest production of the greatest and wisest man of modern times, that you will be mainly indebted for the resolutions which I hold in my hand, and to which I trust you will give a hearty approval.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the unity of government which constitutes us *one people* is justly dear to us, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of our real independence, the support of our tranquility at home, our peace abroad, of our safety, of our prosperity, of that very liberty which we so highly prize.

Resolved, That notwithstanding much pains has been taken to weaken in our minds the conviction of the immense value of our national Union to our collective and individual happiness, we still cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; that we will accustom ourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of our political safety and prosperity; that we will watch for its preservation with jealous anxiety; that we will discountenance whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and that we will indignantly frown upon every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which link together the various parts.

Resolved, That to the efficacy and permanence of our Union, a government for the whole is indispensable, and that no alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute.

Resolved, That the Government of the Union, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation; completely free in its principles; in the distribution of its powers; uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to our confidence and our support, and that respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty.

Resolved, That the preceding resolutions—taken from the farewell address of the Father of his Country—contain a declaration of principles and duties by which we mean to abide, for weal or for woe; whilst, at the same time, we claim that every privilege and right guaranteed to us and to our sister States, by the Constitution, can and shall be maintained, under and according to its provisions, and that we will never desecrate the fame of Washington by the destruction of the Constitution and the Union, which are the true monuments of his glory.

Resolved, That various Northern States have passed laws usually called "personal liberty laws," which we believe to be in violation of the Constitution of the United States; of the acts of Congress passed pursuant thereto, and of the sacred obligations which those States owe to our common country; and that we appeal to the constitutional duty, the patriotism, the honor, the justice, and the brotherhood of the people of those States respectively, to *repeal* those laws, and by every way and means in their power, to put down the aggressions of their people on peculiar institutions of the Southern States, as the only way to remove the well-founded discontent and complaints of their brethren of the Southern States, and which, if not removed, may prove fatal to our Union; as well as to all those vital interests which ought to bind us together as one people.

Resolved, That the present condition of our country demands of all who love her a spirit of fairness, of candor, of conciliation, of concession, and of self-sacrifice; and that we hail with thankful and hopeful hearts the patriotic efforts now being made in Congress for the settlement, as we trust forever, of the dangerous questions at issue, on some Constitutional, just and equitable principle; and that such of our statesmen and States, whether of the North or of the South, as may contribute most to this holy end, will challenge the highest place in the affections of our country; and those who may refuse to lend their aid to this holy purpose may justly expect, as they will be sure to receive, the condemnation and reprobation of the present, as well as of future ages.

A. W. Bradford, Esq., seconded the resolutions, and upon rising to do so said in substance:

In rising to second the resolutions I feel a deep sense of the importance of the subject of which they treat, and a still deeper sense of my inability to do justice to the position. Had he consulted his own interest he would not have been addressing the audience. It was because he feared that his country was in danger. The great danger was the danger of disunion. The great peril was the apparent determination of a party to destroy the confederacy and create sectional governments. First let us look at the cause of differences between the people of the country. The differences in most cases were but the pretexts of ambitious men to hide their selfish designs.

The Northern politicians, with appetites whetted by long abstinence, desire to obtain the offices which are in prospect. While the Southern politicians, born and bred to office, with appetites which have grown by what they fed on, fear to lose them; and rather than do so, they are willing to destroy the Union and build up a little republic of their own, in which they can be Presidents, cabinet officers and foreign ministers. The people should view this matter properly, and discard these politicians from leadership. It is to the conservative mind of the country that we must look for succor. Politicians and place makers must be set aside. Parties must be forgotten. If the national men of the country expect to preserve the Union, they must rebuke the violent men of their own sections. The conservative men of the North are pointing this argument against the obstinate violence of their own fanatics.

The good results of this course are manifest in the election of good and honest men to office. Let us here in Maryland direct our efforts against the revolutionists of the South. [Loud cheers.] When the master of the vessel finds his ship nearing the breakers he does not stop to enquire by whose folly and treachery she has reached her position, but calling all the crew around him he directs them to take steps for the preservation of the ship from wreck. The men who in the late contest called the Union party a deception, and professed to be the embodiment of patriotism, are now found using all means to force the State into the vortex of revolution, and are the sympathizers of the secessionists. If South Carolina was situated as we are—with an imaginary line dividing us from the free States, and Maryland occupied the present locality of S. Carolina, then if South Carolina was struggling against the oppression of the North, then Maryland could sympathize with South Carolina. But how stands the case? South Carolina is comparatively safe—she does not feel the evils of which she complains—she does not suffer from any of the injuries which the Border States feel. Yet she violently assails the Government, and would drag Maryland along, with her in her treasonable course. Maryland is not prepared, exposed as she is, to adopt the rash measures of South Carolina. We are not to be dragged into an alliance with those States, although those in authority there would force us into the position.

The Governors of Mississippi and South Carolina have recommended their State Legislatures to pass laws prohibiting the introduction into those States of slaves from any of the border States. This is no surmise—but a fact. They would pen our slaves within our borders hoping thereby to compel us to accept their policy. By these means they expect to succeed in forcing Maryland to raise the disunion banner. Will Maryland do it? [Never, never.] The members of his family within the past twelve years, had lost fifteen thousand dollars worth of negroes. Not one of them has ever been returned. But suppose they were standing here to-night, and he could keep them by going out of the Union, would he not say, as the audience no doubt would, "go to your abolition brethren of the North, if thereby I can remain a citizen of the American Union." [Immense applause, and cheers for Bradford.]

[Some persons hissed near the centre of the hall, and there were immediate cries of "put him out." There was a rush made and the police pressed to the scene. Blows were dealt and the confusion was intense. The party was put out, but the confusion continued, when the band commenced playing and in a few minutes quiet was restored.] Mr. Bradford continued his remarks by saying:

The details of the plan of a Southern Confederacy have been put forth with great caution. The most sanguine of those who advocate it are dumb, when asked for the form of government which will be adopted. Benefits—great benefits, are spoken of; blessings greater than those by which we are now surrounded, are hinted at. They speak vaguely of the increased benefits—of the enhanced prosperity which Baltimore is to receive. This is all nonsense. How much does the trade of Baltimore with the cotton States, amount to? He could not tell. One thing he knew, that for several years past, the merchants in this city have been endeavoring to establish a line of steamers with some Southern port, without being successful.

It was a fact beyond dispute that by far the largest portion of the trade of the South was transacted with New York and other Northern cities. This has always been the case and will always continue so, be the condition or relation of the States what they may. Compare the trade of the great West with that of the South and how insignificant becomes the latter. Has the State of Maryland expended millions of dollars in her great State improvements to give them up now? Has she exhausted years of labor to connect her principal city with the banks of the Ohio, to yield up now all the advantages which she has derived from the great internal improvement? [Cries of No.] It is folly to talk of Baltimore being benefitted by disunion. She will be the first city given up to pillage, when the strife commences.

Mr. Bradford then referred to the condition of things in Charleston at present, and complimented Major Anderson, when the audience commenced cheering, mingled with which were a few hisses.—The cry of "put him out" was raised, and again the crowd rushed and blows were exchanged. The police interfered and the hissing party was removed from the hall. The band struck up an air, but before they had finished playing, a young man in the east gallery proposed three cheers for Major Anderson, which were heartily given, at the close of which a person made a hiss and a fight immediately ensued.

There were cries of "throw him out of the window," "pitch him over the banister," "throw him down here," and "out with him." A man on the rostrum sprung from a bench to the iron railing above, and in a moment was over the banister, but the man who hissed had been pushed along the gallery into a crowd of men so dense that his pursuers could not follow him. While this fight was going on the greatest confusion prevailed, and the speaker was compelled to take his seat for a few minutes. As soon as order was restored he commenced again, and continued for some time his remarks. His voice, however, had failed, and it was with difficulty he could be heard beyond a few feet from the platform. A crowd got between the reporter and the speaker, and it was impossible to report the remarks from them.

At the close of Mr. Bradford's remarks, the band played, and the Hon. Reverdy Johnson was then introduced, when he delivered the following speech:

SPEECH OF HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

Mr. President and gentlemen of Baltimore—For this cordial and warm salutation you have my most sincere and grateful thanks. Although willing to refer in some measure to feelings of personal kindness to myself, I prize it the more, infinitely the more, from the assurance it gives me that you believe I am, as I know you are, attached, devotedly attached, to the Union our fathers bequeathed to us as the crowning work of all their trials, struggles, perils, in the mighty war which, ending in our independence, animated and strengthened the hopes of human liberty in the bosoms of its votaries in all the nations of the earth. As long as they were spared to us, that work, under their superintending vigilance and patriotic wisdom, was preserved in its perfect integrity. No false local ambition was suffered to mar it; no unfounded, heretical doctrine of State rights was permitted to overturn it. No vandal hand dared to strike at it. No traitorous heart—if in those days there was one—ventured to breath even its destruction. They died—and thank God that it was so—in the full belief that that priceless legacy would be valued by us as they had valued it, and forever transmitted in its entirety as complete and absolute as they left it. Their last moments were made happy in the conviction that the freedom they had won and secured and preserved, would be immortal. They no doubt too supposed, as well they might, that the faults of a frail nature, whatever these may have been, would in mercy be blotted out of the record of Heaven's chancery, in consideration of the mighty achievement of striking down tyranny and establishing enlightened, constitutional freedom, by a form of government admirably adapted, if honestly administered, to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the *common* defence, promote the *general* welfare and secure the blessings of liberty" to themselves and their posterity.

