Daily Appeal.

MEMPHIS,
FRIDAY.....FEBRUARY 8, 1861.

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Reading Matter on Every Page.

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.

VIDATER CANDIDATE,
[For the Counties of Shelby, Tipton and Fayette.]
HUMPHREY R. BATE, of Tipton.

[ELECTION ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9TH.]

☞ EACH STATE HAS A RIGHT TO JUDGE FOR ITSELF OF INFRACTIONS, AS WELL AS TO THE MODE AND MEASURE OF REDRESS.—*Thomas Jefferson.*

☞ GIVE ME ANYTHING IN PREFERENCE TO A UNION SUSTAINED ONLY BY POWER, BY CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL TIES, WITHOUT RECIPROCAL TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. *John Bell.*

SUMMARY.

Messrs. Grayson, McCurdy & Co., and Swann, Adriance & Co., of New York, have failed. Their liabilities are about $1,500,000 each, though their assets are said to be large.....Three hundred and fifty Government troops arrived in St. Louis yesterday, destined for the arsenal at that point.....The legislature of Kentucky will adjourn sine die about the 20th of March.....In consequence of an interruption in the communication east, we are without the latest evening dispatches from that direction.....The President, in reply to South Carolina's demand for the evacuation of Fort Sumter, said it was his duty to defend the fort to the best of his ability; upon the receipt of which, yesterday, Mr. Hayne, commissioner from South Carolina, returned home to report to his government. South Carolina is pledged to the support of her sons who are in Fort Sumter, and we cannot but suspect a leap of the investment of Fort Sumter immediately on the arrival of Col. Hayne.....At a meeting of the citizens of Little Rock, on Wednesday, it was resolved that the Governor demand of the citizens, in command of the arsenal, at that point, its surrender to the State authorities. Later reports announce that the arsenal was taken possession of by the State troops on the 1st.....A bill to suspend the mail services in the seceding States was passed in the lower house of Congress yesterday, by a vote of 121 to 6.....The Texas authorities have expressed a determination to take forts Ocmulgee Gibb and Arbuckle, in the Indian Territory.....The artillery company recently organized at Augusta, Georgia, have been ordered to Washington.....On our 8 pages will be found a synopsis of that exercise speech by Reuben A. Etheridge, delivered in the House of Representatives on the 22d of January, in which he proposes to meet the secession crisis with a boxer in one hand and a sword in the other. On the same page we give the special Washington dispatches of the Cincinnati Enquirer, of the 4th inst., as also the proceedings of Congress of the same date.

THE SPEAKING LAST NIGHT.

In response to an invitation previously extended them by some of our most respectable and influential citizens, LUKE W. FINLAY and JAMES BRETT, Esqrs., addressed a large and enthusiastic congregation of people at Odd-Fellows' hall on last night.

Mr. FINLAY, as the first speaker, delivered without any effort at ostentatious display, an able, logical and argumentative effort, placing the issues before his auditory in a plain but masterly manner. He reviewed the nature of the question before the people of Tennessee in all its bearings, and exposed the fallacy of those who council procrastination in striking the blow that must sever the chains binding us to a northern Freesoil confederacy.

Mr. BRETT appeared amid the thundering applause of his hearers. Ardent in temperament, graceful in manner, and eloquent in style, he kept them spellbound for an hour by the picture which he drew of the Government as it was and as it is.—the free and great republic of WASHINGTON and HAMILTON as contrasted with the decayed and crumbling despotism of LINCOLN and SEWARD. His vivification of the course of the South was bold and brilliant as his castigation of abolitionism was scathing and terrible. He won golden opinions from men of all parties.

N. D. COLLINS, Esq., being called upon, made a few remarks, whereupon the meeting adjourned—a great part of the crowd going to Exchange building, where another secession gathering was being entertained with words of cheer from hearts throbbing in earnest sympathy for the southern cause.

When we reached the room, Col. R. G. PAYNE had just finished one of his characteristic speeches, which is represented by all who heard it, as being fraught alike with ability, stirring sense, and devotional patriotism.

POLLOCK S. LEE, Esq., also added the weight of his testimony to the cause under discussion, in a style genial, affable and pleasant. He urged resistance by immediate secession as the only salvation of Tennessee and of Memphis.

Mr. M. W. CLUSKY, junior editor of the *Bulletin*, was loudly called for, and responded in a neat and appropriate extempore speech, which carried with it the ring of the right metal. He warned the unwary against being entrapped in the meshes of opposition *bogus* dispatches now so vigorously circulated in the city.

Mr. FLOURNOY, of ARKANSAS, and Judge CHARLES E. ST. CLAIR, late of Virginia, and recently of this city, also made responses to calls upon them. The latter gentleman is a forcible, fluent and agreeable orator, and impressed his audience most favorably upon his debut before them.

