Daily Appeal.

MEMPHIS.

THURSDAY, JULY 19, 1860

Reading Matter on Every Page.

Largest Circulation in the City

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC TICKET.

FOR PRESIDENT,

S. A. DOUGLAS,

OF ILLINOIS.

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT,

H. V. JOHNSON,

OF GEORGIA.

SEE FIRST AND FOURTH PAGES.

DISSOLUTION.

I have this day disposed of my interest in the APPEAL newspaper establishment to my partner, Col. B. F. DILL. I most respectfully commend my successors, MESSRS. MCCLANAHAN & DILL, to the friends and patrons of the paper. LEON. TROUSDALE.

JULY 17, 1860.

We have this day formed a partnership, under the style of MCCLANAHAN & DILL, to carry on the APPEAL newspaper business. We will collect the debts of MCCLANAHAN, TROUSDALE & DILL, and discharge their liabilities. Having carried on and conducted the business in conjunction with our late partner, we trust no guarantee are needed of giving continued satisfaction, and we respectfully solicit the same generous patronage that has heretofore so liberally sustained us.

MCCLANAHAN & DILL.

JULY 17, 1860.

DEMOCRATIC MEETING ON THE FIRST MONDAY IN AUGUST.

The Democracy of Fayette county, favorable to DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, are requested to meet in Somerville on the 1st Monday in August, for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, and for the purpose of organization. By that time the electoral ticket for DOUGLAS and JOHNSON in this State will be complete.

DEMOCRATIC MEETING IN TIPTON COUNTY.

The regular Democracy of Tipton county propose holding a DOUGLAS and JOHNSON ratification meeting in Covington on Saturday next, the 21st inst. All persons friendly to the movement are respectfully invited to attend. A friend writing us on the subject, says that the national Democracy of Tipton are thoroughly aroused, and that two-thirds of the Democracy of the county will vote the DOUGLAS and JOHNSON ticket. Let the ball roll on.

DOUGLAS RATIFICATION MEETING

At Pine Bluff, Arkansas, on Tuesday, the 24th inst., the Democrats of Jefferson county, and the neighboring counties, are requested to attend a ratification meeting at Pine Bluff, Arkansas, on the 24th inst.

Several distinguished speakers are expected. Thompson R. Flournoy and the Hon. A. Rust are invited. Come one—come all!

W. P. GRACE,
F. MCNAIR,
J. H. HAWLEY.

Pine Bluff, July 11th, 1860.

DEMOCRATIC MEETING AT LOUXAHOMA, MISS.

There will be a mass meeting of the Democracy of Louxahoma beat, DeSoto county, Miss., on Monday, the 23d inst., for the purpose of ratifying the nomination of DOUGLAS and JOHNSON, the nominees of the national Democracy. Also to appoint delegates to a county convention, which we suggest be held in Hernando on the first Monday (6th day) in August next. We would further suggest that our political friends throughout the county hold primary meetings in their several beats and appoint delegates to meet in convention at Hernando, where we will take steps for the establishment of an electoral ticket.

WM. L. POTTER, E. CARTER,
JAMES GARRETT, S. F. LOWRANCE,
WM. T. COX, ALFRED MCKINNY,
S. R. STEPHENS, D. M. EVANS.

LOUXAHOMA, July 14, 1860.

CAMPAIGN APPEAL.

We have frequent applications to know the terms upon which we propose to furnish the weekly APPEAL during the campaign. We take this method of responding to all inquiries.

The campaign paper will end the 15th of November, and we propose supplying the paper for three cents per copy. Any person wishing the paper, therefore, his only to count the number of weeks intervening between the time of subscribing and the 15th of November, multiplying by three, and he will have the price required for the time. For instance, if, at the time of subscribing, twelve weeks of the campaign shall remain, the price will be thirty-six cents, which is three times twelve.

This is as low as we can afford the paper, and the rule we have given will enable every man to determine the price for the time he wishes to subscribe. Clubs are solicited at these rates. Let the truth be disseminated throughout the country, and we feel assured that the people will do right.

FLOTS OF DISUNION--A CAMPAIGN DOCUMENT.

We publish in our paper this morning, from the Nashville *Patriot*, a document which cannot fail to arrest the attention of every true lover of the country and of the Union. We desire to say, however, in advance, that there are many points as well as terms of phraseology in the editorial remarks of the *Patriot*, to which we enter our emphatic dissent. Having been ourselves, all our lives, strict State'rights men, we cannot approve, even from what quarter they may, of slurs and disparaging remarks cast upon that hitherto patriotic and loyal organization.

