and other civil officers to polls the Constitution or District where they reside. The law gives for a power of voting, not known to or conferred by the Constitution. If an attempt be made, the order are only effective in the County where he voted. If a foreigner, just east out of the State, or [illegible] the election out of the State [illegible] there can be no punishment at all. What a wide door for fraud! Box upon box voters from any State be allowed to vote out of the State and polls in any county in any State to carry the election!

What was the object of these most extraordinary and illegal provisions? Manifestly to carry Tennessee out of the United Sailings, or unwilling. Freemen of Tennessee, are you prepared to submit to this?

But this is not all. By the thirty-second section of the Military Bill, prosecutions and indictments against volunteers for misdemeanors are to be dismissed, and by a Joint Resolution, the Judges are requested to postpone their Courts from time to time, until, in their judgments, it may be necessary to proceed in the usual way; while, by another Act, no resident, in any non-slaveholding state, is allowed to sue for or collect any money or property in the State.

Is not "the devil unchained" by this legislation? Hitherto, it has been the pride and boast of Tennessee that she was faithful to all her engagements, but here dishonesty is licensed by legislative enactment. Hitherto, the poor and rich have alike felt the benign protection thrown around them by the law and the impartial administration of justice in our Courts; but now, it is gravely recommended that we live without law, and a premium is to be paid for the commission of crime, anarchy is to revel in lawless enforcement, and the rules and articles of war are to be enforced among us.

Tennessee! It is yet in your power to arrest the march of anarchy. It is yet in your power to turn aside the iron heel of the despot. It is yet in your power to step this way, go for as Tennessee is concerned. Be true to yourselves; true to the principles of constitutional liberty; true to your past greatness and glory; true to your country, bleeding at every pore; true to your Creator, who has placed a great heritage of freedom in your keeping.

?. If ever the impartial historian shall undertake to write a history of the Rebellion in Tennessee, he will be struck with wonder and astonishment at the facility with which Union men, and, especially, Bell and Everett men were caught in the meshes of secession. The latter were the chosen champions of "the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws." Their friends, every where, predicted that the Cotton States would dissolve the Union, and the horrors of civil war were delineated as a consequence. But the very moment that civil war began—the very thing they had dreaded and knew must come—some of them were among the first and foremost to throw down the flag of the Union and raise the standard of revolt. Why this sudden change? Were they sincere when they advocated the Union, the Constitution, and the enforcement of the laws? No man can doubt it. Why, then, were they "frightened from their propriety" by the bombardment of Fort Sumter? Did they regard the sentiment in the little towns and along the line of railroad as the voice of the people? That sentiment was against us in February, and it was natural that it should remain so. Were they overawed by the astounding rapidity of the movements of "King Harris" or the domineering despotism of the military power? Or, were they really under the apprehension and belief that Mr. Lincoln intended to subjugate the South? To do them justice, let it not be supposed that any other than the latter course influenced their action; and, to do myself justice, let me say here, as I have said everywhere, that, if I entertained that opinion—if I believed that Mr. Lincoln designs to subjugate the South, and forcibly emancipate our slaves, I would shrink resistance, as readily as any Southern man, cut all hazards, and in the last extremity? I was opposed to hostilities, and am entirely hostile to the leading doctrines of the Chicago platform; but after the most careful and anxious deliberation which it was my power to bestow, I am constrained to believe that, so far as I am apprised of his acts, I do not believe he has violated the Constitution, nor do I believe he has any purpose of subjugation in view.

The policy of surrendering Fort Sumter is one question; the power, under the Constitution, to reinforce it, or supply it with provisions, is another and different question. The Constitution of the United States expressly declares that no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation, grant letters of marque and reprisal, lay any imports, or duties, on imports or exports, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, or enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war unless actually invaded, &c. It declares that the President shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed. It requires him to swear that he will faithfully execute his office, and to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. The second session of Act of 1795 provides that "whenever the laws of the United States shall be opposed, or the execution thereof obstructed, in any State, by combinations too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by this Act, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call forth the militia of such State, or of any other State or States, as may be necessary to suppress such combinations and to cause the laws to be duly executed." And the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of Martin vs. Mott, 6 Cong. Rep., 470, expressly adjudged that, under the Constitution and this Act, the authority to decide whether an exigency has arisen requiring the militia to be called forth, is exclusively vested in the President, and his decision is conclusive upon all other persons.

It was under the Constitution and the Act of 1795 that Washington suppressed the Whiskey insurrection in Pennsylvania; that Jackson gave a pause to Nullification; and that Fillmore executed the Fugitive Slave law at the cannon's mouth, in Boston. Has Mr. Lincoln transcended the powers exercised by former Presidents, or violated the Constitution and laws? A "masterly inactivity" would have been his best policy; but still, has he usurped any authority whatever?

