Daily Appeal.

MEMPHIS.

TUESDAY.....FEBRUARY 19, 1861.

Largest Circulation in the City

Reading Matter on Every Page.

BLACK-REPUBLICAN DEFENDERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The hostility of Republicanism to the South is only excelled by the sublime impudence of its advocates. They assert their claim, *par excellence*, to be styled "defenders of the Constitution," and it is asserted by one of their organs, that theirs is the only party in the country whose "loyalty to the Constitution is above suspicion." With personal liberty bills staining the records of nine of the States which they control; with the standing motto on their flag, that slavery shall never be carried into any of the common territories; with the reiterated resolves of their party, from Maine to Oregon, that they will set at naught the decision of the Supreme Court of the United states, the constitutional arbiter of legal rights; with the desolating doctrines of the higher law, which they pronounce divine edicts, and therefore paramount to all laws or constitutions of human origin; with their constant assertion that the will of a majority must be obeyed, though their action may grievously oppress the minority; with the monstrous dogma of tyranny enunciated on the floors of Congress, from the lips of their Representatives, and their chosen President, that a free and independent sovereign people shall be compelled by force to yield their allegiance; with this damning record spread upon the pages of the country's history, they claim to be the defenders of the Constitution and the Union, and call upon good men to rally around them for the enforcement of the laws.

By their assaults upon constitutional rights, they have driven seven sovereignties to form new political combinations, and repudiate their alliance, and, now, with monstrous audacity they call upon the outraged people of the slave States, to stand by the Union which they themselves put in jeopardy, and finally destroyed. They have conquered and crushed every friend of the Constitution in the Northern States, who was so bold as to open his mouth in its defense, and now, like sheth hounds, they are upon the track of those who have, under new auspices, set up the Constitution of our fathers, as the charter of their rights. With brazen assurance they summon us to unite in the chase. "*The whole aim of the Republican party*, (says the New York *Tribune*) *should be to induce the border slave States to countenance the policy we shall pursue toward the seceded States.*"

The policy involves a bold, daring, monstrous usurpation of power by the Federal Government, and a violent destruction of the rights of the States under the Constitution, by those who claim to be the "defenders of the Constitution and lovers of the Union."

They have deliberately defied the federal laws, and denounced the Constitution as "a covenant with hell." They are now suddenly seized—not with remorse—but with veneration for its sacredness, and regard for its integrity. Being now its special custodians, they will not even permit the South to gather up the fragments of the instrument, which they had broken and scattered in the face of the South.

In the name of the Constitution and the Union, they would invade the soil, and slaughter the inhabitants of the Southern States. Defenders of the Constitution, and preservers of the laws, forsooth! They trample upon all laws, human and divine, and crush not only the sacred charter, but freedom itself.

The mode in which the Black-Republicans defend the Constitution is but a repetition of that in which Cortez *defended* the Roman Catholic faith against the infidels of Mexico. He sacked the cities, murdered the inhabitants, plundered their treasury, and, in the climax of his zeal, stretched the Emperor Montezuma on living embers. All this was done by the cruel and ambitious conqueror, as defender of the holy church. May the future historian of our country never record such a career for the "defenders of the Constitution."

CENSURES OF THE PRESS.

The result of the late election in this State is calling down upon us the severe, and, perhaps, not unjust censures of our neighbors of Mississippi and Alabama. While we are not prepared to meet and repel their reproaches with counter upbraidings, we can, at the same time, ask them to be a little charitable. All wisdom, it has been said, is embodied in two words: "Wait and hope." Time and silence often accomplish more than haste and indiscretion. Besides, our friends over the way could not expect to leap into full and gigantic proportions at a single bound. They have accomplished much, and shaped a nucleus around which a magnificent southern republic may gradually be formed. Although we have been deprived, by the vote of a majority of our people, of the pleasure of starting off hand in hand with them, they have the sympathies and good wishes of thousands and tens of thousands of our best citizens, who will look upon their advancement and progress with fraternal interest, and who, if need be, will bare their breasts and nerve their arms to shield them from the invasion of a northern foe.

Then, we say to them, be patient and live hopeful. Tennessee has probably polled from forty to sixty thousand votes in favor of secession. This is at least a good beginning. There never has been a time in her history, probably, when a hundred votes could have been polled on the same side of the question. Besides, the question was not fairly understood by a large mass of her people; they threw their ballots under the impression that they were voting for either Union or disunion. When the alternative is fairly presented and the question rightly understood—when our people are called upon to determine whether they will join hands with the republic of the South or remain as the southern appendage of the black republic of the North, they will not be tardy in making the choice. Many of them have not yet realized the fact that the Union is dissolved, and will cling on to the old concern as long as a vestige of a hope of reunion remains; but, in the meantime, let us reach, educate and instruct them, holding them as friends, rather than driving them forward from us by calling them hard names and heaping upon them unpalatable and unjustifiable epithets. Give us another chance, friends of the South, to pick our flints and try it again, and we promise you a different result.