Aside from those remarks of the *Patriot* to which we have alluded, the document we publish cannot fail to have a telling effect upon every thinking mind. It foreshadows in the clearest manner possible, evil and traitorous schemes of those who control ed and led the holding movements at Charleston and Baltimore. The preconcerted plans have been carried out to the letter, and reveal clearly the objects and designs of those who have led in the movement. Let no patriot fail to read and ponder the article.

TO THE PATRONS OF THE APPEAL.

After eighteen years' connectication with the readers of the APPEAL, as one of its editors, it has fallen to my lot to retire from the position. In doing so, my heart is filled with emotion. I am conscious that I have often erred, but my errors have met with that indulgence which could only spring from the greatest generosity. In this great, beautiful and prospering city, around which my heart's best affections cluster, I have been so fortunate as to find a host of true, well-tried and fast friends, through whose partiality I have been sustained in the arduous career that has been presented to me. My tender recollections shall ever linger around the scene where their friendship was formed, and my highest aspiration shall be to merit and retain their regard.

In withdrawing from the post which I have held, it is due to myself, as well as to my respected colleagues, to announce, that I have not been responsible for the conduct and policy of the APPEAL for several weeks past. The unfortunate disruption which has divided and sundered a once harmonious and united party, and which presents the melancholy spectacle of a dismemberment of the great Democratic family, has extended into our ranks and created the imperative necessity for a separation. While my colleagues, who now control the policy of the paper, yield their support to Judge DOUGLAS, who has ever been their favorite, I feel it incumbent on me to raise a hearty and decided voice in favor of Kentucky's gifted young statesman, JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE, who, it is well known to many, I have heretofore designated as my first choice as the nominee of the Democratic party for the presidency. It is my purpose soon to place myself in another field where I shall have occasion more fully to explain my sentiments. For the present I forbear, with the remark, that the difference to which I refer had its germ many months back, but I had fondly indulged the hope that it would be healed by a united and harmonious nomination, when I had determined to sustain it with zeal and cordiality, whether it had been one or the other of the distinguished aspirants. I will make another observation which candor requires of me. Although I had not absolutely determined on the change which I am now about to consummate, yet I had contemplated it without reference to the difference which has (I trust temporarily) separated my colleagues and myself, negotiations to that end being in progress since the middle of May. *S.*

It is, however, a source of much gratification to me that I part with both my colleagues, cherishing for them a personal friendship that has been strengthened by years, and that will be increased and cherished to the end of my life—a friendship that no political differences can diminish, and no separation can impair. After a close and cordial intimacy of years, I cheerfully transfer to their sole guidance the journal in whose conduct I have heretofore been associated with them; and while I regret sincerely that fate has ordained for us separate paths, I feel abundantly assured from past experience and intimate acquaintance with their principles, that no dishonorable or unfair act will ever stain the proud escutcheon of the APPEAL.

With my brethren of the city Press and the Press generally, one and all, I desire to part as friends. I have endeavored to observe the editorial courtesy, decorum and respect in discussing men and measures. If I have, at any time, failed in this, it is a fit occasion for me to say, which I can do conscientiously, and without any loss of self-respect, what I have always felt, that I have never designed to wound the sensibilities, or to disparage the just position of any. For the multiplied kindnesses and favors which I have received from the editorial fraternity, I have a heart full of gratitude, which will ever stimulate me to deserve their respect and so shape my future course that I may demonstrate how high an estimate I place upon their respect and friendship.

But I must say the parting word—to my associates—to my brethren of the press—to the great and noisy and erring public, whom I have ever, however, found too indulgent, and whom I have daily addressed for eight long years—before the Grimalkin wire—the Italian war—the great crisis—the accession of the third NAPOLEON, and the inauguration of PEACE—an age of events to the world—to our beloved country and to our beautiful city, which had not seven miles of railroads and not more than fifteen thousand inhabitants at the period referred to. Who can say that, within this time, the world, the nation and our city have made no progress? From this beloved city I depart, with the fervent wish that HEAVEN'S best blessing may rest upon it, and that it may hereafter advance in science, art, moral elevation and religion in the same proportion that it is now progressing in physical prosperity.

It will be seen, from the business announcement, that I have disposed of my interest in the APPEAL to my associate and friend, Col. B. F. DILL. I particularly commend him, as well as my distinguished and valued late senior associate, Col. MCCLANAHAN, to the continued regards of our old patrons, as well as to the favorable consideration of such new friends as may enroll themselves among its supporters. Although it is supererogation so to speak, yet I cannot refrain from offering this public testimonial of my high personal esteem. LEON. TROUSDALE.

