Daily Appeal.

MEMPHIS.

WEDNESDAY.....FEBRUARY 6, 1861.

Largest Circulation in the City

SECESSION TICKET

FOR DELEGATES TO THE STATE CONVENTION.

SENATORIAL CANDIDATE.

(For the Counties of Shelby and Fayette.)

MARCUS J. WRIGHT, of Shelby.

REPRESENTATIVE CANDIDATES.

(For the County of Shelby.)

SOLON BORLAND,
DAVID M. CURRIN.

FLOATER CANDIDATE.

(For the Counties of Shelby, Tipton and Fayette.)

HUMPHREY R. BATE, of Tipton.

[ELECTION ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9TH.]

SUMMARY.

We are informed by the telegraph that the election for delegates to the Virginia State convention has resulted in the triumph of the secession ticket. Ex-Governor Henry A. Wise is elected a delegate.....It was yesterday rumored in New Orleans that the Texas State convention had passed a secession ordinance by a vote of 166 against 6. In the senate a resolution to submit the secession ordinance to the people was lost. It is said that a majority of the convention are in favor of joining a southern confederacy. Gov. Houston has sent in a message to the legislature, condemning the New York resolutions tendering aid to the President to coerce the South, and recommending that the State stand 17th to her rights.....The custom house at New Orleans was yesterday opened under the control of the State authorities.....Hon. John Millson, on Tuesday, sent to the clerk of the House for Louisiana ordinance of secession, with the assurance that the new confederacy would recognize the obligations of all existing relations, especially those relating to the African slave trade. Mr. Benjamin, in the Senate, argued against the act of that Louisiana would not go out, having been bought by the United states, showing that the General Government had broken the treaty stipulations under which Louisiana was acquired.....The Louisiana State convention has passed a bill, organizing two regiments of 700 men, one of artillery and one of infantry.....The Virginia delegation to the border State convention, now in session at Washington, are said to have reached a compromise settlement of the territorial question except in certain contested points, which are to be left to committees. It is said that the Hon. Thos. Corwin's compromise, with a slight modification, is likely to be the basis for a settlement. The secessionists are urging the commissioners from the Southern States to demand that Fort Sumter, at United States troops from Washington city before taking action. Ex-President Tyler was chosen president of the convention. A resolution was adopted that the entire session be held with closed doors.....Hon. Thos. Bragg, Senator from Alabama, Mr. Brown and Reagan are to be immediately put in service for the collection of the revenue.....Hon. Miles Taylor, of Louisiana, withdrew from the lower house of Congress yesterday, saying that the first attack on the South would come from Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, as well as the other Southern States, and a civil war would ensue. Hon. Edward Bonjamy, of Louisiana, said in the House that he should withdraw, and should continue to be a Union man.....Senators Mason and Slidell, of Virginia, have telegraphed from Washington to Montgomery, urging the appointment of Hon. Alex. Hughes as provisional president of the southern confederacy.....Hon. Jeremiah S. Black, the present Secretary of State, will probably be appointed to fill the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court.....By telegraph from Little Rock we learn that large numbers of militia are concentrating at that point, and the city council intends to erect a fortification to protect the quiet character. They were informed by the governor that he had not called them to the capital, and their services were not needed, so, in case the State secedes, she will be able to defend herself against the world with the troops she has. It is said that the minister to Mexico (Lord John Russell) recently wrote a letter to the cotton manufacturers offering the services of British consuls in procuring a supply of cotton, in case the difficulty in this country interrupts the usual flow of trade so far as to deprive them of the raw material for labor.....Oliver Brown, of Georgia, has made a formal demand upon the governor of New York for the guns taken from the steamer Monticello recently by the New York authorities, and which had been shipped to Georgia.....Gov. Morgan has not yet replied.....In another column will be found an able reply to a conservative article in the Prince ton Review, over the signature of Dr. Hodge, which has a most decisive effect upon the question of the stability of the Union.....On our first page will be found a lucid exposition of "The Crisis" from the pen of our townsman, Charles K. Caskill.

GLORIOUS NEWS FROM THE OLD DOMINION!

VIRGINIA FOR RESISTANCE!

Submissionists Overwhelmingly Defeated.

The following dispatch from Mr. Wise, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*, has been furnished us:

RICHMOND, February 5, 1861.