SLANDERS DISSEMINATED.

The Black-Republican papers, and many of the Union papers of the border slave States, are industriously circulating reports of disaffection among the people of the seceding States. Many of them go so far as to assert that, so soon as Lincoln is firmly in the saddle, a federal party will be formed that will sweep those States back into the old confederacy which they have abandoned. We can find no evidences of any disaffection in those States, and do not believe, for a moment, that any exists. We can speak confidently as to the opinion of our neighboring State, Mississippi, and do assert, that the Secession party is stronger, more determined, and more powerful now than on the day when delegates to the convention were chosen. We have seen intelligent men from various portions of that State, and their testimony is uniformly and unvaryingly to that effect. Hundreds of men in that State, who voted the conditional Union ticket, would now cheerfully and unhesitatingly support the secession cause, if the vote were taken to-day. We believe this to be true of the other States that have seceded. As to any complaint about taxation, there is no cause for it, and one is heard. We speak knowingly when we assert, that the per centage of taxation is much greater, and the taxes are more onerous in Tennessee than in Mississippi. In the latter State, the State and county taxes were equal in most of the counties, under the former revenue bills. The additional tax now imposed is only fifty per cent. on the State tax, which would be of course but an increase of twenty-five per cent. on the whole tax formerly paid by her people.

Those who are most actively engaged in circulating the falsehoods we have designated, do not believe them, but would fain persuade others that they are true. Such calumnies on the people of these States may obtain currency for a brief period, but the noble and determined spirit of those people will vindicate their name in the end.

☞ The Nashville *Democrat*, a paper whose sentiments are those of a happy echo in the abolition praise of the Hon. JEFFERSON DAVIS, made at Stephenson, Ala., in the following discourteous language:

Let him attempt to subdue the Federal Government, let him fire at Fort Sumter, or at any other fort of the United States, where our flag now floats, and he is as sure to be hung as that the sun will rise to-morrow morning, unless he runs, like a coward, to a country beyond the reach of Tennessee.

We would merely inform the *Democrat*—and all others who design to support the LINCOLN dynasty in the bloody programme of Southern war—that when they attempt to carry out the threat so blusteringly enunciated above, that they will be met upon the soil of their own *State* by forty thousand gallant sons of West Tennessee, over whose slain bodies they must pass before they can accomplish their unholy purpose. If the infamous doctrine of coercion is to be sanctioned by citizens of this State, we may as well announce at once, for the benefit of Southern traitors, that the war, if it come at all, *will commence within the borders of Tennessee.*

COL. H. R. AUSTIN'S CARD.

We take from the *Inquisitor*, of yesterday, a letter from Col. H. R. AUSTIN, addressed to his Union friends, which we publish below. We hope that the members of the Union party will respond to the call, and take some action to redeem the State from the false position in which it has been placed by the apparent result of the recent contest. Her attitude is wholly misunderstood by the northern people, as well as those of the South. The Black-Republican press everywhere claim a victory for unconditional Unionism in this State. By the defeat of the convention, they assert that the people of Tennessee proclaimed that they have no cause of complaint against the North, that they desire no guarantees, and "would not even permit their delegates to discuss any remedies," or demand redress or security. We learn, from a reliable Washington correspondent, that our commissioners to the peace congress, are taunted with this supposed action of the State, and are told that the people of Tennessee have declared that they desire no amendments to the Constitution, and that they have receded from the position taken by the legislature. Many of the Republicans believe that because, in most of the counties, the tickets upon which the defeated candidates were announced, were entitled the "Anti-coercion" tickets, that the popular voice of Tennessee favors the coercion policy of LINCOLN, and that the position of his party on this subject is fully indorsed. It is due to the State, as well as the large body of those who voted the Union ticket, that they give assurance to our dominant enemies, that they are in error in thus construing their position:

TO MY UNION FRIENDS: You may regard the request I am constrained to make to you, rather extraordinary; but I feel myself, and the State to which I owe allegiance, maligned and unexpectedly to all parties, placed in a false position, from which nothing but your prompt action can relieve us.