From the foregoing it will appear that for reasons given, an association of some eight years duration has been severed. The occasion justifies us in the indulgence of a few remarks, bearing upon the regrets we feel at the severance. The association has been one of long duration and marked by an uninterrupted cordiality and the kindest intercourse, and we can but give expression of the sorrow we feel in severing our business and intimate social relations with one for whom we have so high esteem. In parting with us, Mr. TROUSDALE carries with him to his new home and in his new field of labors, our best wishes for his future prosperity, health and happiness.

JOHN R. MCCLANAHAN,
BENJ. F. DILL.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT IN MISSISSIPPI.

Our paper this morning shows several calls for meetings in the northern counties of our sister State, having for their object the formation of an electoral ticket for DOUGLAS and JOHNSON in that State. Among the number is one to be held at Holly Springs on the 21st inst., to which we acknowledge the compliment of an invitation. The gentlemen whose names are signed to the call, are good and true Democrats, who are determined not to be silent or inactive when the condition of the country so imperatively demands a pledge and expression of allegiance to it. All we ask is that they shall not weary in well-doing. The following is the letter of invitation:

HOLLY SPRINGS, MISS., July 17, 1860.

EDITORS APPEAL: The ever living and invincible Democracy, the true friends of the Union and the maintenance of constitutional liberty, will hold a grand mass meeting at Holly Springs on Monday, the 30th day of July, to ratify the nomination of Stephen A. Douglas and Hershel V. Johnson, candidates of the national Democratic convention for President and Vice-President of the United States, and also for the purpose of appointing delegates to the State convention, to nominate an electoral ticket.

We, a portion of your friends of Marshall county, knowing your devotion to the Union and the cause of constitutional equality, most earnestly request your presence and address on the occasion. Our cause is just and only requires proper effort to enlist the people with us. We hope you will promptly accept, so that due notice may be given of it.

Very truly your friends,

J. H. R. Taylor, Jno. Record, J. C. Atkinson, E. J. Brackin, Isaac Wheatley, John Ballew, H. Overton, John H. Miller, Andrew Craddock, John A. Sale, T. L. Prewett, John W. Sale, F. M. Gilliian, J. C. Warren, Daniel Moseley, John P. Pryor, James Arbuckle, Oliver Balfour, Wm. Seal, J. Walker, and others, committee of invitation.

GRAND DEMOCRATIC RALLY AT OXFORD, MISS.

In pursuance of the following call, the true national Democracy of Lafayette county, Miss., are invited to meet at Oxford on Saturday next:

DEMOCRATIC MEETING AT OXFORD, SATURDAY, July 21st, 1860.—To ratify the nomination of Douglas and Johnson, the nominees of the national Democratic convention, for President and Vice-President, and to appoint delegates to a State convention to nominate an electoral ticket for the State of Mississippi. After the national Democratic convention at Baltimore had made its nominations, a portion of the delegates of said convention seceded and nominated Breckinridge and Lane. Now, two important questions are presented for the consideration of every Democrat: 1st. Are you in favor of abandoning the ancient usages of the Democratic party in holding conventions, and support the decision of that convention? 2d. Are you in favor of abandoning the doctrine of non-intervention by Congress on the subject of slavery in the Territories, thereby throwing the agitation of the slavery question in Congress?

Douglas and Johnson are in favor of sustaining the ancient usages of the Democratic party in convention, and in favor of non-intervention by Congress on the subject of slavery in the Territories.

Come in from your plows and workshops. The country is in trouble, and you are the men who act matters right.

THE LITTLE GIANT CLUB.

We have published heretofore, a call from a large number of our most intelligent young men for a meeting to be held at Democratic headquarters, on Adams street, Friday evening, for the purpose of perfecting the organization of the Little Giant club. The proposition to effect such an organization has been received with very general favor, and the call will be responded to with a degree of enthusiasm rarely witnessed in times of political excitement. The friends of DOUGLAS are contending for principles—sacred and time-honored—and it is the part of patriotism to enter the contest with a hearty good will. Let every young man friendly to the election of the "Little Giant" be present at the meeting tomorrow evening.

THE DEMOCRACY MOVING.

We publish this morning the proceedings of the national Democracy of Bradley county, in East Tennessee. Our accounts from that section of the State are quite flattering, and our friends there promise to rival the West in sustaining the time-honored principles and usages of the party. We bid them God speed, and hope they will keep the ball in motion.

Ex-Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, for Douglas and Johnson.