To Memphis Avalanche:

Resistance men have carried the convention by overwhelmingly. Submissionists not twenty elected.

Virginia has spoken. The mother of States sends greeting to her fair daughters of the sunny South. The land where WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON and MADISON are entombed, true to the teachings of these sages, has declared for freedom.

Her brave sons, as with one voice, have said that they will never kneel at the footstool of Black-Republican power.

LINCOLN will never preside over this proud old State. The voice of PATRICK HENRY, crying out against tyranny, has its echoes yet reverberating in her mountains. Her plastic hand, the chief architect of our Constitution, the Palladium of our liberties, will stay that sacred instrument from the grasp of the northern vultures, who are rending it in fragments, and vouchsafe it to the protection of those who have ever faithfully observed its spirit and cherished its wise provisions.

The author of the great doctrine of State rights, she will transmit them unimpaired to the generations yet unborn. We hail with joyous tones her sons who are in our midst, and throughout our sister States of the South, and congratulate them on the proud position of their noble old mother. She has thrown her ancient *orifiamme* to the breeze, and bid defiance to the murmuring hosts of abolitionism. With this banner, victorious on many fields, she has arrayed herself by the side of gallant South Carolina, and the younger but equally brave Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. The people of Maryland have pledged themselves to stand by the side of Virginia, until the last Maryland soldier falls in the defense of the liberties of the South.

Let Tennessee and Kentucky boldly and unhesitatingly come forward to the rescue, and the dark cloud of war will be dispersed from the political horizon, and peace, from her full cornucopia, will pour out its blessings.

THE CITY OF WASHINGTON—A MILITARY CAMP.

The whole country has been so much distracted by the shifting scenes of the political world, that public attention has been withdrawn from the military movements, made so quietly as almost to escape public observation. Gen. SCOTT has made Washington the headquarters of the army. His *aides-de-camp* are quartered in the city barracks are erected, and artillery and dragoon horses stabled almost under the roof of the capitol. Regiments of infantry, batteries of artillery, and squadrons of cavalry have been concentrated on this point until even President BUCHANAN's patience has been exhausted, and his positive interposition placed upon any greater array of military forces in the national capital. The chief magistrate has been instructed not to permit any area to the militia of the District, until they have sworn the oath to "obey the President." Until then, they are not to be trusted. What a humiliating scene for an American, when, on the 4th of March, ABRAHAM LINCOLN shall, on the eastern dais of the capitol, take the oath of office in the presence of a multitude of citizens who will be restrained and awed by frowning guns, charged to the muzzle with grape, and with the gleam of the cavalry sword, and the glistening steen of the bayonet, before the eyes of those who shall be so bold as to witness the ceremony of crowning the American dictator. We can well imagine that the amount of criminals present on the occasion will fall far short of any preceding inauguration. The ceremonies and attendant scenes of the day will be typical of the reign of *steel* which begins on the American continent on that day.

A SOUND AND ABLE ARTICLE.

In to-morrow's issue of the APPEAL we will publish an article on the "State of the Country," from the pen of Rev. J. H. THORNWELL, D. D., of the theological seminary, Columbia, S. C., which we find in the last number of the *Southern Presbyterian Review*. We have no hesitancy in pronouncing this the ablest article we have yet read on the right, the duty and the necessity of secession. The reader will at once recognize in its happy blending of sound politics with fervid patriotism and true Christian piety. We devoutly wish that it could be patiently read and properly understood and appreciated by every man both North and South are it be too late for its teachings and exhortations to prove effective in the present unhappy crisis in which our country is involved.

☞ The telegraph of yesterday informs us that the border State convention at Washington are sitting with closed doors, having excluded the public and representatives from the press.

Where is Col. Tom? Does not the disunion pill kill? He was quite confident, a few days ago, that Virginia would secede in 30 days.

THE TENNESSEE RESOLUTIONS.