The governor of this State, at your request, convened the legislature, for the purpose of calling a convention to determine what action the State of Tennessee ought to take in reference to the new relations which have arisen between her and the other States of the Union. A difference of opinion in regard to the action of the proposed convention, defeated the call for a convention. And by voting "No convention," Tennessee has, in effect, declared to the Black-Republican government about to be inaugurated at Washington that she will submit to Black Republican rule with or without a compromise of the sectional controversy. Now I am sure Tennessee did not intend to make any such declaration; I believe the Union men of Memphis did not intend to defeat the convention, and therefore propose a meeting of the Union men of Memphis at Odd Fellows' hall, on Tuesday evening, the 19th inst., to reconsider the vote against the convention, and to inaugurate some measure which will lead to a hearty co-operation of the people of Tennessee in such action as her interests and honor may demand.

The questions which I propose to discuss on that occasion have been forced upon us, and must be decided in a few short days by submission or resistance to a Black-Republican administration:

1. Is the Union our fathers formed now existing?

2. Is a Southern Confederacy, of seven of the seceding States, an existing reality, or is the provisional government organized at Montgomery, a reasonable combination of rebels to the central Government at Washington?

3. Is the organization of a new government for the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States the best way to present secession and civil war?

4. Is submission to Lincoln's administration submission to tyranny?

5. Is the secession of seven sovereign States from the Confederacy of thirty-three, a violation of the principles of liberty, as set forth in the Declaration of Independence?

6. Is a reconstruction of the Union of the Northern and Southern States possible or desirable?

7. Is Tennessee with the North, or is she with the South? H. R. AUSTIN.

AN EXAMPLE WORTHY OF IMITATION.

It is pleasant to see that in the heat and din of the late canvass, at least *one* Union paper in Tennessee has not departed so far from the landmarks of Southern rights and State equality as to become suspected of apologizing for the powers that are soon to be. That paper is the Nashville *Patriot*—a journal whose past antecedents well warranted us in believing that its future conduct would be true to Tennessee. The following extract from its columns, alluding to the late harangues of LINCOLN, amply attest the truth of what we say:

Surrounded by party men—many of them fanatical in their hostility to slavery, and inclined to exalt Republicanism at the expense of the Constitution—his views take color and assume shape from their rather than from the higher and more elevated suggestions of duty which his position should inspire. This is unfortunate—particularly unfortunate for him, if, when he assumes the throne of office, he does not, at the same time, shake off the habiliments of the Republican party, but attempts to carry out the policy believed to be forcshadowed by him at Indianapolis, he will, when it is too late, realize the fact that it will involve his administration in the perils of civil war—a devastating war, which will render his name forever infamous in history.

THE MILITARY.

We call attention to the resolutions of the *Southern Guards*, and the appended card of Capt. HAMILTON, published in another column. Surely, if we are to have a military force, at all, let it be effective. No one can doubt but that we should have an armed force equal, at least, to the exigencies suggested to the legislature of the State, to-wit: to suppress riots, insurrections, mobs, invasions, etc. We have no such force in Memphis—not even cartridges have been furnished—and the companies have supplied themselves at their own expense, by the thousands of dollars in equipments. These equipments are but for peaceful holiday display. What is required is strong, stout material, for uniforms, that will wear—blankets, and, as the card suggests, all that is necessary for the camp.

Our companies are but skeletons, deficient, in fact, in all that is requisit for the real soldier.

Even if Tennessee desires to preserve a neutrality—she is unable to do so. Without arms and equipments, she would be at the mercy of hostile forces, on either side, and be overcome and crushed in a contest. In fact our position is humiliating, almost abject. Let, at least, a local regard for our interest and position induce our citizens to respond to the call, liberally and promptly.

THE MISSISSIPPI ARMY.

EDITORS APPEAL: Two companies of infantry, riflemen, were mustered with the army of Mississippi by Col. Griffith, the adjutant-general, here to-day, to-wit:

The Jeff. Davis Rifles, numbering sixty-one, Samuel Benton captain, H. W. Walter first lieutenant, R. L. Watson second lieutenant, and B. Mickle third lieutenant. The Home Guards, numbering fifty-four, Thomas W. Harris captain, W. A. P. Jones first lieutenant, J. B. Mattison second lieutenant, and J. L. Airy third lieutenant.

Some members of both companies are absent. One or two more companies will probably be raised in the county. X.

HOLLY SPRINGS, Feb., 16, 1861.

THE POSITION OF TEXAS.

On next Saturday the citizens of Texas will be called on to vote upon the ordinance of secession. The result is forshadowed in the following article, which we clip from the Houston *Telegraph* of the 12th inst:

From all parts of the country comes the gratifying intelligence that the people are becoming more and more united and determined in the cause of secession every day. We hear from the counties of Matagorda, Wharton, Fort Bend, where the feeling in opposition to the secession movement was strongest of any part of the State, there has been a complete reaction, and that on the 23d it will be unanimous for a vote of the secession ticket. So it is in Williamson county, and so it will prove to be all over the State.