The exercises of the evening, taken altogether, passed off without anything to mar the harmony or disturb the good feeling which seemed universally to prevail. The meeting at both places proved a most eminent success.

☞ "SLAVERY IS EITHER NOW TO RECEIVE ITS DEATH WOUND, OR IT IS TO SPRING INTO NEW LIFE AND VIGOR."—*N. Y. Tribune.*

A DIVERSITY OF OPINION.

The *Bulletin* advises its party friends to vote "No convention," but if any candidates of that party have sent, so far as we are advised, taken position against it. Col. TORR does not recommend such a course in his famous address, and from his silence we are authorized to infer that he thinks a convention proper and advisable.

No Unionist, except one as blind as a rattlesnake in August, will vote against the assembling of a body which can alone dispose of the important questions that now crowd upon us.

VOTE FOR CONVENTION.

☞ "THE REVOLUTION IS IN THE INTEREST OF SLAVERY, IS FOR SLAVERY."—*Black-Republican Press.*

HARD NUT THOSE WHO ADVISE SUBMISSION.

People of Tennessee, the Union leaders say that we are enraged, injured and insulted by the North. All sensible men know that this is true. The Republicans declare they will not give any redress for the past or guarantee for the future. Let the people proclaim in thundering tones for resistance.

☞ TENNESSEEANS! WILL YOU GO WITH THE NORTH OR THE SOUTH?

WATCH OUT FOR BOGUS DISPATCHES!

The city has been flooded with false rumors about the Virginia election, all gotten up for the purpose of influencing the vote of Memphis. *Don't believe a word of them*—UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION ON SATURDAY. Vote the Southern Rights ticket, and show to the South that Memphis at least is free from the charge of *sympathy with abolitionism.*

☞ "COMPROMISE! WE ARE SICK OF THE WORD. IF CONCESSIONS ARE TO BE MADE, LET THEM BE MADE BY THE SOUTH: THE NORTH WILL OFFER NONE."—*N. Y. Sun and N. Y. Tribune.*

☞ HORACE GREELEY came very near being the successor of WM. H. SEWARD in the United States Senate. In the Republican legislative caucus, on the eighth ballot, he received 47 votes to Mr. EVARTS' 39, and Mr. HAMLIN 19. Finding that GREELEY would be nominated, all his opponents did not concentrate, Mr. WEED, SEWARD'S fugleman, on the tenth ballot, effected it upon IRA HARRIS, who received 61 votes, and was nominated. GREELEY is against all compromise, and for disunion, while SEWARD, WEED and their friends are for making some concessions.

☞ COAT FOR LINCOLN.—Gen. SCOTT has certain army officers as a military escort to LINCOLN to Washington, when he goes upon the Capitol to seize the government. Poor HAMLIN has to go too. It is very unkind in the party to use HAMLIN so badly, to slight HAMLIN because he is a southern man.

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THE DEMONSTRATION TO-NIGHT.

Let Every Southern Rights Man be Out!

Submissionism Must be Crushed!

MEMPHIS MUST BE REDEEMED!

COME ONE! COME ALL!!

To-night at 8 o'clock, as will be seen elsewhere in our columns, a great secession demonstration will take place in our city, in which all the southern men, who sympathize with the southern movement, are requested to participate. The procession will form at Exchange building, and move in the direction indicated in the programme. What we desire to impress upon our political friends is the necessity for every man who possibly can, irrespective of vocation, to be present and participate in the movement. Let merchants, mechanics, laborers, artisans, cotton brokers, professional men, one and all, rally to the rescue. We have the material, we feel confident, with which to inaugurate the largest demonstration ever witnessed in Memphis. *Let them only turn out*, and our assertion will be verified. Remember that upon the vote of Memphis hangs *her destiny* at least, without regard to the remainder of the State. If she proves herself a sympathizer with *Lincolnism*, negro equality and *submissionism*, the gallant people of Mississippi, Arkansas and Alabama *ought* and WILL not feed and pamper her into commercial prosperity. If she votes to sustain the southern cause and to go with the South, as honor, duty and gratitude would dictate, then, but not till then, can she expect to elicit the respect or the confidence of her patrons. Now is the period of her peril and her trial. Let her pass through the ordeal unharmed, undiscouraged, undisgraced! Again we say, let every man who can spare the time be out to witness and *participate* in the great movement that looks to deliverance from the meshes of Black-Republicanism.

"PHILIP DRUNK AND PHILIP SOBER."

Under the above caption, the *Bulletin* of yesterday quotes from an article of ours, to show that we were not originally and at all times secessionists, and that therefore we are now inconsistent in advocating the withdrawal of Tennessee from the present Black-Republican confederacy. The *Bulletin* might confer a favor upon its readers by making daily copious extracts from what we have written upon various subjects, instead of filling its little available space with such stuff as has lately constituted the staple of its editorials. There are many questions upon which it would undeniable gratify its readers by a reproduction of our well-matured views.