The Cincinnati *Enquirer* says: "Ex-Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, the leader of that gallant band of old-line Whigs who saved the State to the Democracy in 1856, now favors the election of Douglas and Johnson."

The Reign of Terror.

Mr. DUNN, United States Weigher in the New York Custom House, has been removed. He is a victim of the DOUGLAS epidemic.

☞ The Louisville *Democrat* of the 15th, says:

An effort was made to induce our German citizens to join in the disunion movement last night, but it was an ox. They are, to a man almost, for the Little Giant.

The same is the case with our German citizens of Memphis.

THE CONSPIRACY TO BREAK UP THE UNION.

THE PLOT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT.

Irrefragible Proof of A Deliberate and Settled Purpose to Revolutionize the Government

WHO ARE THE SUPPORTERS OF BRECKINRIDGE AND LANE?

Let the Masses Read and Ponder.

From the Nashville Patriot.]

The first serious attempt to dissolve the Union and revolutionize the Government of this Republic was made by the State of South Carolina in 1832-3. It met with no sympathy outside of that State, and Gen Jackson, then President, gave it an effectual quietus. The advocates of secession, at that day, and in that State, were forced to retire from the unequal contest in disgrace, or surrender their position, and to address themselves to the correction of what they conceived to be evil and injustice in a constitutional way. Hence we heard but little more of secession and disunion for nearly twenty years.

In 1850-51, however, the agitation of the question of slavery growing out of the acquisition of territory from Mexico, gave rise to a state of feeling between the North and the South, which was fearfully violent. There was, before that time, a latent spirit of enmity toward the Union, lurking in the breasts of a few discontented and restless spirits—of which it is sufficient evidence to recite the course of Mr. Wm. L. Yancey in an effort to break up the Baltimore Democratic convention of 1848. The agitation of 1850 was disposed of by the series of acts passed by Congress during that year, familiarly known to the country as the "compromise measures." Upon the passage of these the small disunion faction suddenly rose to an importance which it had never attained before. In several of the Southern States, in elections following, the issue was made of submission to those measures, or dissolution of the Union. The question was discussed before the people, and every effort made to fire the public mind, to arouse the popular passions, and to bring about a violent disruption of the Government. It was at this time that Hon. Jeff. Davis, now the leading secessionist in the national legislature, declared that "he was for resistance, and would never submit to the *stain of degradation*" which those measures, in his estimation, imposed. He ran as a candidate for governor of Mississippi on that issue, and was defeated before the people. In other States similar issues were made, and the people throughout the South placed the seal of their condemnation upon the enemies of the Union at the ballot-box. While this excited feeling was at its highest pitch, a southern convention was called to convene in this city, to extend the spirit of disunion, and to make it paramount in the Southern States. It also resulted in an ignominious failure. Wherever, and in whatever shape the issue was presented to the people it was rejected with scorn and indignation.

Thus covered with defeat, baffled at every point, rejected, spurned, and driven from place and the hope of place, the disunionists retired from the contest in humiliation and shame. In 1852, they, with the same hypocritical solemnity which distinguishes their present professions of love, and admiration, and friendship for the Union, met with the Democracy in national convention, and proclaimed that the "Compromise measures" of 1850, were a just and final settlement of the slavery question. They gave their adhesion to the Union, as they now pretend to do, and declared they would shed their blood in its defense. We heard no more of injustice, aggression, and unconstitutional enactments. But now the spirit of treason and disunion is rallying once more to the land. It now has no congressional compromise as a point of attack, as a rallying cry. But the enemies of the Union, have what they imagine will serve their purpose equally as well. "They now hold that the election of a Black-Republican to the presidency, is a just cause for secession, disunion, and revolution. They have cultivated this idea for several years—not the people, for such a thing has scarcely been seriously considered by them, but the leaders. It is the inception of this idea and the means to be used to bring that contingency about, that is the purpose of the article, and to present the evidence of a preconcerted, cold-blooded, deliberate, heartless conspiracy to break up the Union of these United States. We propose to present such an array of facts, as will satisfy any candid mind that it is the purpose of certain of the leaders of the Baltimore secession movement which nominated Breckinridge for the Presidency, to overthrow and terminate the existing government of the United States.

We begin this array by citing a fact, which was disclosed for the first time in Knoxville in this State on the occasion of a Union meeting held in that city in the month of January last. Judge Bailey, who was a citizen of Georgia, until within a short time previous to that time, delivered a speech on that occasion, in which, according to the Knoxville *Whig*:

"He said, that during the presidential contest, Governor Wise had addressed letters to all the southern governors and that he one to the governor of Florida, had been shown him—in which Wise said that he had an army in readiness to *prevent Fremont from taking his seat, if elected*, and asking the co-operation of those to whom he wrote?"