The fact is our people are all sound on the question both of southern rights as involved in the protection of our institutions, and of State rights as involved in the right of secession. They care not to be governed by a majority of the territory, if, was impossible that they should have been fully posted in the progress of events, either abroad or at home, and many believed co-operation both practicable and safe.

Of course they now dismiss this idea and are falling back on the last and only position which our people have left them, which is to take the State out of the Union and put her in position both to demand and protect her rights. Our word for it, the 23d of this month will see a vote for secession, showing a decree of unanimity never before seen in the annals of elections in Texas.

☞ The House of Representatives, says the New York *Day Book*, of the 13th, yesterday stultified itself in a most conspicuous manner. First, it passed a resolution that Congress had no power to interfere with "slavery" in the States, and then one of the very men who voted for this proposition turned around and offered a resolution appointing a committee of five to inquire as to instituting plans for abolishing white supremacy in the border States! The plans of the Black-Republicans, as they are gradually developed, leave no doubt that Mr. LINCOLN'S doctrines of the "ultimate extinction" of negro slavery, will be the policy of his Administration.

President Davis in Montgomery—Enthusiastic Reception.

MONTGOMERY, Feb. 16.—President Davis arrived in this city at 10 o'clock to-night. He met with an enthusiastic reception, and a salute was fired in his honor. A large concourse of citizens and strangers escorted him to his lodgings at Exchange Hotel.

NEWS SUMMARY.

A bill authorizing the issuing of fifty dollar treasury notes was yesterday passed by the lower house of Congress.

The steamer Ashland, from Tensas river to New Orleans, loaded with cotton, was destroyed by fire on Friday last. No lives were lost.

The celebrated Gaines' case came up before the Supreme Court on Wednesday last—a suit bringing a great portion of New Orleans into litigation.

In an affray in Monroe parish, Louisiana, on the 12th inst., between A. J. Crenshaw and W. Potter, the latter was fatally wounded. The homicide has been arrested.

We have telegraphic reports from several points in Arkansas, which, if they may be taken as a criterion, would indicate that the State will go largely for convention and secession.

Hon. Jefferson Davis was yesterday inaugurated provisional President of the Confederated States of America. The ceremonies are said to have been the grandest ever witnessed in the South. In his inaugural address he discussed the various propositions contained in the declaration of American independence.

The suffering in Kansas is said to be fearful. The snow is reported to be eight feet deep, the cold intense, and the stock all dying, while the Indians are threatening depredations. In the midst of these calamities, starvation is imminent with a large proportion of the settlers.

A Mr. Withington was recently frozen to death in Massachusetts, after applying to several houses for shelter, in every instance meeting with repulses. He had been out with some ladies on a sleigh ride, and it was through the greatest stretch of "northern" hospitality, that the ladies found a means of escaping the fate of Mr. Withington.

In the Virginia State convention on Saturday, resolutions were offered against the retaking of southern forts, and pledging the military aid of Virginia against any mode of coercing the seceded States by the General Government, and saying that if all compromises fail, Virginia will unite with her southern sisters. Gov. Wise counseled speedy action.

The recent freshet in Georgia has done immense damage. Two bridges are gone between Columbus and Dalton, Ga., and between Dalton and Chatanooga about fourteen bridges are washed away. One bridge is gone between Chatanooga and Cleveland, and there is no connection east of that point. A train of passenger cars came near going in the river between Cleveland and Chatanooga, the engineer being thrown from the train and drowned.

It is said that Mr. Lincoln has been telegraphed to stop his political harangues to the mobs who assemble to witness the rare show of a live President elect. His party are evidently ashamed of him—an exhibition of good taste, eminently in their credit. Having bought the elephant at the price of the Union, his party does not know what to do with him. The leaders, however, will, like Mr. Toodles, find it "convenient to have him in the house" to attach his name to State documents, though before they get through with him, the people will, in the classic language of Timothy Toodles, "d——n Thompson."

The telegraph announces that the journey of the Hon. Jefferson Davis, the provisional President of the Southern Confederacy, to Montgomery, has been one continual ovation. Crowds of ladies and gentlemen met him at every station. His reception at Montgomery was very enthusiastic. During his speech at that point he said: "The time for compromise had passed. We are determined to make all who oppose us smell Southern powder and feel Southern steel. We may be ushered into the midst of storms, but the clouds will clear away, and we will be carried safely into the harbor of constitutional liberty and political equality. We have now a prospect of living in peace with our institutions, subject to protection, not defamation. If we are attacked from abroad, we will show Southern valor shines as brightly now as in 1776 and 1812."