But what particular application, we might ask of our neighbor if he had not gone entirely rabid, have our views in regard to the Union to do with the present crisis? There is no longer any Union—*that is dissolved.* And were our neighbor, following in the wake of its northern allies, to repeat its denial of the fact daily, or twice daily, for twelve times daily, it would not alter the matter. The fact stands prominently, palpably, sternly, unalterably forth—THE UNION IS ALREADY DISSOLVED; and the question presented for the solution of Tennessee is, will she unite her fortunes with her sisters of the South, or will she still cling to her northern enemies, and submissively lick the hand that smites her. There is no prospect of an adjustment upon terms honorable or acceptable to the South. The last faint, lingering hope has been extinguished. He must be blind indeed in his infatuation, who does not recognize the truth of this assertion. Then, why delay? What is to be gained by delay? Nothing, but on the contrary, every moment we hesitate, the enemies of the South are fastening shackles upon her, which it will require greater efforts to break. It is time all true friends of the South were aroused to a proper sense of the dangers which environ them. Trust not the silly, criminally foolish advice of those who still whisper, *wait, wait.* Time enough has already elapsed, if there were any inclination on the part of the Republican party of the North to recede from their position of aggressive hostility to the institutions of the South, but so far from manifesting any disposition to shate a jot or title of their animosity, they boldly proclaim "No compromise"—"No concessions!" Twere well if some of the pretended friends of the South could catch a spark of that spirit of boldness and lofty independence which characterizes its enemies in the North. Then we should hear less of cringing and begging for what is clearly our right, and what the North, with all its boasted numerical superiority, had not dared to refuse to a united South.

If our neighbor thinks he can serve the cause which he advocates by the course he is pursuing toward the APPEAL, he is welcome to continue it. If it will be of service to him for us to declare that we have never seen cause to regret the course we pursued in the late canvass, or to feel ashamed of the motives which impelled us there, he is also welcome to the benefit of this declaration. We have seen frequent occasions when we might have chronicled the verification of predictions we then uttered, but we deemed it a matter of much greater importance to use our earnest efforts to unite and consolidate the sentiment of the South, than to indulge in a course the tendency of which would be to alienate and distract. Hence we have preferred to remain silent when assailed with the silly and groundless charges of inconsistency. This is not a time for the indulgence of personalities. There is work—earnest work—enough to engage the hearts and occupy the hands of every true son of the South, and our neighbor must excuse us for refusing to turn aside from the discussion of the grave issues which are thrust upon us to defend our course from the charge of inconsistency, whether made in the spirit of mere idle badinage, or dictated by motives of a more malignant character. It is a matter of the smallest possible moment to us, whether our course meets the approval or disapproval of our neighbor, and the little squad to whose opinions he gives color, and whose views must necessarily be to some extent gangrened with the feeling of animosity toward the seceding States of the South, which our neighbor has recently exhibited with more virulence and inconsistency of purpose than he has usually shown in his career as a public journalist. So, *Bulletin*, you can bark on! we shall not mind your noise. It is, after all, but sound and fury, signifying nothing. *Philip drunk and Philip sober*, if you like.

"Philip sot drunk and a minch man would be,
Philip sot sober, and devil a minch man was he."

☞ SHALL TENNESSEE CLEAVE TO HER ENEMIES, AND TURN FROM HER FRIENDS?

THE "BULLETIN EXTRA" OF YESTERDAY.

The Memphis *Bulletin* yesterday issued an "Extra," giving the "*latest news*" from the Virginia election. A telegraphic dispatch was claimed to have been just received from Messrs. ANDERSON and DUPREE announcing the triumph of the Unionists in that State by an overwhelming majority. The joke about the whole matter is that the dispatch was received at Chattanooga on day before yesterday, and the parties there to whom it was immediately failed to forward it as directed until twenty-four hours after its reception. We know this to be a fact, having read the entire dispatch in Chattanooga *six* or *eight hours* last, and having come down on the cars with a gentleman who had a *copy of it in his pocket.* The *Bulletin* had better have a column set aside for the *latest news* by railroad.

The confirmation of the above dispatch, coming from Mr. BUTLER, has no date, and consequently can not be regarded as any more reliable than others received in the city of a different tenor. "Sinner down" *Bulletin*, "Sinner down."