The Cotton States were in rebellion against the United States. They had entered into a Confederation. They held in imports. They had engaged in war by firing on the Star of the West, by seizing forts, arsenals, dockyards, and public property and money. They had passed a law, on the 6th of March, authorizing an army of 100,000 men to be raised. They had concentrated large armies at Forts Pickens and Sumter. They had threatened to take the Capitol at Washington; and this was no idle threat, as a few references will prove.

Mr. Walker, Secretary of War of the Confederate States, declared, on the 12th of April, at Montgomery, that "the flag which now floats the breeze here would float over the old Capitol at Washington before the first of May." The Richmond Enquirer of the 12th of April said: "Nothing is more probable than that President Davis will soon march on army through North Carolina and Virginia to Washington." Numerous declarations to the same effect were published afterwards in Southern papers; but remember that *the declarations above quoted were made two days before the President issued his first Proclamation on the 15th April.* The Vicksburg (Miss.) Whig of 12th April declared that "Maj. Gen. McCullough has organized a force of five thousand men to seize the Federal Capital the instant one drop of blood is spilled." My impression and belief is, that I saw various statements in the papers in regard to the mysterious movements of Maj. McCullough at Washington prior to the 14th April, but, not having preserved the papers, I only give it as my best recollection.

Now, under these circumstances, what was the President of the United States to do? Was he a mere officer of the law, to sit with his arms folded, and allow the Capitol to fall into the hands of the avowed enemies of the Government, or was it his duty to call forth the militia to defend it, and to retake, if possible, the Government property? No sane or truthful man can doubt that his Proclamation of the 15th April was eminently justified by the circumstances which surrounded him. What is his intention, in issuing this and other Proclamations, or has it been, at any time, his intention to subjugate the South? Let facts be submitted to a candid world.

Look to his Inaugural Address. In that he said, "the power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the Government, and collect the duties and imposts; but beyond what may be necessary for those objects there will be no invasion, no using of force against or among the people anywhere."

Look to his Address on the 15th of April, to the Virginia Commissioners. In that he says: "By the words 'property and places belonging to the Government,' I chiefly allude to the military posts and property which was in possession of the Government when it came into my hands. But if, as now appears to be true, in pursuit of a purpose to drive the United States authority from these places, an unprovoked assault has been made upon Fort Sumter, I shall hold myself at liberty to repossess, if can, like places which had been wrested from the Government; and generally to the extent I shall think it expedient to repel force by force. In any case, I shall, to the best of my ability, hold the forts, &c." In regard to the purpose, I stated in inaugural, and my mind has not changed since, or any other purpose, but rather strengthened in it by subsequent events. But nothing of this, however, that I may not have expressed, may be construed as a hurtful purpose upon the subject of the country."

Look to his letter of April 24, to Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown, in which he says: "Virginia, and every other State, shall do all in my power for peace, consistently with the maintenance of the Government."

Look to his Proclamation of May 3, in which he says: "I hereby invoke the co-operation of all good citizens in the measures herein adopted for the speediest suppression of unlawful violence, for the speediest enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speediest possible restoration of peace and order, and, with them, of happiness and prosperity throughout our country."

Look to his conversation, on the 20th April, with the Hon. Garrett Davis of Kentucky. In that conversation he said: "that, before the Carolinians had made their attack on Fort Sumter, he had decided not to reinforce, or to attempt to reinforce its garrison, but merely, and only to supply its comfort of something more with food, and that he had distinctly communicated these particulars to the authorities of the Southern Confederacy. That he had also determined that, until the meeting of Congress, he would make no attempts to retake the forts, &c., belonging to the United States, which had been unlawfully seized, and wrested from their possession, but would leave the then existing state of things to be considered and acted upon by Congress, unless it should be construed to depart from that purpose by the continued military operations of the seceded States." In the same conversation, he said further, "that he himself *is made no attack, direct or indirect, upon the institutions or property of any State, but on the contrary, such behave them to the full extent such which did not secede in Congress and laws of Congress have vested the President with the power. And that he did not intend to invade, with an armed force, or make any military or naval movement against any State, unless she or her people should make it necessary by a formidable resistance of the authority and laws of the United States.*"

Look, also, to the statement of Judge Underwood of Kentucky, who says, in an article copied into the National Intelligencer of the 14th May, that "the policy of the Administration toward all the Border States which have not seceded is the same. In reference to Kentucky, Mr. Lincoln told me he hoped Kentucky would stand by the Government in the present difficulties; but, if she would not, then let her stand still and take no hostile part against it and that no hostile step should tread her soil. This is also true with regard to Missouri." Judge Underwood continues: "Let me tell you, further, that the temporizing policy of the Administration in reference to the assault and capturing of its forts is over. Beauregards, they who make war will have war made on them. The monopoly which the South has enjoyed in that direction has ended, and all the powers of the Government henceforth will be executed to maintain the property and the legal authority of the Government within its just limits."