Here we have the fact that it has been in contemplation from the first national struggle after the organization of the Republican party, to resist the inauguration of a member of that party as President of the United States—though he were elected fairly by the people under the sanctions and all the forms prescribed by the Federal Constitution, without impeaching any hostile demonstration, or any overt act which should justify a resort to such extremities.

We next trace the course of William L. Yancey, of Alaba, who is now the recognized leader in the secession movements in the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic conventions, which eventuated in the nomination of Mr. Beckinridge for the Presidency. Though a disorganizer in 1848 and a disunionist in 1850-51, we begin our quotations from his outgivings with the 10th of May, 1858, as it was only then that he began to prepare actively to consummate the sins which had a partial fruition at Baltimore. On that day, the Southern convention met in the city of Montgomery. At the opening of that convention, he delivered an address of welcome to the delegates, of which the subjoined is an extract:

I must be allowed, at least on my own behalf, to welcome you too, as but the faithful shadowing of that far more important body, important as you evidently will be, that if in justice and wrong shall continue to rule the hour and counsels of the dominant section of the country, must, ere long, assemble upon Southern soil for the purpose of devising some measure by which not only your industrial, but your *social and political relations shall be placed upon the basis of an INDEPENDENT SOVEREIGNTY, which will have within itself a unity of climate, a unity of soil, a unity of production and a unity of social relations; that unity which alone can be the basis of a successful and permanent government.*

At that session the chief topic of discussion in the convention was the re-opening of the American slave trade, and a general exposition of the supposed wrongs of the South. Mr. Yancey had a good opportunity of conferring with the ultraists of other Southern States, on the subject of secession and disunion, which, we are led to believe, he industriously improved. For within about a month afterward he addressed a letter to Mr. Jas. S. Slaughter, dated June 15th, 1858, which is as follows:

I hardly agree with you, that a general movement can be made that will clean out the Augean stable. If the Democracy were overthrown, it would result in giving place to a greater and hungrier swarm of flies. The remedy of the South is not in such a process. It is in a diligent organization of her true men, for prompt resistance to the next aggression. It must come, in the nature of things. National party can save us; no sectional party can do it. But if we could do as our fathers did, organize committees of safety all over the cotton States (a safety in them that we can hope for any effective movement) we shall *fire the southern heart—instruct the southern mind—give courage to each other, and AT THE PROPER MOMENT, BY OUR CONCERTED CONCERTED ACTION, WE CAN PRECIPITATE THE COTTON STATES INTO A REVOLUTION.*

The idea here been shadowed forth in the South by Mr. Ruffin—has been taken up and recommended in the *Advertiser*, under the name of "League of United Southerners," who, keeping up their old party relations on all other questions, will hold the southern issue paramount, and will influence parties, legislatures and statesmen. I have no time to enlarge, but suggest merely.

He had evidently now pretty well matured his scheme—but still held himself open to friendly suggestions. So far as the plot had gone, its diabolical excellence was never surpassed. Mr. Ruffin had agreed to it, and the Montgomery *Advertiser* had taken it up and recommended it. The masses of the people who were to second and sustain the treason, were to retain their party relations on other questions—they were to give their entire faith to their leaders, have their passions duly aroused by fiery appeals, and at "the proper moment, we (the leaders) can precipitate the cotton States into a revolution." Mr. Yancey lost no time in setting on foot the proposed organization, and to enlist the masses under his disunion and revolutionary banner. On the 10th of July following, he repaired to the country, and at Bethel church, in the county of Montgomery, delivered an address to the people who had assembled to hear him. His theme, of course, was the wrongs and oppressions of the South. At the conclusion of his speech a "League" was formed, under the following constitution as a basis of organization:

1. The members of this organization shall be known as the "*Leaguers of the South*", and our motto shall be, A SOUTHERN REPUBLIC IS OUR ONLY SAFETY.

2. There shall be primary leagues, State leagues, and a league of the Southern States.

3. Any five or more Southern citizens may form a primary league by subscribing their names to this constitution.

4. The State league shall be formed by the primary leagues within the State; and the league of the Southern States shall be formed by the Union of the State leagues.

5. Each league shall elect a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and such other officers as it may deem useful; and the officers shall hold their offices for one year, and until their successors shall have been elected.

6. As soon as it shall be ascertained that three primary leagues have been organized, the president thereof, or a majority of them, shall agree upon a time and place for the organization of a State league, and when organized it shall direct the time and place of its meetings.