DISAGREEABLE FUNERAL TO A HOUSE WARMING IN PARIS.—Baron de ——, of Paris, lately gave a dinner to half a dozen friends to "warm" a house he had just built for himself. It was a bachelor dinner, his wife being in the country. When they were at dessert a lady entered the room—his *wife*. There was a disagreeable moment or two for the guests, as surprises are always disagreeable, especially when they come in petticoats. She said: "Gentlemen, I am sorry to disarrange you, but I have something to say to my husband, and I am not sorry to have your company. She thereupon went up to her husband, who was turning as many colors as a dying dolphin, and said to him: "Six weeks ago, in the heat of a discussion which I did not provoke, you were cowardly enough to slap me. As there were no witnesses present, my lawyer tells me I can bring no action. There are witnesses here, now, sir—take that (giving him a terrible slap) are witnesses. I expect your lawyer at once." She then quitted the room majestically. The husband has summoned all his friends as witnesses, and brought suit for divorce.

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THE BRITISH PRESS ON THE SOUTHERN QUESTION.

We publish below an important and significant article from the London *Times*, which we recommend to the careful perusal of our readers. It is valuable, because it is the testimony of an impartial judge, who views the whole resources and powers of the South and the North from a stand-point elevated above the prejudices and passions that may serve to obscure the vision of the active participants in the exciting events of the present hour.

The "national affinity" which the writer alludes to as existing between the border slave States and those south of us, is surely not appreciated by our "Union" friends, who so bitterly oppose the strengthening of those bonds that should knit the slaveholding States together as with hooks of steel.

The gorgeous future, which, in our estimation, is not overdrawn, will never be realized by the South if the counsels of the short-sighted unionists prevail. They would have Tennessee turn aside from the path marked out by her natural sympathies, her honor, her material interests as plainly point to, and pursue that which is disastrous to her fortunes, destructive of her future hopes, and above all, degrading to her pride and disgraceful to the fair fame she has heretofore borne. And for what is this great sacrifice of all that is valuable or dear to any people to be made? Simply to gratify a *sentiment*, which has no longer a living subject upon which to subsist. "Love of the Union!" once a noble impulse, while that Union was based upon a Constitution that was and is worthy of veneration; but now, indeed, with the destruction of that great charter of our rights, Hosannahs to the Union are as the empty sounds of tinkling cymbals. Will you gather in the temple to worship when the Deity of your adoration has fled? Will you yet kneel at the altar, when the collossal statue which your fathers placed thereon has been replaced by the hideous skeleton of Black-Republicanism, which should serve to warn you of the political destiny that awaits you? Like dancing Dervishes, you waltz around this altar until giddiness has deprived you of sight, and you are not conscious of the metamorphose Around from the fatal trance in which you are plunged; look at the Union as it now is, clothe yourselves in mourning, if you will, for the dead Union of other days, and, while there is yet time, strike one blow for the honor of Tennessee.

If North Carolina secedes; if Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana follow; if a southern federation be formed, and take its place among the powers of the earth, there has been no such stamping for the border slave States. These will be drawn by a natural affinity to detach themselves from the North and join the slaveholding federation. North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, will then be cleanerated from the Northern Union. In no event can not be regarded without dismay by the most staunch abolitionist. It could, in fact, make the southern federation the real United States, as far as territory present and prospective is concerned, and reduce the North to what our ancestors would have called a "Rump." The people of Boston or Philadelphia might be distinguished for their ability and enterprise, but they would belong to a country with hardly a greater future than Canada. Every natural advantage would be the subject of envy and hatred.

Look at the map, and you will see what a narrow slip of country composes the freesoil of the American Confederation. The sea coast from the British frontier to the Delaware—a few hundred miles—belongs to it; all the rest, stretching far away down the Atlantic and along the Gulf of Mexico, is in the hands of the slaveowners. The mouth of the Mississippi is theirs; the Missouri and Arkansas, the great arteries of the extreme West, are theirs. Virginia pushes a wedge of territory to within less than a hundred miles of Lake Erie, and thus divides the Atlantic free States from the West in a manner highly dangerous to the former. It is, indeed, very doubtful whether the connection between New York and New England on the one hand, and Illinois and the neighboring States on the other, would long survive the secession of the South. The North would have a territory as struggling as that of Prussia, and the western region would soon find it advantageous to dissolve its ties with the eastern.

In the mean time, all the riches of the New World would be in the grasp of the southerners, instead of exploring the inhospitable regions in the neighborhood of the British frontier, which would be all that remained to the North, the slave owners would carry their inalienable property into lands blessed with every advantage of climate, soil and mineral wealth. Texas has territory enough to make three or four great States. New Mexico is about to be admitted with slave institutions. Arizona will follow. Mexico must in a few years be conquered, and the southerners, lords of the most magnificent domain in the world, would control the passage between the two oceans.