TEXAS ITEMS.

The legislature adjourned on the 8th inst.

Gen. John D. Pitts, a well known and honored citizen of Texas, died very suddenly on the 8th inst. at his residence in Navarro county.

The Galveston Civilian of the 12th says:

From present appearances, there will be no organized or decided opposition to secession in the election to take place in Texas the 23d inst. The Union men find overtures from the North too slow and unsatisfactory to afford any encouragement of a settlement of our present difficulties in the Union, and the public mind seems to be no longer divided.

H. E. McCulloch, Esq., U. S. Marshal for the Eastern District of Texas, has published in the *State Gazette* his letter to President Buchanan, resigning the office from and after the 4th inst.

The Galveston *News* of the 12th, in its commercial article, says:

The main feature in our cotton market has been the scarcity of supply, caused by damage to the several lines of railroad by heavy rains; the same cause together with the pressure of plantation work, prevents the movement of cotton by teams; and it is probable, under the circumstances, that but little cotton will be received during the present month, beyond the deliveries from Trinity and Brazos river by steamboats.

We learn from the *News*, that the legislature failed to pass the special slay law. The *News* remarks:

The mere report that such an act was contemplated, has already done the merchants of this place much harm with their correspondents abroad.

WEATHER AND CROPS.—The Galveston *News*, of the 12th inst., in its weekly review says:

We have enjoyed delightful weather here since our last review. There was a heavy rain on Saturday night, but it has not interfered with the general current of the clear, bright, bracing days.

From the interior we continue to hear of rain and snow in all parts of the State, which have more thoroughly saturated the soil than it has been for some years, and have greatly cheered the farmers and planters who are putting in, or preparing to put in crops. The ground is in excellent condition, and the prospects for a large yield are most encouraging. In western and northern Texas a large wheat crop has been sowed, and so far, the stand, we learn, looks well, encouraging hopes of an early and abundant harvest.

The prairies, too, are fast putting forth their verdure; the grazing promises to be excellent; and though there have been two general snow storms and some otherwise severe weather, the winter has been very mild, and the cattle and sheep have stood the season without much suffering. In some of the western counties we see it stated that the prairies swarm with fat beeves, but that the falling off in the demand for them interferes much with the pecuniary resources of that section.

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MONTGOMERY CORRESPONDENCE.

MONTGOMERY, ALA., Feb. 15, 1861.

EDITORS APPEAL: The feature which most strikes one in the proceedings of the Southern Congress is the unruffled harmony with which its deliberations are conducted. It is a subject of universal remark, and presents a disparaging contrast to the wrangling and disparaging efforts at legislation in the halls of the old Federal Congress. Since their assembling on the 4th inst., not yet two weeks, I venture to assert that more practical legislation has been effected than was ever engineered through the discordant body, now engaged chiefly in drawing their salaries at Washington, in three times as many months. The bone of contention—the slavery question—has been of course entirely removed from the political arena; a homogeneous body of statesmen, who have but one purpose, and that to maintain the honor and advance the prosperity of our government, are now heard to raise their voices in furtherance of the one great end for which they have been convened.

"The dark cloud that o'er our house has lowered,
Is one day more the sunshine of the world."

On day before yesterday, an amusing scene occurred in the Congressional hall during session. Mr. WALKER BROOKS, of Mississippi, who was, I believe, a co-operationist during the late campaign in that State, was suddenly attacked upon the floor with a morbid affection for the "stars and stripes," which apparently resulted in a relapse into the same old chronic disease of which he was supposed to have been cured by the dose of secession ordinance administered to him by the doctors assembled by him at Jackson during the sitting of the State convention. Under the inspiration of the moment he made a sword-eagle speech, expressing his devotion to the old federal flag, and enjoining upon the convention not to give it up, but to cling to its symbols for the sake of the hallowed memories of the past. He admired the stars to be diminished only in number, and every stripe to be preserved.

After finishing this little episode, which he performed with dramatic exactness, Mills, of South Carolina—ever impetuous and fiery—rose to his feet and pronounced a splendid malediction upon the star-spangled object of Mr. Brooks' admiration—asserting that, so far from being hallowed by the past memories, the flag alluded to by the Mississippian had ever, in his mind, been associated with the idea of tyranny and oppression. His brief speech settled at once against the passage of the resolution which elicited the discussion, and it was wisely withdrawn.