Now, with these cumulative and accumulated evidence before you, do you not see that a grave error has been committed by those who, in moments of wild excitement, and without careful examination, have charged that the object of the President is to subjugate the South? In the face of Heaven, of his country, and of the whole world, the President has repeatedly declared the contrary. Who are we to believe? Are we to take the wild ravings if fanatical and abolition journals, which have been published broadcast over the State, as the evidence of the President's intentions, or are we to look to his official proceedings and his own solemn acts and declaration? In an awful crisis like this, involving our own destiny and the fate of our children's children, it is a great crime against God and man to suppress the truth and delude the people into an unjust rebellion against a Government they have loved. The idea of subjugation is contrary to all Mr. Lincoln's avowed purposes and acts. If States make war upon the Government, they can expect nothing but war to result. If they let the Government alone, they need not fear any molestation. Why, then, should Tennessee complicate our national difficulties?

Notwithstanding the box and cry of subjugation which has aroused a portion of the people of Tennessee to madness, the Richmond Examiner of the 16th instant boasts that "we have taken a great many Federal forts and hundreds of thousands of arms without opposition, and captured Fort Sumter after the Administration had been engaged more than a month in measures to relieve it. *No second State is invaded*, although Lincoln, his Cabinet, and the whole North have been trying to do so for more than two months.

To preserve appearances, they will no doubt make an occasional John Brown raid and shoot a few negroes, pigs, and poultry; for they love no more who, and no more ability to invade the South than to invade England." This is from a secession paper.

What, then, becomes of the argument which has been used to infuriate the people of Tennessee? If no invasion of Tennessee is intended, why should Tennessee rush madly into a conflict which concerns her not? Why not stand aside by side and shoulder to shoulder with Kentucky, and, instead of becoming a party, become a mediator in this most unnatural strife. Abolitionists have acted very wickedly—the Cotton States have done wrong—but they are all our brethren, and the noble part for Tennessee to act is to stop, if possible, the further effusion of blood between them.

But it is said this is a war between the North and the South, and we are compelled to take sides. I do not so regard it. It is a war between the Government of the United States and rebellious citizens who have committed treason against that Government. Neither is it a war between Lincoln and the South. It is a war between the Constitution and those who have violated it; a war between law and no law—between order and anarchy—between freedom and despotism—between right and wrong. It is a war in which the odds are fearfully against us; but this should have no weight, were justice on our side. It is a war the end of which no man can foresee. Thus far the South has triumphed, and boasted, and hundreds. The sluggish North has been at last aroused, and difficulties and dangers beset us on every hand. In the depreciation of property, the enhanced prices of goods, increased taxation, lawless violence, the threats against free speech and a free press, a military army in every Civil District, and wild, reckless, and unprincipled legislation, we can scarcely see the beginning of the end. "The end is not yet."

Freemen of Tennessee! If you are allowed to vote on the 8th of June, it is yet in your power to arrest the despotism of "King Harris," and retrieve the blunders of a misguided Legislature. It is yet in your power to prevent a war in our midst; to save the lives of our citizens; to preserve our cities, towns, and villages, and to secure the blessings which Heaven has promised to the peacemaker. It may be yet in your power to rescue the Union itself, and to preserve the stars and stripes as a priceless legacy to posterity. If a fair election is held, and Tennessee is voted out of the Union, it behooves us all to act together to avoid a civil war among ourselves. If the election is carried by force or fraud, then let every friend of the Union throughout the State cry, "every man to his tents, O Israel!" Should that dreadful alternative be forced upon you,

"Search from the ashes of your sires
The embers of each Patriot Fire,
And, by whom the work employs,
Will send to Centre a home of fires,
That freemen will see the to hear."

THOS. A. R. NELSON.

Jonesborough, Tenn., May 27th, 1861.

Public Meeting in Sevier.

At a meeting of the delegates previously appointed to meet on the 25th inst., at Fair Garden, in Sevier county, for the purpose of nominating a candidate to represent the counties of Greene, Cocke, Sevier, and Blount, in the Senatorial branch of the next General Assembly of the State, there were present a large assemblage, of enthusiastic Union loving citizens, met for the purpose of forming a Home Guard. The delegates retired to a Room, when L. D. Alexander, was called to the chair, and E. Hodge, appointed Secretary, and proceeded at once to ballot for a candidate, which resulted the first ballot in the nomination of Judge S. Pickens, of Sevier county. After which the following resolution was received by the Chair and unanimously passed:

Resolved, That we learn with regret that our present Senator, D. V. Stokely, is now an avowed Secessionist, and if our information be correct, we respectfully invite him to resign his seat, or reflect the will of his constituents.