In short, if the Union be South Carolina go, there is no saying what may go with it. It is very well to speculate on the terrors of a coercing sister, but experience shows that secessions, when once made, are not easily recalled. It is the nature of cracks to widen, and both at the North and West there are masses of people so earnest in the advocacy of strong measures to prevent a disruption, that the President may be forced into active measures. For our own part, whatever opinions Americans may have of English policy, we beg to assure them that in this country there is only one wish—that the Union may survive this most terrible trial. Should peaceable divorce it otherwise, we earnestly pray the separation may be an amicable one. Civil war in a flourishing country, and among a kindred people, can never be contemplated without horror by a nation like ours, and we trust that neither the violence of the people nor the weakness of their leaders will bring this terrible calamity on the American Union.

UNCONDITIONAL SUBMISSION.

EDITORS APPEAL: The people of Tennessee have an important decision to make on Saturday, a decision which not only concerns them but their children after them. Let them consider well the issue beforehand. The Republican party expect of the South *unconditional submission*. I know many well-meaning men in the State do not think so. I am not going to argue the point. I prefer to let the Republicans speak for themselves. The New York *Courier and Enquirer* of January 24th, thus states the matter:

"Now as the recent presidential election, it was *decided that the institution of slavery should not be carried into the Territories*. The party which entered the contest pledged to this doctrine, elected its candidate in strict accordance with the means provided by the Constitution."

* * * * * *

"The case as it stands, then, needs no unusual remedy. The course to be pursued by all is very plain—so plain that the merest child ought to perceive it. It is neither more nor less than to obey the laws, to *submit quietly to what has been established by those mode which the people themselves provided.* This is the first duty of all who live under our Government, and those who willfully neglect this, duly prove that they are unable to appreciate the principle upon which that Government depends. By the election of Mr. Lincoln no wrong has been done, the vehicle of no man has been interfered with. The headstrong will of some has been thwarted; and certain selfish politicians have been disappointed. These have deceived some of our people, and have encouraged them in rebellion against the laws. There tell the country that rebellion will cease, and that under will return, if their demands are only complied with. The only reply to be made to them, is that they must first do their duty. *They must first submit to the declared will of the people*, the law of the land, ere they talk of asking for what they choose to call their rights."

The Washington correspondent of the same paper, under date of January 25, writes as follows:

I really think it is now about time for the Northern States to stop the policy of entreating the South—aye, any single State of them, to stay in the Union. What has already been done in the direction of conciliation is more than enough, not has any respect been paid to it. Indeed, the effect would seem to have been the other way. The Southern States should be prepared to insist on the Union on terms as they cannot be stopped, let them not be implored to remain. If they, the weaker vessel, are so confident of being able to get along by themselves, why should the nearly more powerful, wealthy and prosperous North have any doubts of its ability to make a glorious headway?

Southern States the "weaker vessel," indeed!

In debate in the House of Representatives, Republican members spoke to the same purport. Here is an extract from the speech of Owen Lovejoy, from Mr. Lincoln's own State, near January 23:

Mr. Lovejoy, resuming, said, that he would not conciliate with rebels who attempted to get the government at defiance. Whatever he might do under other circumstances, never, as long as God lives, *would he yield for a particle of compromise*, until the insult to our flag should be apologized for or avenged. He wanted to see this disunion farce or tragedy played out. It was said he compromising, *the patriots of the Republican party must be cut off.* He wished they would have a merry time of it. They would be acting Hamlet with the character of Hamlet left out. He appealed *to his Republican friends to stand firm and decided*, and not part with the golden opportunity they now possess to carry out their principles. Immediately upon the adoption of the Chicago platform if he or an angel from heaven proclaimed any other doctrine, let him be anathema maranatha. Let him be accursed and the people curse him.

The next day, a New England member delivered himself as follows:

Mr. Ferry, of Connecticut, alluded to the proposition to the common purposes of the Confederacy. Then Tennessee belongs to the Government just in the sense that Louisiana did and as Arkansas now does; and that, according to Webster, is the same sense in which a planter holds his negroes." That is the doctrine of the upholders of the *free-negro* administration to which Tennessee is required to submit.

But again. How is it with the State of Virginia, or of New York, whose soil Webb and his compeers so emphatically dispute? The people of those States did not originally purchase it any more than did the people of Tennessee and Arkansas purchase theirs. It was conferred by a Divine Providence upon the people of the colonies, in which the States of South Carolina and Georgia, now arraigned by the adherents of Lincoln, gloriously participated. Prior to the adoption of the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." That which is acquired by joint purchase can stand on no higher ground than that which is acquired by joint labor or exertion. And yet, these States, already confederated under articles of "perpetual Union," made a new constitution and Union into which they severally went, or not, as each chose, thus exercising complete control over its own limits. When a new State is formed, no matter how the territory is acquired, it is admitted into the Union "on an equal footing with the original States" (such is the wording of the acts admitting Louisiana and Arkansas) and "into which the territory is the joint ownership of the territory entire."