Fearless as they were, boldly as they faced death in every battle-field, nobly as they defied the mighty power of England, then almost the mistress of the world, and gloriously as they triumphed over it. Philosophically as in the closet and the council board they meditated on the nature of their country—they could not bring themselves, they had not the heart—to look to that future which would be its condition if the Union intended to be consolidated by that Constitution, should ever be destroyed. If in a moment of temporary despondency the thought flitted through the mind, the constant prayer was that their eyes should be sealed in death before the happening of the dire catastrophe.

The immortal author of the Declaration of Independence, a States-rights man of the strictest sect, and as sincere and as zealous a friend of human freedom as ever blessed the world, in such a moment indulging the apprehension, and for himself but the consolation of an antecedent grave. "My only comfort and confidence (said he in a letter to a friend, on the 13th of April, 1820,) is that I shall not live to see it; and I envy not the present generation the glory of throwing away the fruits of their fathers' sacrifices of life and fortune, and of rendering desperate the experiment which was to decide ultimately whether man is capable of self-government. *The treason against human hope will signalize their epoch in future history as the counterpart of the medal of their predecessors.*" [Applause.]

That "human hope" even now, before the entire generation is gone, whose noble deeds and consummate wisdom kindled it into extatic strength, is losing its fervor. Despair, rather—sickening, frightful despair—is taking its place. The heart of the good and true men of the land, in every corner of the ocean-bound Republic, beats with trembling solicitude lest that hope is now and forever to be blasted. It fears, and it has reason to fear, that the fondly cherished experiment may now be ultimately decided. That it may now be proved that self-government is not within the capacity of man.

Let it be our purpose, as I know it is our ardent wish, to take counsel with our countrymen, our brothers East, West, North and South. Patriotism knows no latitudes, who, true to the teachings of a noble ancestry, cling as we do, with unfaltering attachment, to the Union they gave, and so commended to us, as the ark of our political safety. Who faithful to all, yes, to all the obligations which that Union imposes, or was intended to impose upon States and citizens, and to all the rights and the powers it confers on the united whole, are, with us, resolved, by prudent counsels, patriotic efforts, gratitude, reverence for the great dead, solicitude for the peace, happiness, honor of the living, present love for the countless generations that are to follow, and respect for the opinion of the world, already condemning us, even in anticipation, of the possible "treason against human hope," willing, anxious, resolved to sacrifice individual opinion, yield conflicting prejudices, frown down party plotting, stifle the grating voice of the demagogue, tread into nothingness the political partisan, drive into exile the designing traitor, and in an elevated and patriotic and fraternal spirit resolve to amend what may be defective, define what may be, or esteemed, doubtful, in the sacred charter of our liberty and the source of our present prosperity and power and world-wide fame, so as to extinguish the nation's fears, electrify with delight unspeakable its patriotic heart, and place it upon a foundation so deep and impregnable that the most skeptical will pronounce the danger over, and the world see that this gentration, like the last, is incapable of "treason against human hope," and will never have a counterpart of the medal our ancestors left us, as their proudest boast, the emblem of their conviction that "man is capable of self-government," and that with us it can only be successfully demonstrated, by preserving, in all its purity, "the unity of government which constitutes us one people," and with unsleeping vigilance guarding it through all time as "a main pillar of the edifice of our real independence."

And I have an abiding faith, if time is given for such a consultation, that all will be well, and American citizens everywhere, as in the days of our fathers, be brought to know and hail each other but as brothers—joint-heirs of a common inheritance of constitutional freedom, coworkers in the almost holy purpose of so using and maintaining it as to challenge the admiration and command the imitation of the world.

I have said, gentlemen, that its founders intended the Union to be perpetual. This is evident from the causes which induced it, and equally evident from the Constitution itself which accomplished it.

It is necessary perhaps to have a just understanding of the difficulties which surround and embarrass us, that this should be clearly understood. And although the immediate occasion would not justify or admit of a full examination of the subject, you will, I hope, not think it amiss if I submit to you a few suggestions. Before and for nearly two years subsequent to the Declaration of Independence, the struggle was maintained by union alone. No Colony or State then dreamed of carrying it only itself or for itself—common danger—a common cause and a common end united them in that immortal conflict as closely, practically, for a time as the present Constitution unites us. It was soon found, however, that this bond was not to be relied upon, and the articles of confederation, agreed upon by Congress in November, 1777, and ratified by every State in March, 1780, took its place.

The object was to render the Union more secure, by vesting in the General Government the powers then deemed necessary to that end, for its continuance forever. A few years' experience, however, demonstrated its defects. These too were found to be fatal to its wholesome operation and its perpetuity. What these were your recollections will readily recall to you. The great, the leading one, you will remember, was that its principal powers were made to depend for their execution on the State as States. That this was destructive of the purposes soon became evident. State pride, State policy, State prejudice, State rivalry, supposed conflicting interests, made some of the States oblivious to the obligations of their compact. It was but a compact. It was called in the third article a "league." The thirteenth stipulated that it should "be inviolably observed by every State," and that the Union "be perpetual." But this was mere promise. No means were provided for its enforcement. Each State, *as a State*, retained its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right not *expressly* delegated.

The whole constituted but a compact, a treaty, between the States, as such. No authority was given the Government to act directly upon the people. These, in each State, could only be effected by and through State sovereignty. Its powers were in themselves apparently comprehensive, and adequate. The vice was the absence of adequate means to enforce them. For want of this instrumentality they failed. It was soon seen by the patriotic statesmen of the day that this defect was fatal to union. Experience hourly demonstrated it. Union, however, was not to be abandoned. That only hope of preserving our freedom and our happiness, was not abandoned by them. They early took steps to avert its downfall. The result was the present Constitution of the United States. Does that correct the chief, the ruinous defect of the Confederation? That it was adopted with that view, we know. Has it accomplished it? If it has not the failure, until now, has not appeared. It has proved capable, by its own inherent energy, to execute its own powers, and protect itself by its own means.

The fancy, it is but a fancy, it is not entitled to the dignity of being called a theory, that this, like the former is but a compact which can only be practically enforced under State assent, and at any time be legally terminated by State power, until recently has never seriously been maintained. Some years ago South Carolina, that gallant State of vast pretensions but little power, though in her own conceit able to meet the world in arms, ventured to act upon the fancy. In that day, however, statesmen ruled over us, an iron and patriotic will wielded the Executive power and the Senate Chamber was filled with the counsels of Webster. Then it ventured in January, 1830, to assert its soundness. A favored son of the State with South Carolina's reckless, unreflecting daring, was bold enough to challenge the great expounder to the contest. Right nobly, too, did he conduct himself, but his cause was bad—his fate and the fate of his cause was known in advance—they were alike sure of the same destiny—signal, signal defeat. On the 26th of that month the great Northern statesman spoke as no man ever spake before, and the doctrine and its gallant champion fell together. That speech, too, did more than make the name of Webster immortal. It achieved more, much more than a triumph over the Southerner and his fancy. It fired the patriotic heart of the country. It made it rejoice that that country was ours, then and forever. It planted deep, deep in "every true American heart" that sentiment so vital to our duty, our honor, our fame, our power, our happiness, our freedom, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseperable."

The fancy, however, is revived. Gentlemen in the public councils, of rare ability, are perverting that ability to maintain it. The public mind of the South, to an alarming extent, is being deluded by it. Treason, under its supposed protection, is being perpetrated. The Union is attempted to be severed by it, and it is producing its material results, solicitude, distress, agony inconceivable at home, and unexampled wonder, shame, degradation abroad.

The defences of the nation, erected at enormous expense out of a common treasure, for the protection of common rights, are being seized. Our glorious national airs hissed and derided under its authority. The flag, the glorious flag that never yielded to a foreign foe, is shamelessly being dishonored, torn to pieces, trodden to the earth by the very children of the fathers who adopted it, went as brothers together to battle—to death and to victory under its inspiring, sacred folds; and bequeathed it as the emblem of a common brotherhood, a common destiny and a common freedom—a doctrine leading to such consequences cannot be true. Our great patriotic dead never could have left such a doctrine to us. It was that very vice existing in the Confederation, and found to be leading to just such results, which they designed to correct and annihilate by the Constitution. Compact league, power only to be exerted upon States, was that vice? Is this, in spirit of their purposes, and what they evidently supposed they had accomplished, still in the Constitution?

Wiser, greater men, more accomplished statesmen, have never lived before or since. How could such men have made such failures? The question almost answers itself. The very supposition slanders their memory. But the work itself, in almost every line of it, demonstrates its injustice and absurdity. "A more *perfect* Union" is stated in its very first line, to be its object. "Justice" for all, "domestic tranquility" for all, "the common defence," "the *general* welfare," are stated as the ends of such Union, and, as the means of securing it, "We, the *People of the United States*," not of any one State, but of all in the aggregate, "do ordain this Constitution for the United States of America" not for the States separately, but for all *as one*; not a league or compact, but a Constitution, a Government.

And then mark its power. By the first section, first article, "all legislative powers" herein granted are vested in Congress. The power to lay and collect taxes, duties, impost and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of all, with no distinction or limit as to the first, and no other as to the rest, but that they 'be uniform throughout the United States,' is granted; the power to borrow on the credit of all, to regulate commerce with foreign nations, among the States and with the Indian tribes; to coin money and regulate its value, to punish certain crimes, treason included, against the United States; to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, to provide for calling the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection and repel invasion; for organizing, &c., the militia; and a variety of other powers, in their nature exclusive, and wholly independent of State power or sovereignty, exerted in any mode, whether by State or people, are granted.