7. As soon as it shall be ascertained that three States leagues have been organized, the pre ideata thereof or a majority of them shall agree upon the time and place for the organization of the league of the Southern States, and, when organized, it shall direct the time and place of its meetings.

8. Each State league may send as many representatives as it may select to the council of the league of the Southern States, but each State shall have but one vote.

10. The president of any league may call a meeting of the league over which he presides whenever he shall deem it expedient; and the State league may call a meeting of the league of the Southern States, whenever a majority of such league may deem it advisable.

11. Under this Constitution, the district of Columbia shall be considered as a part of the State of Maryland, and a Territory shall be held to be a State.

12. No league shall ever nominate a candidate for any office of profit or of honor under the Federal or any State government; *but each leaguer shall vote according to his own conscience—remembering always his duty to the South!"*

Thus was the organization set on foot among the masses, which was to "control parties, legislatures and statesmen." To what extent and how rapidly it succeeded, we have no means of knowing; but subsequent events would indicate that Mr. Yancey thought the plotshad grown to be wide and strong enough to warrant a bold attempt to sectionalize the country in the present presidential campaign. In the meantime, the revolutionary letter to Mr. Slaughter having been published in the newspapers, and being severely criticised by the Richmond *South*, Mr. Yancey wrote a letter to the editor, Mr. Roger A. Pryor, by way of defense and explanation, in the course of which he says:

It is equally true that I do not expect Virginia to take any initiative steps toward a dissolution of the Union, when that exigency shall be forced upon the South. Her position as a border State and a conservatory of southern policy (a policy which has been digested and understood and approved by the oldest men in Virginia, as you yourself must be aware) would forbid it. Her conservative influence would place by any inconsiderable number of Southern States, Virginia and the border States should remain in the Union, where, by their position and counsels, they could prove more effective friends than by moving out of the Union, and thus giving the southern confederacy a long sholtuy, hostile border to watch. In the event of the movement being successful, in time Virginia and the other border States would desired it, could join the southern confederacy, and be protected by the power of its affirmance and its diplomacy."

Here we have the important disclosure that the scheme had been submitted to, understood and approved by the oldest men in Virginia, and that Mr. Pryor was also then in the secret. In publishing this extract on the 9th of September, 1858, in the columns of the *Patriot*, we asked Mr. Pryor the question, "who are these oldest men in Virginia, who had digested, understood and approved" this well-considered southern policy?—and though we exchanged with the *South*, and doubtless it was cognizant of the question, he failed to answer. Undoubtedly Gov. Wise was one of the men referred to, as a circumstance presently to be mentioned will more fully show.

The foregoing completely demonstrates that a preconcerted, deliberately planned and organized scheme to break up the Union of the States was concocted, taking its shape from southern consultations held by men from various Southern States during the sitting of the southern convention at Montgomery, Alabama, in 1858. It also shows that William L. Yancey, the head and front of the Breckinridge party at the South, was the leading spirit in the wicked and traitorous proceeding. It also proves, beyond question, that the entire design, plot and aim vested, in its inception, on no ground other than cold-blooded enmity to the Union, and the pretense that disunion *per se*, of itself and without cause, would be of advantage to the South. But no one ever suspected Mr. Yancey of a lack of sense. He well knew that the whole conspiracy would fail, and that he and his conspirators would be overwhelmed with obscure, unless the people could be brought up to the support. The plan was all perfect except that it had no immediate pretext. He had introduced into the southern convention at Montgomery, or procured to be introduced, resolutions in favor of re-opening the African slave trade; but it was soon found that such a pretext alone would not meet the popular acceptance and approval, and that it could not be relied on to answer the purpose. Another, more directly affecting the people, was absolutely necessary. Fortunately for Mr. Yancey and his fellow-conspirators, one, supposed to be suitable in all respects, was found in the idea of congressional protection to slavery in the Territories. About the 10th of September, 1858, the New Orleans *Delta*, a well known disunion paper, cautiously sounded forward the doctrine of congressional protection.

It was shortly taken up by other journals, and in the first days of January, 1858, it was formally promulgated by the Richmond *Enquirer*. Here the finger of Gov. Wise is plainly discernible. But a short time previous he had approved the course of Mr. Douglas in his split with the Administration, and the sudden change of front by his organ, shows an undoubted understanding that the doctrine of congressional protection was to be made, for the first time, an *issue in party politics*.