Once more. The *Courier and Enquirer* appeals to Bancroft, authority. The principles of the revolution even then, in 1768, does not sustain the *Courier's* absolution. Bancroft, a northern writer, thus speaks of that event:

"The right of resistance—familiar to Calvin and Knox, to the early Puritans and the Presbyterians, not of itself a democratic doctrine, but rather a conservative principle—had of late, at liberty, familiar to the nobles of every monarchy in Europe—was the next conquest in the progress of popular freedom: the idea of popular power was well known, but was yet new. The revolution of 1688, dismissed the doctrine of *passive obedience* from the statute book, to take its place, for the English world, among exploded superstitions."—*Vol. 2, p. 9.*

Knowing, it was said, can bind freemen to obey any government save their own agreement. Political power is a trust; and a breach of the trust dissolves the obligation to allegiance."—*Ib. p. 9.*

Black Republicans would do well to employ the services of a good constitutional government, instead of being entirely engrossed with anti-slavery extension. B.

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FROM WASHINGTON.

(Special dispatch to the Cincinnati Enquirer.)

WASHINGTON, February 3.—The language used by Mr. Cobb, in his address at Montgomery, is taken here as an indication of the sentiment of that body, and all efforts will hereafter be turned toward saving the border States to the Union and let the cotton leaving go, leaving it to time to convince them of their suicidal action, and to finally bring them back.

Conservatives say that coercion must not be used toward a seceding State, but let them leave if they will pay for the Federal property within their borders, and pay their share of the public debt.

The Republicans are exulting over the result in Virginia. All lovers of their country should also rejoice, but at the same time remind the dominant party at the North that the first act of aggression on their part toward a seceding State, or the first drop of blood that is shed thereby, will make a secessionist of every Union man elected to the Virginia convention.

The peace congress, as it is called here, effected a permanent organization to-day by the election of ex-President Tyler as its presiding officer, than which a more judicious selection could not have been made. There is a great deal of informal consultation among the commissioners tonight. The border State proposition is by far the most popular plan of adjustment among those who represent the North, but there has yet been no hopeful indication shown by the representatives of the South to accept anything else than the Crittenden plan. The greatest obstruction in the way of an adjustment is the demand of the border States that coercion shall not be used toward their southern sisters, which I am satisfied they will adhere to.

The *ex-Dits* are, in regard to the conference, that they can do nothing that will get a direct and prompt response from the seceding States, but that their action will satisfy the border States, and this is about all that they can hope to do.

I hear it stated to-day that the Republicans are arriving at the conclusion that it would be wise now to adopt the Adams-Seward proposition, and thus checkmate the movement of the peace congress. From this it would seem the Republican managers believe that the peace congress will effect something useful.

Last evening there was a caucus meeting of northern members held at the Capitol, called at the instance of Potter, of Wisconsin. It being evident that there is a plan for backing down among the Republicans, the object of the caucus was to ascertain who are friends who are not the regular straight-out no-compromise men. The attendance was slim, but the meeting resulted in showing that there was a considerable number of strong Republicans present, who are informed on good authority that there are ninety-eight now willing to vote for the border State or the Adams propositions, which amounts to a majority of the House. Yet the knowledge of this fact which has caused Greeley to address the faithful so earnestly of late.

It is not known yet whether the President has sent his reply to Col. Hayne or not. It was not finished last night. The Colonel is awaiting the success.

Col. Hayne was closeted with Gen. Scott all day yesterday, receiving instructions for Major Anderson. He left for Charleston to-day. Colonel Hall says that he has no information of reinforcements to Fort Sumter, and utterly discredits the rumors to that effect. I have every reason to believe the statement of Hallanan will not reinforce any of the forts at the South, unless attacked, or in imminent danger of being so.

The Louisiana Representatives, with the exception of Mr. Bonjiny, withdrew to-day. Mr. B. declined to withdraw, and made a strong Union speech.

Judge Campbell's name has not been nominated as Secretary of the Interior, as reported.

There are great rejoicings here over the defeat of Greeley. He killed Seward at Chicago, and Seward, through Weed, killed him at Albany.

CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, February 5.—Colonel Hayne intended to leave for Charleston to-day, but having been informed that the President is preparing a reply to his communication demanding the surrender of Fort Sumter, he will delay his departure till Wednesday.

The Republican party have defined the position of that State on the subject of commercial arrangement, regarding it probable that the payment of duties, and the clearance of vessels, can be effected with the Government of Washington in such a manner as to render the transaction of business at Charleston difficult and embarrassing. The exposition of the law of nations, as made by the former and present Secretary of State in the parts case affecting the vessels Georgiana and Lizzy Ann, may be regarded as a sound doctrine, applicable to South Carolina, which will permit no interference by the Government of the United States with such regulations as it may adopt in the authority of the latter be permitted to be exercised within the limits of the State. It will be for the United States to impose on vessels of States still members of the Union such duties as they may deem proper to provide for what it may consider violations of its municipal laws.