All Executive power, too, is vested in the President with no limitations whatever any way dependent on State authority and all judicial power in a Judiciary, in and over every variety of case involving the authority of the United States, or the individual rights of person and property, and obligations of the United States intended to be secured or imposed by the Constitution, and finally these powers are all to be enforced, not on the citizen, through his State, but upon the former, directly.

It follows, consequently, that the offending citizen cannot rely as a defence on State power. His responsibility is to the United States alone. His allegiance, his paramount allegiance, out of which the responsibility springs as to all these powers, is to that Government alone. His State cannot legally protect him or stand in his place. Her prior sovereignty as to this was extinguished by the act of the people in adopting the Constitution, never again to be reserved under that instrument.—A State or the people of a State might attempt its overthrow, but the attempt is treason, if made with force, it being a "levying war against the United States," an act defined to be treason by the third section of the article.

But it has, in these degenerate days, recently and even in Congress, and with great gravity and apparent confidence, been insisted in support of the right of secession that as secession, in fact, places a State out of the Union, there is no power in the General Government to punish it in advance, or redress it if done because it has no powers that are not granted, and the power to make war upon a State is not granted.

Admitting, for arguments' sake, that this is so, and that being so, no remedy exists, would this justify or excuse the acts? That the State and her people are subject to all the obligations of the Constitution is clear.—Its legislative and all its Executive and judicial officers are in express terms *bound by oath to support* the Constitution.

This oath is not fulfilled by secession. That intentionally violates and destroys, instead of supporting. She has, too, incurred under liabilities in common with her sisters. These have been contracted by all and for all.—Treaties are made, debts are contracted, fortifications, arsenals, navy yards, custom houses, a capitol, an executive mansion, court houses, and other public buildings, light houses, post offices, are constructed at enormous expense with the money of all for the benefit of all. Immense territory has been acquired in the same way, or by joint valor. Does the seceding State get clear by secession of these treaties and debts? Does she take with her any, and if any, what interest in the public property?—That which is within the limits of the original State was acquired with the consent of each, and which, under the very language of the Constitution, not only makes it, thenceforth, the property of the United States, but clothes them with the right of exclusive legislation over it.

Thenceforth such portions of her territory ceased to be hers, and as effectually as if it never had been within her limits, and became, *eo instanti*, the cession and the sole territory of the United States, and liable to their exclusive legislative power. The State after this has no interest in it, except as she is a State of the Union, and only so long as she remains within it—an act attended by such results to her sisters and herself, absolving her from responsibility from joint contracts, and depriving her of all interest in property and joint acquisitions, and in defence necessary to her protection, finds no warrant in the Constitution—none whatever. It must therefore be wrong and illegal.

Admit then that the Constitution is so defective as to be forced to submit to it, does that prove the act right or legal? Its illegality, its gross violation of duty, its perjured violation on the part of those who are under an oath to "support" the Constitution are not the less censurable and illegal because there may be no provision for its punishment. Is there no obligation in duty? Is morality not a virtue—immorality a crime? Is patriotism an empty phrase? Is treason the less treason because there is no law or tribunal competent to arrest or punish it? Let the world judge, as it will, the teacher of such a doctrine. Do you doubt its judgment? Then good men may for a time lash themselves into passion, overwhelm reason, and give themselves up to the wildest license, but as Heaven is just and as opinion is enlightened, the victims of the madness of the hour will soon see the estimate which the civilized world will place upon their conduct, and shrink with remorse from its sentence.

But the Constitution is not thus fatally impotent. It is true that it contains no power to declare war against a State, but it has every power for the execution of the laws and the enforcement of their penalties. It goes against the individual offender. It makes no appeal to State power to protect it. For that end it is self-sustaining; it is its own protection. If the State places itself between the United States and the offending citizen, and attempts to shield him by force of arms, it is she who declares war upon the United States, not the United States upon her. In such a contingency, the force used by the latter, and which they have a clear right to use, is not in attack but in defence; not war, but the rightful vindication of rights against unjustifiable and illegal assaults.

It is further maintained that the right to secede actually exists; because, though it be a wrong, it is one that cannot be punished through the only legal proceeding known to the Constitution, and for this the 6th amendment is seriously relied upon. That provides that "in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," &c., and it is said that, as in a seceding State, the Judiciary of the United States is abolished by State power, and her people are with her in feeling, or by their allegiance to follow her, whether approving her course or not, there can be no such trial as the Constitution secures to the offender.

If this is so, and ever to remain so, does it divest the United States of the power admitted to exist before secession, of arresting the offender and holding him until he can be tried. The clause assumes, as is always the case, arrest, accusation first and trial afterwards. The first can be made peaceably, or, if necessary, by force. Suppose it done. Is it illegal because the right to a speedy trial cannot be enjoyed? If not, why not? The fault is not with the United States, but with the State under whose usurpation the party has offended. She, by her act, has deprived him of the right. Is he to be discharged on that account. Novel doctrine! The State commits treason against the United States; all her citizens participate in it; the Courts of the United States are closed; the Judges exiled. The people are prohibited by force, from performing their duties. The offender cannot, and for that reason only, be tried. The act is clearly a revolt, and yet it is said that that very treason and revolt in which the party accused is an actor, entitles him to impunity, because the very crime itself deprives him of the right to a speedy trial in the State where he perpetrated it.

To such of my professional friends as may be present I put it to answer if they think a ground like that, in the judgment of the esteemed and able Chief Justice of the United States would support an application for a *habeas corpus*. Would any of you, regardful as I know you are of your reputation, venture to make it? And yet, Senators have ventured to make it. Truly has it been said, with what little wisdom is the world governed.

Further, what is true of treason is equally true of any other crime, and is applicable alike to States and the United States. Nearly all if not all of the Constitutions of the former contain a provision that the offenders be tried only in the vicinage where they are charged to have been committed. Are they to go unpunished—the offences to be perpetrated with impunity—if from local partiality or prejudice, a fair trial cannot be had? Gambling houses, cock-fighting, racing, may be fashionable amusements, though prohibited by law. The law is violated—the offence of constant occurrence—the whole country sanctions it, deem the prohibition tyrannical and puts it at defiance. Has the State no right to enforce it? No, says the perpetrator—no, says our modern jurists. The right to punish is gone, because the power to punish from the very prevalence and fashion of the crime does not exist. A trial can only be constitutionally had in the county or district where the offence is committed, and there it cannot be had, as there all are offenders, and they will not sanction or suffer its punishment.

What do we know has occurred? The United States by the very letters of the Constitution are authorized to prohibit, by punishment, the African slave trade. They are also empowered, in order to preserve the peace of the country, and maintain its honor, to restrain our citizens from warring upon other nations with whom we are at peace. Laws for both purposes have long existed, and their constitutionality never questioned. The trade has nevertheless been carried on, and hostile enterprises set on foot. The parties have been arrested.

In some cases indictments could not be obtained as an impartial, honest grand jury could not be found. In others, an impartial jury, for the same cause, could not be had to convict. In others, the offender has been rescued. The power to punish, therefore, in these instances, did not exist. The citizens of the only legal place for trial and punishment, practically set at naught the laws. They acknowledged a higher law. They thought the slave trade moral—the breach of the nationality acts, patriotism. The one extended the area of a favored institution, and in time would Christianize the victorious—the other extended the area of freedom, and in time would make liberty universal.

But the acts notwithstanding were crimes, and should be punished. No, say our modern constitutional expounders. No, say Senators. They are not crimes, whatever may be the law on the Statute book, because there is no potential legal mode to try and punish them, the mere machinery of the law, in that particular, is defective, the whole vicinage being tainted, and participating or sympathizing with the offence and offender impunity is secured, and impunity converts crime into virtue.

As well might the thief or murderer who so cunningly steals or kills as to escape detection, rely upon his cunning as a moral and legal justification. The whole theory shocks common sense. It is not punishment which makes the crime. It is the wrong—the illegality of its perpetration. The question of punishment arises after. The crime is committed, and exists wholly irrespective of subsequent detection and punishment. If, then, secession is a crime—is treason against the United States—it will remain so forever, whether the latter succeeds in dealing with it as the law requires or not.

Mr. Johnson was time and again interrupted by applause, and the sentiments of the speech were enthusiastically received. As soon as the speaker closed Mr. Sterling put the resolutions to the meeting. The "yea" response was stentorian. When the nays were called for, there were about half dozen responses, which were followed by cries of "put him out." The rush was again made, and the police hurried to the rescue and succeeded in protecting the man from extreme violence. The party got a few knocks about the head, but none to hurt him much. There were then cries for "Swann," but the ex-Mayor did not make his appearance.

Mr. Pearre, of Allegany, was called and came forward. He informed the audience that Western Maryland was Union loving to the core. They would cling to it through every peril. He pronounced the action of South Carolina impertinent in the extreme, and denied her right to be a leader in any measures for the protection of Southern interests. Mr. Pearre's remarks were well received. The meeting was then adjourned. As the crowd went out of the hall, three more cheers were given for "Major Anderson," "Gov. Hicks," "The Union," and groans for "South Carolina."

The actual expenses of the John Brown raid has been reported to the Virginia Legislature as $220,517.68.

The Pittsburgh *Dispatch*, of Saturday, says that Mrs. Abby Kelly Foster, the most violent of all the female anti-slavery lecturers, was rudely treated in her lectures, at New Lisbon, Ohio, last week.

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CONFERENCE CONVENTION.