By a vote almost unanimous the legislature of Tennessee adopted the following resolutions, which express the ultimatum of the party "who do not despair of the Union," but think that some guarantees are necessary from the North. This does not include that wing of the party known as secessionists, who do not wish to make any resistance to the Black-Republican party; who think the Chicago platform an admirable embodiment of political principles; who believe LINCOLN conservative, and SEWARD patriotic; who, when smitten on one cheek, turn the other; who would lick the hand that strikes, and bend the subservient knee to the oppressor; who are content to be kicked by the North, persistently and continuously; whose highest effort of resistance is to *entreat* them not to kick us again. This wing of the party has no ultimatum, and we could look to their action only to bring disaster and disgrace to Tennessee. We speak now of that division of the "Union party" which confess to a sense of our wrongs, and assume to appreciate the dangers which threaten us. They plant upon these resolutions, we presume; at all events Tennessee is committed to them. The State cannot retreat from this position with honor, or back down from them without disgrace. The secessionists think that our efforts at compromise have been rebuffed with insults and contumely too often already, and that the day and hour has arrived when we should proclaim our freedom. The hopeful say one more entreaty—one other appeal—and then—but not till then—we are safe. These resolutions at length arrived. The representatives of Tennessee now meet at Washington, face to face with the commissioners from the more moderate and conservative States which are embraced in the fanatical North. We do not believe that any compromise will be granted by the North; we do not believe that they will give bonds to keep the peace, nor obligate themselves to kick us no longer; least of all do we entertain the hope that they will concede the reasonable and moderate demands contained in the subjoined resolutions. A day or two will probably disclose the result, unless the Black-Republicans delay, by holding out prospects of a settlement, with the sole hope of defeating the secession party of the South in the pending elections.

Now we call upon the candidates of the "Union" party to say what course they will pursue in the convention, if this, their ultimatum is rejected? Will they then vote to continue the present relation of Tennessee to the old Union as it now stands? Let the *Bulletin* answer, and disclose what her or not it takes its stand on these resolutions. Has it any ultimatum? or does it yield unconditionally to the new Black-Republican administration? We expect and want an answer.

Resolutions Proposing Amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, That a convention of delegates from all the slaveholding States should assemble at Nashville, Tennessee, or such other place as a majority of the States co-operating may designate, on the fourth day of February, 1861, to digest and define a basis upon which, if possible, the Federal Union and the constitutional rights of the slave States may be perpetuated and preserved.

Resolved, That the general assembly of the State of Tennessee appoint a number of delegates to said convention, of our ablest and wisest men, equal to our whole delegation in Congress; and that the governor of Tennessee immediately furnish copies of these resolutions to the governors of the other slaveholding States, and urge the participation of such States to said convention.

Resolved, That in the opinion of this general assembly, both slave and non-slave States embrace the following propositions as amendments to the Constitution of the United States:

1. A declaratory amendment that African slaves, as held under the institutions of the slaveholding States, shall be recognized as property, and entitled to the status of other property held in those States where slavery exists, in all places within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress in the slave States in all the Territories south of 36 deg. 30 min., in the District of Columbia, and in the territories hereafter jointly acquiring with the owner in the non-slaveholding States and Territories north of 36 deg. 30 min., and vessels with fugitives from the States, in the several places above named, as well as in all places, in the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, in the non-slaveholding States.

2. That in all territory now owned, or which may hereafter be acquired by the United States south of the parallel of 36 deg. 30 min., African slavery shall be recognized as existing, and be protected by all the departments of the Federal and Territorial Governments; and in all North of that line, now owned, or to be acquired, it shall be prohibited by law forever.

And whenever States formed out of any of said territory south of said line, having a population equal to that of a congressional district, shall apply for admission into the Union, the same shall be admitted as slave States, while States north of the line formed out of said territory, and having a population equal to a congressional district, shall be admitted without slavery, but the States formed out of said territory North and South having been identified as members of the Union shall have all the powers over the institution of slavery possessed by the other States of the Union.

3. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia in the Union, and situated within the limits of States that permit the holding of slaves.

4. Congress shall have no power to prohibit slavery within the District of Columbia, so long as it exists in the adjoining States of Virginia and Maryland, or either, nor without the consent of the inhabitants, nor without just compensation made to such owners of slaves as do not consent to such abolishment. Nor shall Congress at any time prohibit officers of the Federal Government, or members of Congress whose duties require them to be in said District, from bringing with them their slaves, and holding them as such, during the time their duties may require them to remain there, and afterward take them from the District.

5. Congress shall have no power to prohibit or hinder the transportation of slaves from one State to another, or the Territory to which slaves are by law permitted to be held, whether that transportation be by land, navigable rivers, or high seas.