A large concourse of citizens held a meeting last night before last at Estelle hall, with the view of taking some move to secure the permanent seat of government at this city. Resolutions were passed tending to President Davis, asking him to use his influence with his select from private dwellings as the future White House—an illegitimate procedure, we think, entirely beyond their prerogative. No sooner the act announced, I learn, than they saw their purpose can be accomplished. The press, the people, and outside influence of course, contribute to further their ends. One of the leading journals here—so far as to assert that M nigomery "must have the capital"—that Georgia and Mississippi, the only two other States that are central enough to be competitors, have been honored in the elevation of Davis and Stephens to the two highest offices in the Government, and Alabama has so far received no emolument.

The "metropolitan folks" forget that Huntsville is in their State at all, and has superior advantages which cannot be entirely ignored. The President is expected to arrive on Saturday night, and great preparations have been made for his reception. A committee, appointed to attend to his inauguration, which has been fixed for Monday next, at 9 o'clock, consists of the following gentlemen: Gov. Moore, of Alabama, Gov. Perry, Florida, Kenan of Georgia, Rhett of South Carolina, Barry of Mississippi, and De Clonet of Louisiana. A grand demonstration is expected.

On this morning an official copy of the Texas secession ordinance was presented to Congress, with the credentials of the delegates in Congress from that State. Some delay in the reception of the deputies upon the ground that the people, not the State in its sovereign capacity, had ratified the ordinance so as to entitle them to a seat in Congress. Mr. Greer, who was the only one present, was invited to a seat on the floor, however, until the matter is decided.

A resolution passed to-day, continuing all custom house officers in duty that have been holding office under the Federal Government, with the same salaries, provided they do not resign before the thirtieth inst. They are, of course, compelled to take a new oath to support the Constitution of the "Confederate States."

Arrangements will soon be on foot to purchase suitable houses for the government, so as to be placed in a defensive attitude against all efforts at coercion upon the part of the Northern Confederacy.

Two companies of the Alabama militia returned on Wednesday evening last from Pensacola, where they were ordered by the governor, some weeks since, to reinforce Fort Pickens. They are represented as expressing great disappointment at not being allowed the privilege of bringing back a few "scalps" with them.

It is supposed here now that an effort will be made by the Confederate States, so soon as the President is inaugurated, to negotiate for the peaceable delivery of *all forts* in the possession of the Northern Confederacy, and if treaty and diplomacy fail, we will try what virtue there is in *bayonets and balls*. The *Post*, of yesterday, the old organ of the co-operationists in the late canvass, alluding to this matter, says: "If the peace policy fails, then the only alternative left us is to take them by force, and *maintain them at whatever sacrifice they may cost!*"

It is useless to say that this is the only course which our honor and dignity will permit us to pursue. We must demonstrate to the myrmidons of Lincoln that we, as well as they, have a government in every sense of the word, and intend to "enforce the laws."

Little interest is taken here now in the action of the border States, as it is generally conceded that they cannot probably remain with us after while, and that their secession is only a matter of time. I trust the surmise may not be unfounded. OMEGA.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

WASHINGTON, Feb., 13, 1861.

EDITORS APPEAL: The Tennessee election has proven disastrous to the non-seceding States. I met this morning one of our State commissioners, a member of the great national sewing society now engaged here with granny Tyler in patching the ragged, tattered garments of Uncle Sam. He stated that the Tennessee members of the conference might as well, for all practical purposes, resign their trusts and go home—the voting down of the convention had destroyed the moral influence of the representatives of Tennessee. The Black-Republicans say with one voice, Tennessee has no demands to make; she has no grievances of which to complain; she apprehends no danger from the supreme domination of Black-Republicanism in all departments of the Government; she requires no guarantees, no security for the present or future. I deplore this result of our election. I was the first man in Tennessee to suggest through the press the propriety of convening our general assembly in extraordinary session, not with the view of effecting the separate secession of the State, but that Tennessee might co-operate in any proposed action of other States. I rallied upon the conservatism of Tennessee to moderate the rashness and precipitation which then characterized the policy of the cotton States. It is needless to say that Tennessee has evinced a greater share of conservatism than I supposed to exist among her people, that conservatism which degenerates apparently, though not really, into "submissionism."

I am conscious of the fact that the convention was voted down by men who did not participate the success of their candidates and who did not expect to defeat the recommendation of the governor and legislature that a convention should meet.