In accordance with an invitation sent by prominent gentlemen of this city, yesterday a number of gentlemen representing all parts of the State met in the Law Buildings for the purpose of conferring relative to the threatening condition of public affairs. At 12 o'clock, Wm. H. Norris, Esq., of Baltimore city, called the body to order by moving that Col. John Sellman, of Anne Arundel county, be selected as temporary Chairman, and J. H. Stone, Esq., of Baltimore, Secretary. The President briefly returned thanks, whereupon, Mr. Norris moved that a list of the names of the gentlemen to whom invitations had been sent should be read by the Secretary, when each county delegation should report to the Chair a list of those present.

This was done, and subsequently the names of the following gentlemen were handed to the Secretary, all of whom were in attendance.

Howard county—Col. Carroll, Dr. Wm. W. Watkins, Hon. Mr. Hammond, T. G. Clark, A. C. Warner.

Dorchester county—Hon. W. T. Goldsborough, Elias Griswold.

Cecil county—George Earle, George Bennett.

Charles county—Peter W. Crain, Frederick Stone.

Anne Arundel county—Col. J. S. Sellman, S. H. Dorsett, Wm. H. Baldwin, A. B. Hagner, Dr. Jas. Higgins.

Harford county—Otho Scott, Wm. B. Stevenson, J. A. Preston.

Baltimore city—George W. Dobbin, Austin Dall, Ross Winans, S. Teackle Wallis, L. P. Bayne, Samuel S. Wyman, James Holliday Stone, William Henry Norris, Charles E. Wethered, Dr. J. Hanson Thomas, Dr. A. C. Robinson.

Baltimore county—David M. Perine, John Q. Hewlett, J. D. Pope, E. D. Lyons, John S. Gittings.

Frederick county—Outerbridge Horsey, Benedict Boone.

Montgomery county—A. Bowie Davis, Col. Benjamin Shreeves.

Washington county—James Wason.

Talbot county—Sam'l Hambleton, Edw'd Lloyd, Jr., M. T. Goldsborough.

St. Mary's county—John F. Dent, John H. Sothoron.

Allegany county—John M. Buchanan, Horace Ressly.

Prince George's county—Col. John D. Bowling, Dr. Joseph P. Duvall.

Carrol county—George W. Manro, Micajah Rogers, Somerset R. Waters.

Somerset county—Isaac D. Jones.

Kent county—William F. Smythe, Joseph A. Wickes.

Queen Anne's county—R. B. Carmichael, Wm. Grayson, John Brown, Lloyd Tilghman.

Mr. Crain, of Charles, moved to substitute the name of Frederick Stone for that of one of the gentlemen who was invited from that county.

This was objected to and withdrawn, and then renewed by Col. Sothoron, who, at the request of Mr. Stone, withdrew it.

Col. Hambleton moved that a Committee of one from each county, and the city of Baltimore, be appointed for the purpose of selecting officers for a permanent organization. Carried.

The following committee was appointed: Col. Hambleton, of Talbot; Isaac D. Jones, of Somerset; B. Boone, of Frederick; Samuel H. Dorsett, of Anne Arundel; A. B. Davis, of Montgomery; R. B. Carmichael, of Queen Anne's; James Wason, of Washington; Elias Griswold, of Dorchester; Col. Sothoron, of St. Mary's; W. B. Stephenson, of Harford; Col. John D. Bowling, of Prince George's; W. B. Buchanan, of Allegany; G. W. Manro, of Carroll; W. Smythe, of Kent; Col. Charles Carroll, of Howard; George Earle, of Cecil; D. M. Perine, of Baltimore co.; Wm. Henry Norris, of Baltimore city; P. W. Crain, of Charles.

After a short absence the committee returned and reported the following:

President—Hon. Wm Grason, of Baltimore county.
Vice Presidents—David M. Perine, W. T. Goldsborough, Dorchester county.
Secretaries—Horace Ressly, James H. Stone.

Ex-Governor Grason having been compelled by indisposition to retire from the Conference, Col. Hambleton moved that Col. Sellman be unanimously selected as the permanent chairman of the body; carried.

Col. Sellman, in a few remarks returned his thanks for the honor conferred upon him by the selection. He regretted the illness of Gov. Grason and was sorry that the conference would be deprived of the wisdom and counsel of that eminent citizen.—He referred to the causes which had called them together, and expressed the hope that their deliberations would be marked by moderation and wisdom.

S. Teackle Wallis, Esq., moved the appointment of a committee to consist of one from each county and the city of Baltimore, to prepare business for the consideration of the conference. Carried.

The following gentlemen were appointed the committee:

S. Teackle Wallis, Chairman, Baltimore city; J. M. Buchanan, Allegheny county; A. B. Hagner, Anne Arundel; Col. John S. Gittings, Baltimore county; Micajah Rogers, Carroll; Hon. P. W. Crain, Charles; George W. Benton, Cecil; Hon. W. T. Goldsbrough, Dorchester; Outerbridge Horsey, Frederick; Gen. Edward Hammond, Howard; Otho Scott, Harford; J. A. Wicks, Kent; A. B. Davis, Montgomery; Joseph J. Duvall, Prince George's; R. B. Carmichael, Queen Anne's; John F. Dent, St. Mary's; Hon. Isaac D. Jones, Somerset; Col. Edward Lloyd, Talbot; and James Wason, of Washington county.

Upon motion of Colonel Hambleton the meeting adjourned until 4 o'clock, P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At quarter past four the Conference was again called to order.

Mr. Wallis, on the part of the committee, said that the committee had been engaged in the discussion of the subjects embodied in the report—the discussion was warm and earnest, but the best of feeling prevailed. He said that the committee deemed it prudent to present, for the consideration of the Convention, matters of action rather than merely the expression of opinions. This policy was adopted, with the impression that it met the desires of the people of the State. He then read the following resolutions:

1. *Resolved*, As the opinion of this meeting, that in the present and impending crisis of our national affairs, the interests and honor of the State of Maryland and her duty to the Union and herself imperatively demand that the judgment of her people upon the solemn issues involved, should have immediate and authoritative expression through their representatives in convention assembled.

2. That although the people, themselves, may of right assemble such a convention, without previous legislation, there are manifest reasons of legality, propriety and convenience affecting the time and manner of the election for members thereof, and the sanctions under which said election shall be held, which render the intervention of the Legislature in regard thereto, if not necessary, at all events, eminently desirable, and it is consequently the opinion of this meeting that the General Assembly of Maryland should at once be convoked for that purpose; inasmuch, however, as his Excellency, the Governor, has publicly announced his determination not to exercise his constitutional functions in that regard at present, for reasons which he deems satisfactory, and it would not, in the opinion of this meeting, be consistent with the respect which they owe to his Excellency or themselves, to approach him with further solicitations upon that subject.

3. *It is further resolved*, As the next best and most practicable measure, that a committee of five be appointed by the president of this meeting, whose duty it shall be to present to his Excellency, Governor Hicks, a copy of these resolutions, and respectfully suggest: That he will be pleased, by his proclamation, to invite the people of Maryland to assemble on or before the first Monday of February, at their usual places of voting, and during the usual voting hours, to select delegates, equal in number to their respective county and city delegations, in the House of Delegates, who shall meet in convention, in the city of Baltimore, on the third Monday of February, to take into consideration the condition of public affairs, and express the sentiments and determine the position of Maryland in reference thereto.

4. That in case his Excellency shall decline the said request, the said committee shall respectfully solicit him, in the name of this meeting, to issue his proclamation, inviting the people of this State to assemble, as previously suggested, on the first Monday of February next, and determine by their votes whether they desire or do not desire that such Convention shall be called; and in case the majority of the people shall determine in favor of calling the same, that his Excellency will then, by his proclamation as aforesaid, appoint the third Monday of February for the election of delegates to such Convention, to assemble at the earliest practicable period thereafter.

5. *Resolved*, That in case his Excellency, the Governor, shall refuse to call a Convention himself, or take steps for ascertaining the will of the people in regard to calling the same, as heretofore suggested by this meeting, it shall be the duty of the committee named, in pursuance of the resolutions previously passed, to prepare a brief address to the people of Maryland, requesting them to send delegates to a Convention, to be held at the earliest practicable day, in the city of Baltimore, to recommend such measures as the exigency may require.

After reading the resolutions, Mr. Wallis said, that he was so much overcome by the protracted session of the Committee, as to be unable to do more than state, as briefly as possible, the views and purposes of the majority on the conclusions at which they had arrived. And he would first observe, that as the resolution under which the Committee had proceeded, instructed them to submit business to the meeting, for its action, the majority had deemed it proper to confine themselves, altogether, to suggestions of a practical character.

It was a fact impossible to be overlooked, that there were differences of opinion, of the broadest character, everywhere throughout the State in regard to the course which Maryland should adopt in the pending crisis. There was not only great difference of purpose among men equally honest and patriotic, but there were the widest differences between men, pursuing with equal honesty a common purpose, in regard to the means by which that purpose could be best subserved. Events too were rushing forward, with fearful rapidity, and the most intelligent and prudent men were every day experiencing those ebbs and flows of judgment, which are always felt in the current of a great political convulsion. The conclusions of yesterday pass from under our feet to-day, with the receding facts upon which they rested.

Regarding this as the actual state of things, and desiring as far as possible, to present to the meeting a course of practical action, upon which its members could agree, rather than a series of theoretical propositions upon which they would be sure to differ, the committee had contented themselves with the few and simple recommendations which the resolutions embodied. The majority of the committee had assumed, in the first place, that the voice of Maryland ought to be heard, and her position to be gravely and authoritatively taken in the present exigency.

