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SPEECH OF HON. G. W. DOUGLAS, ATTENSEIER, TOOK DISTRICT, S. C., SEPTEMBER 26, 1859.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I think the South is threatened with a great and near approaching danger—the dissolution of the Southern sectional party. Our paramount policy is, therefore, to prevent the occurrence of this danger if possible; and if it cannot be prevented, to take such steps as that it may occur under such circumstances as will place the most efficient fly to avert our independence, the only measure of redress that will then be left us. In other words, the imminent danger which threatens us is the election of a Black-Republican President in 1860. Of paramount policy, he which every king should be subordinated, is to prevent such an election if we can; and if we cannot, to prove that it taken place under such I state as will insure the greatest unanimity of the South in such measures as may be necessary then to be taken.

In the convention which framed the Federal Constitut on, the greatest difficulty which occurred was in arranging the basis of representation in the two houses of Congress. The large States urged a representation both in the House of Representatives and in the Senate, based on population; while the small States sterrly objected, and, on the contrary, earnestly insisted that the representation in both Houses should be based on State sovereignty, so that each State should have an equal voice in both Houses. This controversy threatened the disruption of the convention, and was only adjusted by a compromise by which the House of Representatives was constituted on the basis demanded by the large States, and the Senate on the basis demanded by the small States. The ground of the controversy was the apprehension, on the part of the small States, that the large States would combine together and oppress the small States. Very few persons had the sagacity to see at that early day, that the real collision would be, not between the large and the small States, but between northern and southern States. Experience soon demonstrated that the apprehension of the small States, from the combination of the large States, was groundless. But the safeguards which the small States had adopted in the organization of the Senate, though it proved unnecessary for the purpose for which it was intended, became of great importance in another point of view—as a bulwark to the South. From the period when the government to 1847 the South had at least an equality in the Senate, so that the federal Government could take no step to which the South was unanimously opposed. Whatever was done then by the federal Government prior to 1847, to which objection may be taken, was done with the approbation of at least a portion of the South.

The existence of this check in the Senate was of incalculable advantage; while it gave the South security, it prevented on the part of the North moderation. It was therefore a great misfortune to the country when the increase of free States destroyed the equilibrium of the South in the Senate. It rendered it in practical bearings, having regard to the political relations occupied by the North and the South to each other, it was a veritable revolution. A Constitutional Convention framed the government of checks and balances; it was practically a naked democracy. The North had only to unite in taking possession of the Government as if it had organized it, and the South struck out of existence. It is the strong probability of the Northern States combining together in a sectional organization and thus taking possession of the federal government, which has induced me to believe that the Union could not be of long continuance. We know that nothing is more easy than to organize the mind to assume power, whether the invitation be addressed to one or many. In the case of the free States, besides all the usual inducements to power, a powerful motive was present in addition to stimulate ambition. While therefore I have appreciated and expected that conservative and patriotic ideas in the free States, who have heretofore kept themselves to the march of sectionalism, I have thought their defeat was only a question of time.

The New England States have already become sectionalized; that is to say, it would be impossible, but for the influence of the Middle and North-western States. But these States are gradually yielding to the sectional impulse, and cannot be relied upon with certainty in the future. The best hope of a conservative influence from any portion of the free States, comes, I think, from the States on the Pacific. For obvious and natural reasons these States have maintained and are likely to maintain a conservative position in the Union. The increase of free States on the Pacific is the best hope for the maintenance of a Constitutional Union. They are attracted to the South by the great interest of free trade. The claimed a protective tariff will ever be in direct opposition to the interest of the Pacific than it ever was upon the shores of the Gulf of Mexico. The magnificent commerce of the gorgeous East glitters before the eyes of the Americans of the Pacific, and they are anxious likely to harness themselves to the yoke of the New England manufacturers. The influences which are to be looked for from the Pacific States. The danger is that they may not come in sufficient strength to be effectual.

The 15th step of the free States to a sectional organization was not long in being manifest after the equilibrium of the two sections had been destroyed in the Senate. The candidate of the Democracy in the Presidential election of 1852, Mr. Pillmor and Mr. Webster were at variance in the Whig nominating convention because they had run counter to the free soil sentiment, and Gen. Scott, who was acceptable to Mr. Seward, received the nomination. By the next Presidential election the sectionalism of the free States had become rampant. The repeal of the Missouri restriction furnished the pretext, and the Republican party, a purely northern and sectional party, came very near electing their candidate. The alleged motive of the Republican organization was to secure freedom to Kansas, which they insisted had been declared to freedom by a solemn compact, and it might be supposed that the Republican organization would die out. But this is not the case. The organization is kept up in full vigor. The statement that this is an accidental or temporary party, but that it is permanent, and already embraces one of the political elements in the free States. I consider this the most striking indication of the sectionalism of the North. Not satisfied with success upon the principle issue upon which they joined themselves to the organization—the emancipation