6. In addition to the fugitive slave clause, provide, that when a slave has been demanded of the executive authority of the State to which he has fled, if he is not delivered, and the owner permitted to take his property in the State in peace, the State so failing to deliver, shall pay to the owner the value of such slave, and such damages as he may have sustained in attempting to reclaim his slave, and secure the right of action in the Supreme Court of the United States, with execution against the property of such State and the individuals thereof.

7. No future amendment of the Constitution shall effect the six preceding articles, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the first article of the Constitution, nor the third paragraph of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution; and no amendments shall be made to the Constitution which will authorize or give to Congress any power to abolish or interfere with slavery in any of the States by whose laws it is, or may be allowed or permitted.

8. That slave property shall be rendered secure in transit through, or while temporarily sojourning in any slaveholding State or Territory, or in the District of Columbia.

9. An amendment to the effect that all fugitives are to be deemed those offending the laws within the jurisdiction of the State, and who escape therefrom to other States; and that it is the duty of each State to suppress armed invasions of another State.

Resolved, That such secession of the slaveholding States having agreed upon a basis of adjustment satisfactory to themselves, should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, refer it to a convention of the States, slaveholding and non-slaveholding, in the manner following:

It should invite all States friendly to such plan of adjustment, to elect delegates in such manner to reflect the popular will, to assemble in a constitutional convention of all the States, North and South, to be held at Richmond, Virginia, on the—day of February, 1861, to revise and perfect such a plan of adjustment, for its reference for final ratification and adoption by a convention of the States respectively.

Resolved, That should a plan of adjustment, satisfactory to the South, not be acceded to by a requisite number of States to perfect such amendment to the Constitution of the United States, it is the opinion of this general assembly that the slaveholding States should adopt for themselves the Constitution of the United States with such amendments as may be satisfactory to the slaveholding States, and that they should invite into the Union with them all States of the North who may desire to perfect themselves in the Constitution and frame of government, assuring at once all connections with States refusing such reasonable guarantees to our future safety, and appoint committees to our future sister States, to submit propositions of Federal Union, and for submission for ratification to conventions of all the States respectively.

Resolved, That the governor of this State of Tennessee transmit copies of these resolutions immediately to the governors of the non-slaveholding States.

W. C. WHITTHORNE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
THO. W. NEWMAN,
Speaker of the Senate.

Passed January 22, 1861.

GOV. HICKS, OF MARYLAND.

It will be seen from a letter of the president of the senate and speaker of the house, that the excited "position" of the governor, who has received such high commendation from the Black-Republicans, is shrewdly conjectured to be a desire on his part, to secure himself from an investigation by the legislature into the disposition made of the appropriation to purchase arms for the State. The letter, which will be found in another column, is a forcible exposition of the necessity for action by southern States.

THE LEGISLATURE.

The Nashville Union of Sunday, owing to the pressure upon its columns, omits the legislative proceedings of Saturday. In the Senate, it says, Mr. Speaker Newman's proposition to send commissioners to the Montgomery (Ala.) convention was defeated, as was a similar movement by Mr. Minnis.

In the house, the bill to authorize the issuance of bonds to the Union and Planters' Bank, passed and the Bank of Tennessee act rejected. The house adjourned sine die. Fire and the house adjourned after the train had passed over the spot. The escape in this case was a narrow one.

TEXAS OUT OF THE UNION.

We are informed by telegraph from New Orleans, that the Texas State convention yesterday passed an ordinance of secession, by a vote of one hundred and fifty-two to six, an exhibition of unanimity hardly looked for. A motion to refer this action of the convention to a vote of the people, was lost in the Senate of the Texas legislature. The feeling in favor of Texas joining a southern confederacy, is said to be largely in the ascendant. The statement so made by telegraph upon the authority of rumor in New Orleans, but is followed by circumstances in detail which give it an air of plausibility. This, together with the report of the election of a secession convention in Virginia, gives the South additional encouragement of maintaining her honor and wresting from the North a recognition of her rights without a resort to arms. Every Southern State that now joins its fortunes to the seceded States, strengthens its friends and weakens its enemies in the proportion of its own population and national wealth. On which side shall that of Tennessee be thrown?

PUBLIC SPEAKING AT LAGRANGE.