They believed that this was no season for violence or inaction. The revolution which was sundering the confederacy, was going on with tumultuous haste. If Maryland had any power to arrest it, she was bound by every obligation to the Union, and to herself to exercise that power. If she could not arrest it, she had to care for her own safety, so deeply involved in the catastrophe. She had besides the high and holy duty, of seeking that position, in which she might best heal, what she could not hinder—in which she might aid in reconstructing what unhappily she could not keep together.

The Committee, therefore, assumed that a convention of the people ought to be assembled at once, in order that the State might be ready for all contingencies. They thought that such a Convention ought to be called by the Legislature, and its election be conducted under the forms and with the sanction of law. But finding that Governor Hicks had positively refused to assemble the Legislature, —at all events at present—they felt that there was no propriety in making any further application of the sort to him, and they had, therefore, contented themselves with the expression of the sense of this meeting, that the Legislature ought to be convoked. As the next best thing, they had recommended an application to Governor Hicks to the effect that he would, by his proclamation, either invite the people of the State to send delegates to a Convention, or call upon them to determine, by their votes, whether they desired or did not desire a Convention to be held. The Committee had no idea that Governor Hicks had any authority, as matter of binding right, to issue the proclamation which they suggested. But it was entirely competent for him to do so, at the request of his fellow-citizens, and desiring, so far as circumstances would allow, to give the action which they suggested all the dignity and force of official sanction: to remove all cause of alarm and put an end to all misrepresentation in regard to the step which they desired the people to take, for the expression of their own sentiments, the committee had invited the co-operation of Governor Hicks, in the mode suggested. They wished to pay all the respect which is due to his personal and official character; to avoid all semblance of taking the law in their own hands; to appeal to the confidence of those who concurred with the Governor, in the propriety of his course down to the present time.

The committee had the sincerest hope that the Governor would meet such propositions in the spirit in which they were offered, and that being the Chief Magistrate of a popular government, he would recognize the will of the people as superior to his own, and the opinion of the people as more authoritative than his own, and that he would, in good faith, participate in any reasonable effort to have that will explicitly and plainly expressed.

If, however, the Governor should reject these propositions, then the committee had reported a separate resolution, looking to the call of a State Convention, upon the invitation of this body. The Convention proposed was not of the character called "Sovereign Conventions." It was to be recommendatory merely, and its recommendations would depend altogether for their force, upon the wisdom and character of the body itself, and the extent and weight of public sentiment it represented. It had been suggested in the committee, that the proposition of such an alternative upon the Governor's refusal, might be regarded by him as offensive, and might prevent his adopting the suggestions which it proposed.

The Committee would not believe that Governor Hicks would be deterred from doing what was right, if he believed it to be right, merely because he knew that in case of his refusal, this meeting would pursue what it deemed right also. The alternative was one for ourselves, not for him. It was our responsibility, not his. It contained no threat, and involved no disrespect. It was meant with perfect respect to him, though at the same time it guarded our own self respect likewise. In dealing with a public functionary, it was our duty, of course, to be wanting, in no way, to proper courtesy and consideration, but it was our right, as citizens, to announce our own opinions, respectfully and take our own lawful action, without reference to undue susceptibility anywhere.

Mr. Wallis concluded by saying, that the resolutions, he trusted, would be found unexceptionable and conservative in tone and spirit. They had been prepared in good faith, to cover, as far as was practicable, ground on which the whole people might unite, and he did not see how they could be objected to, except upon the ground that it was not safe to trust the people of the State, with the determination of questions which so fearfully involved their interests and honor. Further than this explanation, Mr. Wallis added that it was not necessary for him, on behalf of the Committee, now to go.

A. B. Hagner said that he had been deputed to express to the Conference the views of the minority of the committee. There was not time to prepare a minority report, and consequently the views of the minority would have to be presented to the Conference verbally. He endorsed the remarks of Mr. Wallis in regard to the good feeling which prevailed in the committee in the discussion of the differences of opinion which existed between the members. There were eight of the committee who dissented from the views expressed in the majority report. No question of politics influenced this difference. Of the minority but two voted for the present Governor, of which he was not one. Consequently the difference of opinion existed honestly and sincerely. The minority were in favor of presenting as a report the fourth resolution, and nothing more of the series of resolutions presented by the majority. They were of opinion that that resolution embodied all that was necessary for the present. In the passage of that resolution by this Conference they were of opinion that a good thing would be done. This is a self-constituted body, with no power to speak for any but themselves, and yet the resolutions of the committee propose a course of action for the State. We are overstepping our authority in the adoption of the resolutions. The fourth resolution was what the people demanded.

Mr. Norris—Were you unanimous in the support of the fourth resolution?

Mr. Hagner—The entire committee sustained that resolution. We have no evidence that the Governor will not call the Legislature together.—On the contrary he desires to know the sentiments of the people on the subject, and says he will comply with that sentiment if the people desire the call of a Convention. In the several counties there were a large number of persons who sustained the Governor in his present course. This conference may assert that the members thereof represented the sentiment of their different sections. This may be a mistake. In the last Legislature members of that body supported a law in regard to the free negro population, and stated that they represented the views of their constituencies, and yet when the counties came to vote on the law not one adopted it. If the adoption of the 4th resolution did not answer the purposes of this conference, it could meet again, and adopt such a course of policy as might be deemed expedient.

Dr. Joseph Duvall offered the following resolutions as a substitute for the report of the Committee:

1. *Resolved, as the sense of this meeting*, That the true course of Maryland in the present crisis of our country is to adopt what has been aptly called a masterly inactivity to watch the signs of the times, and await the further development of events before committing herself irrevocably to any particular course of action in the future. The times are pregnant with momentous events, and no one can tell what a day may bring forth—it would, therefore, be unwise to trammel her future action, which should be adapted to the existing condition of circumstances of the country by promises and pledges previously made.

2. That at present she is opposed to secession, which she regards as nothing less than revolution, as too extreme and dangerous a remedy for any existing grievances.—That she does not believe secession to be a right arising under the Constitution of the United States, as it contains no express grant of such a right; whilst in theory, at least, no government can be presumed to consent to its own dismemberment and destruction.

3. That the constitution of the Union contains ample powers for the redress of all existing grievances and wrongs, if properly exercised and applied, and not until these powers have been appealed to and fully tested, and all laws passed in pursuance thereof, fully and faithfully executed, should the people of the United States abandon the Union and their present form of government with all their great and valuable interests therein.

4 That the true source of our difficulties is not to be found in the acts of those who violate the laws and resist the authority of the federal government, and to so consider is to confound cause and effect, for bad and evil minded citizens may be found in every country ready to disregard the public authority whenever they may do so with impunity; but it is rather to be found in too lenient an administration of the general government and failure to enforce fully and faithfully all its laws; and the true remedy for our grievances is so to reform the administration of the government in this respect as to insure the complete execution of such and every law, which can only be done by bringing the force of public opinion to bear upon the executive department.

5. That if, upon full and complete trial, however, the powers of the general Government should be found inadequate to the complete enforcement of all its laws, the Constitution should be so amended as to give it the necessary power, and the fanatical and rebellious views and acts of individuals should never be allowed to defeat their execution, for under every form of government the rights of the citizen can only be secured by a faithful enforcement of the laws.

6. That the efforts of every good citizen, and of every State, and of the general Government, should be directed at present to a peaceful adjustment of all difficulties between the North and South; that the North should immediately repeal all acts infringing the Constitution of the United States and designed to prevent the enforcement of its laws, and the South ought to allow reasonable time for this to be done. A perpetual settlement of the slavery question in all its aspects should be effected either by law or amendment of the Constitution, if necessary, and such other guarantees against sectionalism as may be thought wise and expedient should also be made.

7. That if after the allowance of reasonable time no adjustment shall unfortunately have taken place, and the North shall still refuse to render unto "Cæsar the things that are Cæsars," by a complete redress of all Southern grievances and wrongs, that the honor, and safety, and interests of Maryland will demand her separation from the Union and co-operation with her sister slave States in the formation of a new government—in which the great error of the old and mixed basis of society should be avoided. Let the North, with her peculiar institutions and notions, go to the right and the South, with hers, to the left, and thus let all strife in the future be prevented.

8. That Maryland is determined to have all her rights within the Union, and peaceably, if she can—but out of it, and forcibly, if she must; and whenever she decides to secede from the Union, she will place her action upon the broad ground of revolution, and not upon the doubtful right of peaceable secession, and point the civilized world to her wrongs and injuries, patiently borne for a series of years, with the persistent refusal and failure of the Federal Government to redress them in justification—for whenever a Government fails for the purposes of its institution, by not protecting the citizen in his rights of person and property, the right of revolution arises, and can be justly and rightfully exercised.

9. That when, in the opinion of our wise and patriotic Governor, the time shall arrive for Maryland to take action in regard to the present perilous crisis of our common country, that he immediately convene the Legislature of the State in extra session, and the Legislature, when thus convened, should take immediate steps for calling a convention of the people of the State, and confine their action to this single object, unless the condition of the country and the interests and safety of the State at the time shall demand further legislation to put the State in a proper condition of military defence.

That Maryland could never quietly see force used by the general government to compel obedience to its authority by the Southern seceding States, when that government has failed to discharge its obligations to them in not executing laws passed expressly for the purpose of protecting their property. That before the United States government can rightfully use force to compel their submission to its authority, within their limits or elsewhere, it must fully and faithfully enforce all laws made for the protection of their persons and property, or, failing therein, make them full compensation on damages for all the losses suffered by their violation, and further guarantee them in the free enjoyment of all their rights under the constitution. A compact broken on one side is broken on all sides, and the general government cannot hold the South to the terms of the compact while the North is permitted to violate them with impunity whenever the notion or the humor takes them.