☞ UNION OF THE SOUTH FOR THE SAKE OF THE SOUTH!

THE NEW YORK HERALD ON THE UNION.

The Union is dissolved. Within a month there will be an organized southern confederation; and then, as the attempt to enforce the Federal laws within its boundaries will be the inauguration of a general war, the question recurs, not how are we to save the Union—for the Union is gone—but how can we preserve the relations of peace? We answer, in the recognition of this southern confederacy for the sake of peace, and for the sake of all our great interests of industry, property, society, law and order, North and South, that are hourly up in this question of peace. If the Union cannot be maintained in its integrity and its agencies, let us have a peaceable separation and two governments. Thus the alienation of the two sections will result in the construction of two great confederacies, destined to expand north and south, till the magnificent regions extending northward toward the Arctic sea, and southward to the Orinoco, are embraced within the folds of the two American republics. But the first broadside of Federal coercion will close the door of peace, and hurry us downward into all the horrors of Mexican anarchy. The Union is broken; to restore it, our first necessity is peace; and if we cannot restore it, still our only course of wisdom and safety is peace.

EVERYTHING HAS ITS USE.

The New Haven *News* has a good story of a young man of Danbury, formerly an active wide-awake, looking for work at his trade as a hatter. On his application to one of the manufacturers for work, he asked him if he had been one of the wide-awakes. Being answered in the affirmative, he told him he hung his uniform to the shop. This was done, and the young man was hired for one dollar per day to walk about with the dress on. When remonstrated with, about it by his Republican friends, he answered:

I carried this thing around, day after day, during the campaign, and made nothing, but considerable by it. If it was honorable then, it is equally so now; and it is giving me the means to pay for my board and washing. You attend to your business, and I will to mine; but if you don'd like my style, furnish me better employment, and I will lay down my torch and throw away my rig.

The *News* says "we doubt not there are hundreds of young mechanics in this town who, during the heat of the late campaign, wasted time and money with the wide-awakes, who would now jump at the opportunity of earning a dollar a day by parading through the principal streets in their uniforms."

SPRINGFIELD ITEMS.

The special correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial* (Republican) at Springfield, Ill., gives the following items of intelligence:

Grave apprehensions prevail in presidential circles of fatal dissensions in the Republican party on account of Lincoln's proposed and consequent embarrassment of the incoming Administration.

The Chicago Tribune reads Kellogg out of the party on account of his compromise propositions. Much feeling is manifested here among the radical Republicans in view of the proposed discrepancy between his declaration during his last visit to this place and the position now occupied by him.

Washburne, of Maine, telegraphed to Gov. Yates, urging him not to appoint commissioners to Washington, as the appointment would demoralize the Republican party. This and other appeals of the same nature prevented the departure of the commissioners until this evening.

Horace Greeley arrived here this morning and went West after a few hours stay, without seeing Mr. Lincoln. He is expected back to-morrow morning, when he will make his wishes known to the President elect. He is very severe on Cameron and Kellogg. A positive declaration in reference to the compromise movement will doubtless be elicited by him from Mr. Lincoln. He received the news of his defeat at Albany with his usual complacency.

A Pennsylvania delegation is here to urge Governor Reader in case of Cameron's withdrawal.

Mr. Lincoln has received and accepted an invitation from the State authorities and citizens of Albany to visit that city. The trip to New York Thursday week will now definitely determined upon. The presidential party will stop at the Metropolitan hotel while in the Empire city.

The Montgomery Convention.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., February 4.—The convention met at Montgomery, R. W. Barnwell temporary chairman.

An impressive prayer was offered by Rev. Basil Manlley.

On motion of R. B. Rhett, Howell Cobb was selected for permanent president by acclamation, and Johnson F. Hooper was selected as permanent secretary.

All the delegates were present except Mr. E. Morton, of Florida.

An unusual preliminary business was attended to, the convention adjourned until to-morrow.

SECESSION TICKET.
CONVENTION.
From Shelby County,
DAVID M. CURRIN,
SOLON BORLAND.
From Shelby and Tipton,
MARCUS J. WRIGHT.
From Shelby, Fayette and Tipton,
H. R. BATE.

THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS.

SECOND SESSION.

WASHINGTON, February 5.—Mr. Taylor sent to the clerk the Louisiana secession ordinance, which was read.