Col. Jas. B. Mosby, secession candidate for the convention in Fayette county, will address the people at LaGrange on Friday next. M. W. GUBERTY, Esq., and POLLOCK B. LEE will also be present and address the people in the same cause.

STATES RIGHTS MEETING AT EXCHANGE BUILDING TO-NIGHT.

The present canvass is by far the most important ever held in Tennessee, and every freeman should endeavor to be fully informed upon all the questions involved. The time for investigation is now short, as next Saturday is the epoch in our history from which either dates our independence or vassalage. Col. P. B. Lee will address the citizens of Memphis, at Exchange buildings to-night, and all who are interested (and who is not?) in the canvass should hear his views.

PUBLIC SPEAKING.

Hon. J. K. Clinton, and others, will speak at Grand Junction on Saturday, February 2d, in favor of the rights of the South. Also, Col. Robert H. Wood, (candidate for delegate,) L. M. Brown, Esq., Col. S. H. Hancock, Dr. W. B. Morrow and James R. Fentress, Esq., will address their fellow-citizens of Harrisburg, on Friday, February 8th, on the demands made in favor of the immediate secession of Tennessee, at the following times and places:

Van Buren, Tuesday, February 5th.
Pocahontas, Wednesday, February 6th.
Middleton, Thursday, February 7th.
Grand Junction, Friday, February 8th.
Let everybody attend.

PUBLIC SPEAKING.

APPOINTMENTS OF THE SECESSION CANDIDATES.

SOLON BORLAND and DAVID M. CURRIN, candidates to represent Shelby county in the State convention, to assemble at the city of Nashville on the 20th of February next, will address their fellow-citizens at the following times and places:

At Collierville, Wednesday, February 6th.
At Cuba, Friday, February 8th.

All other candidates for the same office are respectfully invited to be present and to participate in the discussion.

☞ GET YOUR TICKETS, AND REMEMBER THAT THOSE WHO ARE IN FAVOR OF CONVENTION MUST HAVE "CONVENTION" WRITTEN OR PRINTED ON THEIR TICKETS.

THE SOUTHERN CONVENTION.

The following is a list of the members appointed by the six seceded States to the southern convention which assembled at Montgomery on Monday last:

Alabama—Richard W. Walker, Robert H. Smith, Colin J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, S. F. Hale, David P. Lewis, Thos. Fearn, J. L. M. Curry, W. P. Chilton.

Florida—Three? Delegates: Hon. Jackson Morton, James Powers, J. P. Anderson.

Mississippi—Six Delegates; Wiley P. Harris, Walker Brooke, A. M. Clayton, Wm. S. Barry, J. T. Harrison, A. G. Brown.

Georgia—Ten Delegates; Robert Toombs, Howell Cobb, Ben. H. Hill, Alex. H. Stephens, Francis Barton, Martin J. Crawford, Jos. E. Brown, Thos. R. R. Cobb, Augustus Keenan.

South Carolina—Eight Deputies; Hon. R. B. Rhett, Hon. Jas. Chesnut, Jr., Hon. W. F. Miles, Hon. T. J. Withers, Hon. R. W. Barnwell, Hon. O. G. Memminger, Hon. L. M. Keitt, Hon. W. W. Boyce.

Louisiana—Five Deputies; John Perkins, Jr., Duncan F. Kenner, C. M. Conrad, E. Spencer, Henry Marshall.

SECESSION OR UNION.

EDITORS APPEAL: I very much fear the public mind will be lulled into a dangerous and fatal delusion in this State. Who can suppose, for a moment, that any adjustment can be made now which will recognize our equality in the Union or in the Territories; that secures our chattel property, and entitled to the protection of the laws wherever the American flag floats, equally with the bale of goods; that fugitives must be returned or paid for by the State into which they escape, and that the agitation of this question must cease forever? Who, but a coward, would be satisfied? Who less? Even if such an adjustment of the raid could be agreed upon, at Washington, by the commissioners from the States, in any one same enough to suppose that adjustment could be assented to by two-thirds of the States in their sovereign capacity, and then ratified by three-fourths—which would be necessary to incorporate it into the Constitution? Does any sane man believe that even a single northern State would vote that a negro was a chattel? If so, in that State the Republican party must be swept out of existence. Does not every well-informed man know that four out of ten even in the North are anti-slavery men—that it is wrong in the sight of God and man? They have been educated so to think. And why is it wrong? Because they do not think that a negro can hold property in his fellow man. They have been taught to think it contrary to the laws of God, of humanity, and of reason.