He said that the resolutions embraced his views. He had offered them in the Committee but they were rejected on the ground that they transcended the objects for which the Convention had been called. He did not think so. He came here under the impression that the Conference was to take into consideration the best policy and course of action for the State of Maryland to pursue, and not merely for the purpose of securing a call for a State Convention. Maryland should be careful of the position she assumed. Who will rise in his seat and say that Maryland is ready to secede, or that she will cling to the Union forever?

The time for this State to assume such action has not yet arrived. It is our duty, it is our interest to cling to the Union and endeavor to secure our rights under the Constitution. When all has failed, it will be time for the State to secede. South Carolina and the other Southern States do not feel the dissolution of the Government as we will feel it. They have no injuries such as we have suffered, and will suffer in case of dissolution. It is an easy thing to destroy a great and glorious government, but, gentlemen will find it no easy matter to reconstruct or form a government. It is our duty to express our devotion to the Union. It is proper that the people North and South should know where Maryland stands. The gentlemen may say that it is impolitic to give expression to the views embodied in these resolutions. On the contrary, they wanted the State to follow the precipitate and inconsiderate action of South Carolina. He was opposed to this. After some desultory motions, the Conference adjourned until this morning at ten o'clock.

THE NEW PENNSYLVANIA SENATOR.—The Philadelphia *Press* says that Edgar Cowan, the new U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania, is in his 46th year. His parents were poor, but managed to give him a collegiate education at Canonsburg, and he has since kept up his knowledge then acquired, and increased the store, so that he is a thorough Latin, French, Greek and German scholar. He is a great student, acquainting himself with nearly all the modern sciences, and is possessed of one of the finest geological, botanical and zoological cabinets in Western Pennsylvania. As a lawyer, Mr. Cowan stands in the first rank of his profession, and as an orator he has few equals in the State. This is the first political office he has ever held.

SINGULAR ACCIDENT.—In Washington, on Wednesday morning, as the hotel omnibusses were on their way to the depot in time for the early train, the horses attached to the omnibus owned by the Messrs. Willard, and that belonging to Clay's Hotel, took fright, and ran up Third street at a furious rate. When at the corner of Third and G streets, Willards' omnibus upset, and the camphene lamp, which was in the front part, exploded, setting fire to the straw inside the vehicle. It was imposible to extinguish it, and the omnibus was entirely consumed.

SMOTHERED TO DEATH.—Hiram Crafts, of Carlton, N. H., went on board a schooner, at Portland, on Saturday night, and found his way to a berth and turned in. The schooner had been fumigated and smoked on Saturday, with charcoal and brimstone, for the purpose of killing rats, and all the crevices had been covered with paper to confine the fumes. Crafts was dead when the vessel was opened on Sunday.

The annual sale of pews in Rev. Henry Ward Beecher's church took place on Tuesday evening. All the seats were sold at premiums considerably larger than last year. The highest premium paid was $161, and the total amount received for premiums was $11,660, an increase of nearly $500 over the amount received last year.

In the New Jersey Legislature on Wednesday, the Douglas Democrats, by the co-operation of the Republicans, succeeded in choosing their candidates for Speaker and Clerk of the House over the regular Democratic nominations.

THE REVOLUTION.

HIGHLY IMPORTANT FROM CHARLESTON.

The Firing Into the Star of the West Confirmed.

Correspondence Between Governor Pickens and Maj. Anderson.

ANDERSON SENDS A BEARER OF DESPATCHES TO WASHINGTON.

Preparations for Hostilities by the Citizens of Charleston.

TWO FORTS IN NORTH CAROLINA SIEZED BY THE STATE TROOPS.

THE MISSISSIPPI MOVEMENT.

THE ALABAMA CONVENTION.

CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENTS IN THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

EXCITEMENT IN WASHINGTON.

THE MISSISSIPPI DELEGATION GONE OUT.

THE STEAMER BROOKLYN AND FORT SUMTER ORDERED TO FIRE IF OPPOSED.

The Georgia Senators Advising their Constituents to Send Reinforcements to Charleston.

THE VOICE OF KENTUCKY.

Further and Exciting News from Charleston---Preparations for the Reception of the U. S. Sloop-of-War Brooklyn.

GREAT PREPARATIONS IN CHARLESTON HARBOR.

ANTICIPATIONS OF A GENERAL FIGHT.

THE PEOPLE PREPARING FOR THE WORST.

&c., &c., &c.

IMPORTANT FROM CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON, Jan. 10.—The following is the particulars of the attempt of the steamer Star of the West to enter this harbor yesterday:

About 6½ o'clock yesterday morning, the steamer General Clinch discovered the steamer Star of the West approaching the entrance to the harbor, and signalled the fact to the occupants of the battery on Morris' Island.

As soon as the approach of the steamer was signalied, Morris' Island was astir with men and all were at their posts before the orders were given. All remained in anxious suspense for some time, ready for what they believed was sure to come—a volley from Fort Sumter.

After a while the Star of the West rounded the point and took the ship channel inside the bar and proceeded straight forward until opposite Morris' Island, at a point about three-fourths of a mile from the battery. A ball was now fired athwart the bow of the steamer, when the Star of the West displayed the stars and stripes. As soon as her flag was unfurled, the fortification fired a succession of heavy shots, but the vessel continued onward with increased speed, but one or two shots taking effect, she at length concluded to retire.

Fort Moultrie fired a few shots, but the steamer was out of range. The damage done to the steamer was supposed to be trifling, only two out of the seventeen shots fired at her taking effect. There is of course no means of knowing the extent of the damage done to the steamer.

Fort Sumter made no demonstration except that the guns bearing on Morris' Island and Fort Moultrie, were run out of the port holes.

About 11 o'clock a boat from Fort Sumter, bearing Lieut. Hall with a white flag, approached the city and on landing the Lieut. had an interview with Governor Pickens, and afterwards was escorted to his boat and re-embarked for Fort Sumter.

The communication from Major Anderson to the Governor is as follows:

MAJOR ANDERSON TO GOV. PICKENS.

FORT SUMTER, Jan. 9, 1861.

To His Excellency, the Governor of South Carolina:

SIR—Two of your batteries fired this morning on an unarmed vessel bearing the flag of my Government. I am not notified that war has been declared by South Carolina against the United States, and I cannot but think that this hostile act has been committed without your sanction or authority. Under that hope I refrain from opening fire on your batteries.

I have the honor, therefore, respectfully to ask whether the above mentioned act, one I believe without a parallel in the history of our country or any other civilized government, was committed in obedience to your instructions? And I notify you if the act is not disclaimed that I shall regard it as an act of war, and shall not, after a reasonable time allowed for the return of my messenger, permit any vessel to pass within range of the guns of my fort.

In order to save, as far as is in my power, the shedding of blood, I beg you will have due notification of my decision given to all concerned.

Hoping, however, that your answer may justify a further continuance of forbearance on my part, I am yours, respectfully,

ROBERT ANDERSON.

THE REPLY OF THE GOVERNOR TO MAJOR ANDERSON.

Governor Pickens, in his reply to Major Anderson, after stating the position of South Carolina to the United States, and declaring that any attempt to send troops of the United States into Charleston harbor to reinforce the forts there, would be regarded as an act of hostility, in conclusion, says: Any attempt to reinforce, with United States troops, Fort Sumter, or to retake and resume possession of the forts within the waters of this State, which you abandoned, after spiking the guns and doing other damage, cannot be regarded by the authorities of this State as indicative of other purpose than the coercion of a sovereign State by the armed force of the Federal Government.

Special agents, therefore, have been off the bar of this harbor to warn approaching vessels, armed or unarmed, having on board troops to reinforce your fort, not to attempt to enter the harbor.—Special orders have been given to the commanders of the forts not to fire on such vessels until the throwing of a shot across their bows would warn them of the prohibition of the State. Under these circumstances the steamer Star of the West, it is understood, this morning attempted to enter the harbor with troops, and having been notified that she could not enter, was fired into. This act is perfectly justified by me.

In regard to your threat as to vessels in the harbor, it is only necessary for me to say that you must be the judge of your responsibility. Your position in the harbor has been tolerated by the authorities of the State, and while the act of which you complain is in perfect consistency with the rights and duties of the State, it is not perceived how far the conduct you propose to adopt can find a parallel in the history of any country or reconcile with any other purpose of your government than that of imposing on this State the condition of a conquered province.

[Signed] F. W. PICKENS,
Governor of South Carolina.

SECOND COMMUNICATION FROM MAJOR ANDERSON.

FORT SUMTER, Jan. 9, 1861.

To His Excellency Governor Pickens:

Sir—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and to say that under the circumstances I have deemed it proper to refer the whole matter to my Government, and intend deferring the course indicated in my note of this morning, until the arrival from Washington of the instructions I may receive.

I have the honor also to express the hope that no obstructions will be placed in my way, and that you will do me the favor of giving every facility for the departure and return of the bearer, Lieut. T. Talbot, who is directed to make the journey to Washington.

Signed, R. ANDERSON.

Governor Pickens immediately granted the permission desired, and directed that every facility and courtesy be extended to the bearer of despatches, (Lieut. Talbot) for his Government, going and returning.

Lieut. T. Talbott left Charleston late last night, with despatches from Major Anderson, to the President. He goes to Washington for instructions from the President.

A party of gentlemen entertained him at the Charleston Hotel, before he left.