The parties of this disunion intrigue perfectly well knew that the proposition was impracticable—that there was no reasonable hope of bringing Congress, under existing circumstances, to grant the demand. They knew, too, that it would inevitably create a division of the Democratic party, which would be demoralized and denationalized. At the time they did not know, however, that the present Union movement would be so successfully brought forward. The calculation was to break up the Democratic party (as Mr. Yancey intimated in his Slaughter letter) to excite violent sectional antagonism, to unite the North against the South, and the South against the North, and thus insure the election of the Republican candidate. Upon this event, thus designedly effected, the programme was and is to resist his inauguration, and bring on the final catastrophe. At this juncture, Jefferson Davis appears upon the stage to play his part in the infamous drama. In the autumn of 1858, on his return from a tour through the Northern and Eastern States, he delivered an address at Jackson, Mississippi, in which he broached the idea of a disunion in the event of the election of a Republican. This was the first declaration of this purpose by a leading man. He thus stated it:

If an abolitionist be chosen President of the United States, you will have presented to you the question of whether you will permit the Government to pass into the hands of your avowed and implacable enemies? Without pausing for your answer, I will state my own position to be that such a result would be a species of revolution by which the purposes of the Government would be destroyed, and the ends for which it was established, defeated. It must come, in the nature of things. Not a single State, but a confederacy of States. Not a single State, but the South should with dignity, but firmness, calmly and deliberately, but firmly and promptly, meet the issue.

We will be a free people yet—Redeemed—free—blessed!

On the 9th of May, 1859, the southern convention—the institution which figures conspicuously in this treasonable business—met at Vicksburg, Mississippi. Ex-Governor McRae, ex Senator and present member of Congress from that State, being ill and unable to attend, gave it his encouragement by sending to it a letter of regret, in which he inclosed a series of resolutions, of which the following touches the main matter in hand:

Resolved, That the success of the Republican party in the election of a President of the United States by a sectional majority in 1860 upon the principles above declared will be a virtual dissolution of the compact of the existing Union of the States; and in that event this convention recommends to the people of the slaveholding States to meet immediately in connection to determine the mode and measure of upholding the constitutional government as it present exists, by preventing *the installation into office of a Republican President and the inauguration of the Republican party in power*, which will be to resist the slaveholding States into a separate independent organization, with such constitutional form of government as will best secure their safety, their honor, their rights and institutions, and make them a power of the earth.

On another occasion he said: "If the Douglas construction of the Cincinnati platform prevailed at Charleston, I, for one, would not submit. *I am for independence out of the Union in preference to dishonor it.*"

Again, on the eve of his departure for Washington, on the 19th of November, he spoke at Jackson, Mississippi—which the *Mississippian* reported thus:

With his accustomed candor, Ex-Gov. McRae avowed himself in favor of the repeal of the Federal and State laws branding as an ignominious crime the purchase of slaves in Africa, thereby constituting a system of legislation uniformly in southern institutions and detrimental to southern interests. In the event of the election of a Black-Republican to the Presidency, the speaker argued that Mississippi *separately*, or in concert with other Southern *States, as the might elect, ought at once to disconnect her connection with the Abolition States.*

Hon. R. Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, also lent his helping hand, the game, who said, shortly after the election of Mr. Buchanan: "All true statesmanship in the South consists in forming combinations and shaping events so as to bring about a dissolution of the present Union and the establishment of a southern confederacy." He made a speech on the 4th July, 1859, at Grahamville, S. C., which was a masterly appeal to the passions of the South, on the questions of congressional protection and disunion. He had found at last, that these combinations were forming and that events were being so shaped as to justify his estimate of true statesmanship in the South, and such as to bring about the desired southern confederacy. He was unusually hopeful, and the success which he contemplated inspired him with unusual strength and vigor. The speech was in all respects conformable to the conclusion, which alone we quote, at this time. Said Mr. Rhett:

Should the public regard, after I am gone, ever reach my humble services, let it be remembered that, after twenty years of earnest effort in the cause of the Union, by keeping it within the limitations of the Constitution, and resisting its fatal tendency to despotism, I turned at last to the salvation of my native land (the South) and in my latter years did all I could to dissolve her connection with the North and to establish for her a southern confederacy.

During the year 1859, Mr. Yancey was not an idle spectator of the work he set on foot; he wrote letters and made speeches on various occasions. Jeff. Davis, his greatest and most powerful coadjutor, was also active and zealous. We give an extract from a speech of the latter at Jackson, Miss., on the 6th July. He said:

The success of such a party would indeed produce an "irrepressible conflict." To you would be presented the question, will you allow the constitutional Union to be thus changed into the despotism of a majority? will you become the subjects of a hostile government, or will you, outside of the Union, assert the equality, the liberty and sovereignty for which you were born? For myself, I say, as I said on a former occasion, in the contingency of the election of a President on the platform of Mr. Seward's Rochester speech, let the Union be dissolved. Let the "great, but not the greatest of evils" come. For as did the great and good Calhoun, from whom is drawn that expression of value, I love my country more the Union of those States—but I love liberty and Mississippi more.