The radicalism and ultraism of some of the organs of the secessionists frightened the people; they apprehended a reign of terror and immediate secession from the action of the convention, and hence the result. I think it should not be submitted to a popular vote. I do not know that you concur with me in the reasons assigned for the result of the election in Tennessee. The reasons I have enunciated in the following article, which we clip from the Houston *Telegraph* of the 12th inst:

It is understood that the peace conference will adjourn within ten days or less, and it seems that the Guitiate and Adams propositions, combined, will be carried over by a majority of the commissioners. The representatives from the middle, free and slave States, can agree without difficulty. The unmanageable part will be the representatives of States which really have no interest in the issues involved in the controversy. A leading Pennsylvania Republican member of Congress said to me, last night, that the people and his State would concede everything but the Breckinridge platform, which he believed was framed by disunionists *per se*, simply and purely for the purpose of destroying the Union. I said that the present Congress did not represent present popular sentiment in the free States, but while this was true as to Republican members, we could not validly disunionize, yet it knows that everything possible would be conceded to the middle slave States, if being the interest and policy of the North to retain them in the Union. I did not fail to suggest the fact that the sympathies of the people of West Tennessee were wholly with the cotton States; that to them we were allied by every consideration of interest and association, and that the first omission of duty or the slightest offence to the middle slave States would throw them into the arms of the cotton confederacy. It is not the policy of the contemplated Section and to add one hundred thousand fighting men who wander over the hills and hollows of Tennessee, to the active strength of the seceding States, which, in addition to their numerous guarantees may be expected. The Black-Republican presses of the North are already making good use of it, and the news went out from this city that has been struck to present a compromise, if such a thing has been seriously contemplated. We apprehend it will be but a short time before Congress will see the error she has committed, and hasten to take her proper place among the Confederated States of America.—*Tiskomingo (Miss.) Patriot.*

THE COTTON SPINNERS' CONVENTION.—The body organized at the City Hall, yesterday, by calling to the chair Mr. H. Stevenson, of Gwinnett factory. Mr. W. J. Russell, of Sweetwater factory, was chosen permanent secretary. Hon. C. G. Bayne, who has been for some time traveling in Europe, in connection with the industrial interests of the South, is in attendance on the convention. The convention promises to be an interesting one, and will, no doubt, be productive of the manufacturing interests of the South.—*Atlanta (Ga.) Intelligencer, Feb. 14.*

A Declaration of the Causes which impel the State of Texas to secede from the Federal Union.

The Government of the United States, by certain joint resolutions, bearing date on the first day of March, in the year A. D. 1845, proposed to the Republic of Texas, then a free, sovereign and independent nation, the annexation of the latter to the former, as one of the co-equal States thereof.

The people of Texas, by deputies in convention assembled, on the fourth day of July of the same year, assented to and accepted said proposals, and formed a constitution for the proposed State, upon which, on the 29th day of December, of the same year, said State was formally received into the confederated Union.

Texas abandoned her separate national existence and consented to become one of the confederated States, to promote her welfare, insure domestic tranquillity and secure more substantially the blessings of liberty and peace to her people. She was received into the confederacy, with her own constitution, and the guarantees of the Federal Constitution and the compact of annexation, that she should enjoy these blessings. She was received as a commonwealth holding, maintaining and protecting the institution known as negro slavery—the servitude of the African to the white race, within her limits—a relation that has existed from the first settlement of her wilderness by the white race, and which her people intended should continue to exist in all future time. Her institutions and geographical position established the strongest ties between her and the other slaveholding States of the Confederacy. Those ties have been strengthened by the association. But what has been the action of the Government of the United States, and of the people and authorities of the non-slaveholding States, since our connection with them?

The controlling majority of the Federal Government, under various pretences and disguises, has so administered the same as to exclude the citizens of the Southern States, unless under odious and unconstitutional restrictions, from all the immense territory owned in common by all the States on the Pacific ocean, for the avowed purpose of acquiring sufficient power in the common Government, to use it as a means of destroying the institutions of Texas and her sister slaveholding States.

By the disloyalty of the Northern States and their citizens, and the imbecility of the Federal Government, infamous combinations of incendiaries and outlaws have been permitted in those States and the common territory of Kansas, to trample upon the federal laws, to war upon the lives and property of southern citizens in that Territory, and, finally, by violence and mob law, to usurp the possession of the same, as exclusively the property of the Northern States.

The Federal Government, while but partially under the control of these, and sectional enemies, has, for years, almost entirely failed to protect the lives and property of the people of Texas against the Indian savages on our borders, and, more recently, against the murderous forays of banditti from the neighboring territory of Mexico, and when our State government has expended large amounts for such purposes, the Federal Government has refused reimbursement therefor—thus rendering our condition more insecure and embarrassing than it was during the existence of the republic of Texas.

These and other wrongs we have patiently borne, in the vain hope that a returning sense of justice and humanity would induce a different course of administration.