The affair produced some excitement here, but all is now tranquil.

[NOTE.—Some doubt having been entertained of the authenticity of the despatch received at New York, purporting to be from the Captain of the Star of the West, to the effect that he had safely entered Charleston harbor, on enquiry, was sent to the agent of the Associated Press, at Charleston, who replied as follows:

CHARLESTON, Jan. 10—4 P. M.—The despatch is false. What you have received from here, in reference to the affair, is strictly reliable.]

Further and Exciting News from Charleston

CHARLESTON, Jan. 10, P. M.—The despatches received here that the U.S. sloop-of-war Brooklyn is coming here with an armed force has created an intense excitement.

Great preparations are making in the harbor, for active warfare. A large steamer called the Marion, of the Charleston and New York line, has been purchased by South Carolina, and ordered to be razeed for a man-of-war. Her upper cabins to be taken off and armament supplied. The buoys in the harbor have been removed.

The Brooklyn will, no doubt, be fired into, when she makes her appearance, and it is expected that Fort Sumter will open the South Carolina fortifications, when the fight will become general.

The people are preparing for it, and for the worst. It is evident, from the present determined, hostile attitude of the people, that the Brooklyn can't come in, without a great fight.

Major Anderson will doubtless protect her with the guns of Fort Sumter. He only pledged himself not to prevent communication between the authorities of South Carolina and the forts now in possession of the State, till Lt. Talbott came back.

A steam tug called the "Aid," Lieut. Hamilton, formerly of the Federal Navy, commanding, left the wharf to-night for a reconnoitre. She mounted one gun.

There is much talk of sending to Savannah for steam-tugs, to be used as gun boats.

Seizure of Forts Johnson and Caswell.

WILMINGTON, N. C., Jan. 10.—Forts Johnson and Caswell were taken possession of on the night of the 8th inst. by the Smithville Guard.

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE DAILY EXCHANGE.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—The Mississippi delegation has received official information from the President of the State Convention of Secession, that that State will withdraw to-day. Senator Davis announced the fact in the Senate and withdrew. Alabama goes out of the Union to-day. Major Anderson's brother is now here, and says that the Major did not wish reinforcements, being satisfied of his ability to hold Fort Sumter with his present force.

[SECOND DESPATCH.]

It is understood the Brooklyn has gone to Charleston to convey the Star of the West into the harbor. If fired upon the Brooklyn will return the fire, as also Fort Sumter. This was determined upon a week ago. The President got Charleston news last night, and there is a Cabinet council to-day. The Georgia and other Southern Senators are telegraphing home for reinforcements for South Carolina. Republicans say to-day that no compromise is now possible.

FROM OUR WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.

Very little hope of the salvation of the Union, prevails here to day, even amongst those who have heretofore been most sanguine. The news from Charleston, from Mississippi, North Carolina and elsewhere, is all to the effect that the Southern States are thoroughly in earnest, and are rapidly perfecting a compact organization. The seizure of the forts and arsenals is part of a regular plan determined upon after the consultation of each State with the other, and will be, it is said, effectually carried out. It was not intended for some time at least, to attempt the capture of Fort Sumter, but the position of affairs in Charleston harbor will probably necessitate an immediate effort in that direction. The Virginia forts are marked for capture, and a rumor reached here this evening by the Southern boat, that Gov. Letcher had despatched a large body of troops to Harper's Ferry.

The Cabinet had an anxious sittting to day upon the condition of affairs. Hon. Jno. A. Dix, it is understood, will take Mr. Thompson's place as Secretary of the Interior.

The Committee of Thirty-three did not sit to-day, owing to the sickness of Mr. Corwin. If he is well enough, they will meet to morrow at 10 A. M. and either agree to report measures already adopted or the fact that they can do nothing. What has been done is satisfactory to neither section, and the members of the Committee anticipate that the House will vote their action down, if they make a report. The events about Charleston have rendered the Republicans obstinate, and they say they will yield nothing under menace. Active measures are said to have been resolved upon by the Government for the defence of the forts at Old Point Comfort. The secession of Virginia is said by gentlemen from Richmond to be a foregone conclusion. The withholding of the Force bill by the Judiciary Committee is in pursuance of the action of the Republican caucus on the subject.

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi, took formal leave of the Senate to-day, in a speech in which he bitterly assailed the President. It is expected that the Mississippi delegation in the House will send in a letter to-morrow, announcing their withdrawal.

The brother of Major Anderson, who is now here, having just returned from Charleston, states that he was most kindly treated by the people and authorities, that he was subjected to no surveillance, entertained handsomely, all his hotel bills paid and free tickets on the Southern railroads furnished him. He told the President he might exterminate, but could never subdue the Carolinians.

The House Committee on Printing had a meeting yesterday, when Superintendent Hart laid before them a detailed statement of the actual cost of the office which he had bought for the Government, from which it appeared that not less than $200,000 was expended for the office, while the Government obtains it for $135,000. The Committee are therefore of the opinion that the purchase was a very favorable one to the Government.

OBSERVER.

VIRGINIA LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS—CONSERVATIVE PROPOSITIONS.

RICHMOND, Va., Jan. 10.—The Governor communicated to the Legislature to-day a despatch from the Mississippi Convention stating that Mississippi, by a nearly unanimous vote, has seceded unconditionally from the Union and desired, on the basis of the old federal constitution to form a new Union with seceding States.

In the Senate, Mr. Catcher's joint resolution deprecating a display of military force in the South, was taken up.

Mr. Thomas offered a substitute recommending that Congress repeal or suspend all the laws constituting ports of entry, &c., and that the President abstain from the exercise of powers calculated to jeopard the peace and quiet of the country, in the present excited condition of affairs.—Tabled, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Stuart offered a resolution requesting the Governor, in case he be satisfied that it is the purpose of any citizens of Virginia to engage in any such lawless enterprises as the seizure of Federal property or the invasion of the District of Columbia, etc., to employ all the power with which he is invested to prevent such designs from being carried into effect. Laid on the table and ordered to be printed.

A bill was reported providing for the calling of a State Convention.

The following was passed by the House:

Resolved, In view of the imminent dangers of civil war, this assembly, in behalf of the Commonwealth of Virginia, ask respectively, on one hand, of the President, and on the other of the authorities of each of the Southern States, to the end, if possible, that peace may be preserved, that they respectively and reciprocally communicate assurances in response. Also that the *status quo* of all movements tending to occasion collision, and concerning the forts and arsenals of the nation shall on either hand be strictly maintained for the present, except to repel an actual aggressive attempt.

Resolved, That the Governor communicate by telegraph, immediately, these resolutions to the President of the United States, and the Governors of the various Southern States.

The news from South Carolina in reference to the Star of the West was received and read, amid loud cheers. One or two arrests were made by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

The Convention Bill was debated but no action taken.

The city is much excited.

THE NEWS FROM CHARLESTON CONFIRMED—GENERAL DIX OFFERED THE POSITION OF SECRETARY OF WAR.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10.—Private despatches received here from distinguished sources in Charleston, confirm the telegraphic accounts of the Associated Press, of the late events that have transpired in the neighborhood of Charleston.

General Dix, formerly United States Senator and the present Postmaster of New York, is here and had an interview with the President to day.—It is understood that he can have the position of Secretary of War, if he will accept.

It is not true, as stated in some of the newspapers, that Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, assents to the compromise agreed to by the Border State Committee.

The House Select Committee on the President's Special Message, consists of Messrs. Howard, of Michigan; Branch, of North Carolina; Dawes, of Massachusetts; John Cochrane, of New York; and Hickman, of Pennsylvania.

The Republicans are to meet in caucus on Saturday night, when the Border State Committee's propositions will come up for consideration.

MEETING OF THE NATIONAL VOLUNTEERS AT WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 10—Midnight.—The National Volunteers held a meeting here to-night, at which several hundred persons were present, for the purpose of perfecting and extending their military organization. One of the resolutions adopted by the meeting was as follows:

Resolved, That we will act, in the event of the withdrawal of Maryland and Virginia from the Union, in such a manner as shall best secure ourselves and those States from the evils of a foreign and hostile Government within and *near their borders*.

THE SECESSION OF MISSISSIPPI.

JACKSON, Jan. 9—P. M.—Efforts were made in Convention to postpone action, but all such propositions were voted down. There were fifteen opposing votes, but the parties thus voting, will sign the ordinance to-morrow, making the action of the State unanimous.

There is a grand display of fireworks at the Capitol, in honor of the event, and the excitement is intense.

THE ALABAMA CONVENTION.

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 9.—The Convention met at 11 A.M., and continued in secret session till 12 M., when the doors were thrown open.

Mr. Yancey moved the appointment of a standing committee of seven each on printing, enrolment and credentials. Adopted.

Mr. Bulger offered a preamble and resolutions, to the purport that, as the anti-slavery agitation persisted in for years, and the late election of a President by the anti-slavery party, had rendered slave property insecure, that this Convention assembled consider and determine what the interests and honor of Alabama demand.

Resolved, That separate State action would be unwise and impolitic on the part of this Convention.

Resolved, That Alabama should invite all the Southern States to a convention, to be held as early as practicable, which shall consider and agree upon a statement of grievances, and the manner of obtaining redress, whether in the Union or by independence out of it.

Mr. Bulger asked their reference to the committee of thirteen raised yesterday, which was done.

Mr. Baker offered a resolution, requesting the Governor to furnish the Convention information as to the number of arms and their character and description prepared, and the price for each description, the amount of funds expended, and the expenses attending the same; how many are on hand and how distributed, and what other arms are under his control.