From the newspapers and the hustings the cry of disunion and revolution rose to State legislatures and to Congress. Here the evidences of a purpose to dissolve the Union and revolutionize the Government are so abundant that we have space for comparatively few. Governor Gist, of South Carolina, in his message to the legislature of that State, November 28, 1859, uses the following language:

With an united South our course would be clear, and our future glorious; we could enforce equality in the Union, or maintain our independence out of it. If, as I solemnly believe, *we can no longer live in peace and harmony in the Union*—notwithstanding the associations of the past, and the remembrance of our common triumph, (being treated as enemies and aliens, rather than brethren of the same family, and heirs of the same inheritance by the North,) we can form a confederacy with ability to protect itself against any enemy, and command the respect and admiration of the world. * * The election of a Black-Republican President will settle the question of our safety in the Union; and although the forms of the Constitution may be complied with, its vital principle will be extinguished, and the South must consent to occupy an inferior and degrading position, or seek new safeguards for her future security. Let South Carolina exhaust every means to get the cooperation of the Southern States in this vital and important movement, yielding everything but principle for that purpose, prepared to follow any lead in expediency, but she should never forget that she is a sovereign, as well as equal—that by her sovereign act she created the relationship of that State that now exists in the Federal Union, and that she has a clear and unquestionable right to resume her position as a sovereign in the family of nations.

Gov. Perry, of Florida, about the same time, in a like "state paper" said:

True, Florida, as the youngest and least populous of the southern sovereignties, can only follow in action the lead of her sisters, yet this constitutes no reason why, at a time demanding the freest conference and frankest expression among those joined by a common destiny, she should remain silent. I believe that her voice should be heard in "tones not loud but deep," in favor of an eternal separation from those whose wickedness and fanaticism forbid any longer the life with peace and safety. There are good grounds for the hope that most of the Southern States will not consent to see the general Government pass into hands avowedly hostile to the South. I feel it is their purpose, it is not unlikely that they will prepare for the emergency of the approaching President-elect election.

Gov. McWillie, of Mississippi, responded in pretty much the same spirit for that State. And in due time, the Senate of South Carolina, on the 19th December, passed the following preamble and resolution, which were concurred in in the House, with very slight, if any, alteration:

Whereas, the State of South Carolina, by her ordinance of 1832, affirmed her right to secede from the Confederacy whenever the occasion should arise justifying it, in her judgment, in taking that step; and in the resolution adopted by her convention, declared that she forebore the immediate exercise of that right in deference to her sister States; and whereas more than seven years have elapsed since that convention adjourned, and in the interesting time the assaults upon the institution of slavery, and upon the rights and equality of the Southern States, have increasingly continued with increasing violence, and of more alarming character, South Carolina, still deferring to her Southern sisters, nevertheless respectfully announces to them that, in her judgment, the safety and honor of the slaveholding States imperatively demand a speedy separation from the free-soil State of the Confederacy, and earnestly invites and urges her sister States of the South to original consultation, to the end that a Southern Union may be established, upon such principles as may be deemed most conducive to the safety, honor, and prosperity of the South.

Resolved, That the State of South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and their property from every enemy, and that for the purpose of military preparation for any emergency, the sum of $100,000 be appropriated for military contingencies.

Mississippi and Alabama promptly responded, and passed resolutions *pledging them to go out of the Union in the event of the election of a Republican President.* They stand solemnly pledged to do just that course. In Congress, during the last session, we have similar expressions from various southern members, of which the following is but barely a specimen:

Mr. Garnett, of Va., said: You must go home to your people, and must put down this abolition spirit. You must repeal the laws with which you have polluted your statute-books, and you must incorporate in your Constitution which protects the value of our slave property along the border, for we do not mean to stay in the Union until you have converted the border States into Free States, and demoralized and enervated our strength. You must pass laws at home, condemning and subjecting to the hands of justice the men who advise and who put into the provision of the Constitution which protects the value of our slave property along the border, for we do not mean to stay in the Union until you have converted the border States into Free States, and demoralized and enervated our strength. You must pass laws at home, condemning and subjecting to the hands of justice the men who advise and who put into the provision of the Constitution which protects the value of our slave property along the border, for we do not mean to stay in the Union until you have converted the border States into Free States, and so