Again, the Republican party have claimed to override the decisions of the Supreme Court by party influence; to revolutionize the court itself because of a decision not suited to their taste; to put on the supreme bench the supplant tools of a party that strike at the root of constitutional liberty.

Whenever a people have become so degenerate as to subvert the highest tribunal whose sworn duty it is to administer justice, and to decide upon the life, liberty and property of the citizen, because they refuse to override the Constitution at the behest of popular clamor and party jobbers, that people are unworthy of constitutional liberty. They are rapidly drifting into the licentiousness and anarchy that developed France into a nation of ferocious people, after passing through the convulsive throes of revolution after revolution, succeeding each other like the troubled billows of the sea, at length cried out for an emperor. They were cursed with red-republicanism, we with Black-Republicanism. Are we not actually making everything by connection, our destiny? Are we not in the fanaticism and isms of the North? The war now rampant upon the property in negroes, can be easily diverted to a war upon all property. North must be its inevitable consequence, especially when we consider the red-republican element so distinctly interwoven with the sentiment now dominant at the North.

Suppose an adjustment made, will not the North still claim the right of free speech and the liberty of the press in the States of the South? Will not this be the only remaining food left for fanaticism to feed upon? Will it not open up again the flood-gates of agitation? What was the germ of the present excitement? Was it not the right claimed to petition Congress for the redress of grievances?

Again, is not every one at all acquainted with political machinery at the North, compelled to see and know that everything is sound and corrupt—office and place is bought and sold as a property. Ask your member of Congress. A politician's influence is estimated in proportion to the number of men he can raise and use effectively in a given canvass. That two-thirds of these representatives in Congress holding their places for only one term, upon the absolute law of rotation in office. The last of the memorable *reasons*, is that we can trust our lives, wives, property, etc., in the hands of Scarlock, and feel secure; whereas, Brown would not be reliable. This is a base calumny on the spotless worth and integrity of Milton Brown, whose fame as one of the most honest statesmen is co-extensive with the limits of every State of the late Union. Scurlock said that he stood upon the Tennessee resolutions, but in a joint resolution which follows it, he drops it at the instant, he backed down and said he was for them with certain amendments. The attempt is being made to excite a low and unmanly prejudice against Judge Brown on account of his connection with railroads. This is an order of persecution that the people in this hour of fearful disorder will not countenance. Judge Brown is made the mark, at which all the public plunderers and corrupt leaders in the State aim their shafts. The old whigs will remember the eminent services rendered them and the country by Milton Brown while their representative in Congress, and the Democracy have always admired his great. ness, and applauded his talents. Brown and Scurlock will be elected despite the persecutions he has to endure, by a majority overwhelming, and as a delegate will demand a full adjustment, as sole basis of Union. Should he not live, as the writer of this has the best reason to know. His whole soul was in the preservation of the glorious fabric. He foresaw the dangers which menaced it. With almost prophetic vision he beheld this time of trouble. He saw the South gradually but surely losing their equality of political power—their children's birthright—he saw the North increasing in might, in territory, and in hostility to the institution of slavery, and his ardent, intense desire of his heart, in his dying day, was to discover some mode of averting the calamities which must necessarily result from this condition of things. In his view, the power of secession was the true conservative principle of our government—the most important of the reserved rights of the States. The doctrine fully understood and acknowledged, would be a shield, (if forced to use it,) against the aggression of a majority, by repealing the ordinance under which she adopted the Constitution, peaceably with the consent of the other States—thus repeal to secure the perpetuation of our Union. The knowledge that a step like that might lawfully be taken, would prevent such action on the part of the South. Let the Union live any price or State in that extremity. It would prevent, one, in case a State were oppressed beyond endurance, that which of all things is most distressing, the coercion of one State or States or States would, of choice, and for the sake of a separate existence, abandon the Union, never entered his brain. He knew the peril, and felt too deeply, the inestimable value of the Union, ever to dare to speak of its dissolution. Let the Union live, and the slave States live, and live a free people, as would live any people, as would live any people, as would live any