Mr. Jamison moved to amend by requesting the Governor to communicate how many companies or soldiers have been offered and accepted by him, and for what purposes accepted.

Mr. Morgan thought the information was of a nature that requires to be communicated in secret session.

Mr. Coleman moved still further to amend so that the information be given only in secret session. Accepted.

Mr. Yancey moved also to amend by asking information in regard to the amount of ordnance and ammunition owned by the State, what property belonging to the United States was within the State of Alabama, and what property was found at Mount Vernon and Fort Morgan. Accepted.

Mr. Jamison's resolution was thus adopted.

Mr. Baker offered a resolution that the State Treasurer be requested to furnish information in regard to the amount of money and other available assets in the treasury not otherwise appropriated. Adopted.

Mr. Coleman offered the following resolution:

Resolved, By the people of Alabama, that all powers of this State are hereby pledged to resist any attempt on the part of the general government to coerce any of the seceding States.

Mr. Davis, of Madison, moved a reference to the committee of thirteen raised yesterday.

Mr. Watts moved to refer it to the committee of five raised in secret session yesterday.

Without any decision the Convention adjourned till to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock.

Capt. Randolph, of the navy, resigned yesterday, and immediately tendered his services to the Governor of Alabama.

A number of editors and compositors are in the companies that have gone to Pensacola to capture the fort there.

[SECOND DESPATCH.]

PROBABILITY OF THE IMMEDIATE PASSAGE OF THE SECESSION ORDINANCE.

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 10.—It is understood that the Committee of Thirteen reported an ordinance of secession to the Convention, in secret session, this morning, that it will be debated and perhaps adopted to-day. It is also understood that a minority report will be presented. The majority report is for prompt secession, and requests a convention of delegates from all Southern States, to be held at Montgomery early in February. It is believed that the majority report will be adopted by about twenty majority. Some of the prominent co-operationists will, in the event of secession, take a prominent stand in defence of the position which the State assumes.

It is reported here, on what is deemed reliable authority, that Florida will pass a secession ordinance to day.

SALUTE IN HONOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

AUGUSTA, Jan. 10.—A salute of one hundred guns was fired here to-day in honor of the passage of the ordinance of secession of Mississippi.

[Later.]

NO SECESSION YET—GEORGIA MILITARY FOR MOBILE.

AUGUSTA, Jan. 10.—Advices from Montgomery say the Alabama Convention has been in secret session all day, and adjourned till 10 o'clock to-morrow. No ordinance of secession has been passed yet. The subject was freely discussed and it is almost certain the ordinance will be passed to-morrow.

Two companies of military left here this afternoon for Mobile.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AT NEW ORLEANS—MILITARY EXPEDITIONS GONE TO SEIZE FORTS JACKSON AND PIKE AND BATON ROUGE ARSENAL.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 10.—The revolutionary spirit against the Government is rife here. Within the last 24 hours, three military expeditions have left this city for the purpose of seizing Forts Jackson and Pike and the Baton Rouge Arsenal.

THE VOICE OF KENTUCKY.

The following is the position taken by the Louisville *Journal* of the 8th instant. It will appeal very strongly to the sentiments of the people of Maryland:

A mighty republic is at this moment reeling upon the brink of destruction. The wild and ultra portions of the North and South are in the delirium of fever and know not what they are doing. The miasm of forty years slanders and sectional misrepresentation has filled and corrupted the life blood of the nation. If blood must be shed to allay this fever, no bleeding will be effectual which does no bring the patient to the very verge of death. Timely pacification or universal ruin and desolation is the alternative before us.

But who can command the peace, and whose word will be heeded while the rifle and the bayonet are passing into the hands of angry men? Let Kentucky speak, and she will be heard respectfully, alike by the North and the South. Now, as in 1832, it devolves upon Kentucky to shield the people of South Carolina from the penalty which they have madly provoked, and thereby save the nation from the utter desolation of civil war. Deserted by some of her sister States in the hour of peril, Kentucky must cover their retreat, and thus protect both North and South from calamities which transcend all calculation. She must say in tones of thunder that war *shall not* be declared between the conservatives who would save the Union, and the secessionists who are endeavoring all rashly and unwisely to preserve their independence from apprehended dangers.

More especially should Kentucky address the border States, which are the most deeply interested in the question of peace or war. To Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, dissolution along the line involves civil war and desolation. To New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, there is nothing but ruin in the prospect of such a dissolution—wide-spread and total financial ruin—wholesale slaughter and endless debts to crush their progress for the remainder of the century.

If these twelve States—the heart and body of the Union—are faithful, patriotic and firm, why should they allow themselves to be involved in the warlike excitement of the extreme North and South?

Should they not at once come to a full understanding with each other, review and perfect the compromises of the Union in friendly discussion, and resolve that come what may, the Union, so far as they are concerned, shall not be broken, or weakened—but that if the centrifugal force shall carry off the *outside States*, the great central body shall stand in adamantine strength and extend the olive branch in either hand to the separated fragments of the Union?

We say then that the great duty of Kentuckians to-day, while our sister States of the South are probably flying from the field and leaving the border States alone, is to send forth words of kindly greeting along the border line to all who are willing to stand by the Constitution, and assure our sister States that Kentucky will never forget the words "United we stand."

NORTH CAROLINA.

[*From the Wilmington Herald, Jan. 9.*]

The bill for arming the State, which had already passed the Senate, passed the House and became a law yesterday. It appropriates $300,000 for the purpose. We wish the amount was one million.

The Convention Bill was made the special order for to-day at 12 o'clock in each House. We have little doubt of its passage with the enacting clause amended, so as to read "two-thirds of all the members of each House concurring." It is certainly the desire of the people of the State to have a Convention, and they will have one. North Carolina intends to express an opinion, of some sort, upon the questions which have divided the country, and we believe it will be a weighty one, and about right.

The North Carolina Legislature re-assembled on Monday after the Christmas recess. We have not seen many of the members, but from those we have seen we learn that their constituents are strong for the Union, while at the same time many desire a Convention to be called constitutionally, and after due time has been given to the people to choose the proper men to compose the Convention. The people wish to take this subject out of the hands and control of the politicians of the Legislature, and if a Convention is called it will be composed of a majority of men in favor of the Union, with additional constitutional guarantees.—*Raleigh Register.*

EDWARD EVERETT AND THE UNION.

BOSTON, Jan. 9.—At Music Hall to-night Mr. Everett said:—"I hope and trust that the close of the year may find us still in unimpaired possession of this glorious heritage, the Union and the constitution, the legacy of our fathers, still free, prosperous and united."

THE TROOPS FROM FORT LEAVENWORTH.

CHICAGO, Jan. 9.—The U. S. Light Artillery from Fort Leavenworth, *en route* for Fort McHenry, Baltimore, passed through this evening, going by way of Pittsburg. The force consists of 210 men.

THE FORTS IN LOUISIANA AND ALABAMA.

The Mobile *Register*, of the 5th, states that the Governors of Alabama and Louisiana have been in communication with each other, and that they have come to an understanding in reference to the Federal Forts. The seizure of the Alabama Forts has already taken place.

ARMY AND NAVY INTELLIGENCE.

In compliance with orders from the War Department, 150 army troops left the barracks at Newport, Ky., on Monday morning for Jefferson City Mo., where they are to take charge of United States Government property. These men are stated to be in the highest state of efficiency, and provided with necessaries for some months.

Army and naval troops are concentrating rapidly at Washington. A detachment of marines arrived there on Sunday morning, and were transferred to quarters at once. Yesterday 170 soldiers left Fort Monroe for the same place, and have doubtless arrived there by this time.

The preparations of the storeship Relief are nearly complete, and in a few days she will be ready to take her departure. A large cargo of provisions, stores, and other naval necessaries will be put on board.

The troops that left Governor's Island on Saturday consist chiefly of of infantry, with some artillerists.

The United States sloop-of-war Savannah, which arrived here from the home squadron some time since, has just been stripped at the Brooklyn Navy-Yard, and, after a careful survey, her exact condition has been reported to Washington. There are no orders whatever to have her fitted out for sea at present.

Capt. Taylor, one of the officers in command of the marines at this station, yesterday received orders from headquarters to repair at once to Washington, in compliance with which he immediately left the city. It is believed that he is to be placed in command of a troop at Washington, and despatched to a Southern post.—*N. Y. World.*

ARRIVAL OF TROOPS AT HARPER'S FERRY.—The train which arrived here yesterday morning from the east, brought up the company of Cavalry to take charge of Harper's Ferry. The train approached the Ferry very cautiously, as many anticipated a collision with the people. On the contrary the troops were received with friendly greetings and loud cheering. Indeed we hardly believe that any serious hindrance was ever intended to be put in the way of the troops by the people of the town. It was one of the excitements peculiar to these exciting times and the sober second thought was all that was required. This company of Cavalry, as before stated, is from Carlisle Barracks, Pa., and is described as being composed of as fine a looking set of men as ever shouldered muskets.—*Wheeling Intelligencer, Jan. 8.*

The Fall River *Journal* states that the long pending boundary dispute between Rhode Island and Massachusetts has been settled by the acceptance of a conventional line adopted by the Rhode Island Assembly, which was confirmed on Thursday by the Massachusetts Council, and approved by Gov. Banks.

Certain parties belonging to the New York city military, on Wednesday evening held a meeting at the Mercer House, and took the initiatory steps for the formation of a regiment, to be called the "Union Volunteers," pledged to defend the Union, and if necessary volunteer their services in its support.