When we advert to the course of individual non-slaveholding States, and that of a majority of their citizens, our grievances assume far greater magnitude.

The States of Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa, by solemn legislative enactments, have deliberately, directly or indirectly, violated the third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Federal Constitution, and laws passed in pursuance thereof, thereby annulling it as a compact union of the compact, designed by its framers to perpetuate amity between members of the confederacy, and to secure the rights of the slaveholding States in their peaceable institutions, a provision founded in justice and wisdom, and without the enforcement of which the compact fails to accomplish the object of its creation. Some of these States have imposed high fines and degrading penalties upon any of their citizens or officers who carry out in good faith that provision of the compact, or the federal laws in accordance therewith.

In all the non-slaveholding States, in violation of that good faith and comity which should exist even between entirely distinct nations, the people have formed themselves into a great sectional party, now strong enough in numbers to control the affairs of those States, based upon the unnatural feeling of hostility to these Southern States and their beneficent and patriarchal system of African slavery—proclaiming the debasing doctrine of the equality of all men, irrespective of race or color—a doctrine at war with nature, in opposition to the experience of mankind, and in violation of the plainest revelations of divine law. They demand the abolition of negro slavery throughout the confederacy—the recognition of political equality between the white and negro races, and avow their determination to press on their crusade against us, so long as a negro slave remains in these States.

For years past this abolition organization has been actively sowing the seeds of discord through the Union, and has rendered the Federal Congress the arena for spreading firebrands and hatred between the slaveholding and non-slaveholding States.

By consolidating their strength, they have placed the slaveholding States in a hopeless minority in the Federal Congress and rendered representation of no avail in protecting southern rights against their exactions and encroachments.

They have proclaimed, and at the ballot-box sustained, the revolutionary doctrine that there is a "higher law" than the Constitution and laws of our Federal Union, and virtually, that they will disregard their oaths and trample upon our rights.

They have, for years, past, encouraged and sustained lawless organizations to steal our slaves and present their receipts, and have repeatedly murdered southern citizens while lawfully seeking their rendition.

They have invaded southern soil and convicted unoffending citizens, and through the press, their leading men and a fanatical pulpit, have bestowed praise upon the actors and sanctains in these crimes—while the governors of several of their States have refused to deliver parties implicated and indicted for participation in such offenses, upon the legal demands of the States aggrieved.

They have, through the mail and hired emissaries, sent seditious pamphlets and papers amongst us to stir up servile insurrection and bring blood and carnage to our firesides.

They have sent their emissaries among us to burn our towns and distribute arms and poison to our slaves for the same purpose.

They have impoverished the slaveholding States by unequal and partial legislation, thereby enriching themselves by draining our substance.

They have refused to vote appropriations for protecting Texas against ruthless savages, for the sole reason that she is a slaveholding State.

And, finally, by the combined sectional vote of the seventeen nonslaveholding States, they have elected as President and Vice President of the whole Confederacy, two men whose chief claims to such high positions are their approval of these long continued wrongs, and their pledges to continue them to the final consummation of these schemes for the ruin of the slaveholding States.

In view of these and many other facts, it is meet that our own views should be distinctly promulgated.

We hold, as undeniable truths, that the governments of the various States, and of the Confederacy by them, were established exclusively by the white race, for themselves and their posterity; that the African race had no agency in their establishment; that they were rightfully held and regarded as an inferior and dependant race, and in that condition only could their existence in this country be rendered beneficial or tolerable:

That, in this free government, *all white men are, and of right ought to be, entitled to equal civil and political rights*; that African race had the African race, as existing in these States, is mutually beneficial to both bond and free, and is abundantly authorized and justified by the experience of mankind, and the revealed will of the Almighty Creator, as recognized by all Christian nations; while the destruction of the existing relations between the two races, as advocated by our sectional enemies, would bring inevitable calamities upon both, and desolation upon the fifteen slaveholding States.

By the secession of six of the slaveholding States, and the certainty that others will speedily do likewise, Texas has no alternative but to remain in isolated connection with the North or unite her destinies with the South.

Further and other reasons—solemnly asserting that the Federal Constitution has been violated and virtually abrogated by the several States named; seeing that the Federal Government is now passing under the control of our sectional enemies, to be diverted from the exalted objects of its creation, to those of oppression and wrong, and realizing that our State can no longer look for protection, but to God and her own sons: We, the delegates of the people of Texas, in convention assembled, have passed an ordinance dissolving all political connection with the government of the United States of America, and the people thereof—and confidently appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the freemen of Texas to ratify the action of the ballot box, on the 23d day of the present month.

Adopted in convention, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-one, and of the