He said the act which it was his purpose to perform, is withdrawing from this assemblage, in obedience to the will of the people of his State, was one of no ordinary occurrence. The spectacle was now exhibited of seeing the Representatives of the States, delegation after delegation, withdrawing from Congress—from the legislative assembly of the country—dictated, under Providence, to be the greatest the world had ever seen. We are now witnessing the dissolution of a mighty form of government, and the secession of State after State from the Union. Differences of opinion have caused these results, owing to a change in the relative condition of the two sections. A number of the Southern States have arrived at the conclusion that they can no longer remain members of this Union, unless changes be made in the constitutional law, and the Constitution be restored to it its original spirit.

In his judgment he owed it to himself, to his people, and the House and people of the United States, to say that it was his solemn conviction that if any one of the measures reported by the committee of thirty-three were adopted unanimously by both Houses of Congress, it would produce no effect in reaising the current sweeping South after State from the Confederacy. If the Union was to be restored to its former condition, it must be by constitutional amendments. If gentlemen cannot grant this, a dissolution is inevitable. If we cannot dwell together in unity, let us, like the patriarchs Lot and Abraham, peaceably separate. While he found no warrant in the Constitution for secession, he maintained the right of revolution, which had been recognized by solemn acts throughout all the departments of Government.

Messrs. McKean and Stanton severally interrupted this gentleman, raising the point that he was not confining himself to a mere personal explanation.

Mr. Bonjiny said his colleague was making his last speech here, and certainly it was not polite to interrupt him.

Mr. Taylor said those who remain here will have an opportunity to reply to his remarks, if they desired to do so.

Mr. Taylor argued against coercive measures, and said that manufacturers were dependent on the South for cotton. It was the interest of trade that, if secession took place, it should be peaceable.

Mr. Sickles asked if he did not consider war already inflicted by the secession of the mind and other property by Louisiana, and if protective measures adopted by the Government were not essential to the honor and rights of the country.

Mr. Taylor replied, it was the duty of Louisiana to protect herself by taking possession of the forts, etc., as coercion was threatened against their people in the same breath.

Mr. Spinner rose on a point of order. The gentleman was not a member of the House.

Mr. John Cochrane hoped the gentleman now taking his farewell would not be interrupted.

Mr. Taylor repeated, on the first attack on the South the whole people from seven to eleven, including Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Missouri, and civil war would be the result. He then bade the House farewell.

Mr. Bonjiny made explanation that he had not received official notice of the passage of the ordinance of secession. He was not elected by the convention and should not be governed by their action. He was the only member elected as an American Union man, and to this principle he should ever adhere. [Applause.] When I came here I took the oath to maintain the Constitution of the United States; does that not mean the Union of the States? By that oath I shall stand. Whenever my immediate constituents instruct me to withdraw from this House, their wishes will be respected. Until then I will never withdraw but resign my seat; but after I do so I shall continue to be a Union man and stand under the flag of the country that gave me birth. [Long continued applause on the floor and galleries.]

The deficiency bill was taken up. The Senate Chirqui amendment was lost.

The amendment for a public printing office was agreed to.

The resolution for the recovery of certain stolen Indian trust bonds was referred to the select committee.

The bill suspending postal service in the States where obstructed, was taken up.

Mr. Branch opposed it on the ground that such action would be tantamount to acknowledgment of the independence of the seceding States.

Mr. Sickles advocated the bill, as there was now no power to protect the mails from robbery.

During Mr. Sickles' remarks the morning hour expired, and the report of the committee of thirty-three was taken up.

Mr. Hughes advocated the Crittenden resolutions.

The House passed a resolution relative to the one Millstreamack offered yesterday, and then took a recess.

P. M.—Mr. Logan, of Illinois, opposed coercion. He regarded the resolution accomplished, and sounded concession and compromise.

Mr. Tappan, of New Hampshire, addressed the House, advocating the principles of the Republicans as being consequent on the compact which the whole country could exist in peace for centuries.

Senate.—Mr. Fitch, from the committee on printing, reported a resolution for printing 20,000 of the mechanical reports of the Patent Office.

Mr. Wade presented a petition earnestly repeating Congress to submit to the people the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws.

Ten Eyck presented several petitions of the same character.

Mr. Dixon presented a petition from over 10,000 citizens of Connecticut, without distinction of party, in favor of the passage of the border State resolutions.

Mr. Bigler presented petitions in favor of the Crittenden resolutions.

Mr. Cameron presented petitions in favor of standing by the Constitution.

Mr. Wigfall offered a resolution inquiring of the President why troops were concentrated in this district.

Mr. Bayard advocated the bill, which passed the President's message came up.

Mr. Johnson, of Tenn., made a speech supporting his former position against secession, and detailing how the South had been injured in consequence, saying he had struck treason a blow, and men engaged in it being traitors, felt the blow. He said the scene yesterday in the Senate was well illustrated by a bread, but whether the anxious mourners were prepared