It was ordered that the proceedings of this Convention be forwarded to the Knoxville Whig, and the Jonesborough Express, with the request that the same be published.

L. D. ALEXANDER, Chm'n.
E. Hodge, Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST TENNESSEE CONVENTION

Held at Knoxville, May 30th, 1861.

FIRST DAY.

On Thursday, 30th of May, 1861, a large number of Delegates, representing the people of the various sections of East Tennessee assembled at Knoxville, in pursuance of the following call:

EAST TENNESSEE CONVENTION.

The undersigned, a portion of the people of East Tennessee, disapproving the hasty and inconsiderate action of our General Assembly, and sincerely desirous to do, to the utmost of the freedom which surrounds us, what will be best for our country, and for all classes of our citizens, respectfully appoint a Convention to be held in Knoxville on Thursday, the 30th of May inst., and we urge every county in East Tennessee to send Delegates to this Convention, that the conservative element of our whole section may be represented, and that wise, prudent, and judicial counsels may prevail—looking to peace and harmony among ourselves.

F. S. Heiskell,	John Williams,
C. M. Baker,	J. J. Craig,
S. R. Rodgers,	W. H. Rogers,
Dr. W. Rodgers,	G. P. Temple,
John Baxter,	John Tunnell,
C. F. Trigg,	W. G. Brownlow,
David Deaver,	and others.

The Convention met at Temperance Hall, at 12 o'clock, and was called to order by CONRADT F. TRIGG, Esq., upon whose motion the following officers were chosen:

Temporary President—JOHN BAXTER, of Knox.

Temporary Secretary—JOHN M. FLEMING, of Knox.

The deliberations of the Convention were opened by Rev. THOMAS W. HUME, of Knoxville, who addressed a fervent prayer to the Throne of Grace, as follows:

Almighty and ever-living God, our Heavenly Father, to thee we owe all the blessings we enjoy, whether of a civil or religious kind. It becomes us on all important occasions to make known unto thee our wants, and desires, and supplications; and we would now come before thee in the faith of Christ, and beseech thee that thy blessing and favor may rest upon us.

We believe that thou art the God of nations as well as of individuals. We are assembled here to-day under circumstances adapted to fill our hearts with anxious forebodings for our beloved country. Dark clouds have gathered over it. A spirit of alienation and strife has gone abroad through the land. Citizens are in arms against the Government, brethren against brethren, and we are threatened with war and blood shed. It may be that our civil and religious liberties are in danger of serious injury and loss.

Oh God! we believe that thou wast with the founders of the Republic at the beginning of its existence, and didst then uphold and cherish and prosper them. And we pray that thou will not leave us now as a nation; but wilt continue to us thy favor and goodness for the time to come.

We confess, O God, that we have not been properly thankful for the blessings bestowed upon us, nor improved them as we ought. We have been too proud and boastful and wicked as a people; too neglectful of thy word, too forgetful of thee and of our duties towards each other. But we beseech thee to have mercy upon us and forgive us our transgressions. Turn from us thy righteous indignation. Avert from us the ills that impend over us. In this our time of darkness and doubt, to whom, Oh God of our fathers, shall we turn for relief and for help, but to thee.—Throw around the nation, we entreat thee the arms of thy protection. Give wisdom from above to those who are in authority for the duties of their station, and uphold and strengthen their hearts and hands in every measure they may adopt for the public welfare, which thou wilt approve, and which will promote righteousness and secure peace. Revoke the spirit of faction and discord, of wickedness, corruption and vice in the land; and dispose the hearts of the people to the love of thee and of our blessed Redeemer, and to the cultivation of good-will and brotherly affections. And grant that the civil and religious liberties we enjoy, shall be handed down to the generations that are to come.

Look graciously, we beseech thee, upon the citizens, who under the promptings of patriotic feelings, have come up here to-day, to consult concerning the public welfare. Give them the spirit of wisdom and counsel and understanding. Indicate to them the path of duty and grant them courage and fidelity to follow it.

Bless us all in the various relations of life. Forgive us our sins, and enable us so to pass through the things that are temporal, that we finally lose not but attain the things that are eternal, and may reach, by thy grace, that heavenly kingdom, which thou hast prepared for thy faithful people. All which we ask in the name, and for the sake of thy son, Jesus Christ, our only mediator and Advocate.

On motion of Wm. Heiskell, Esq., of Monroe, the roll of counties in East Tennessee was called by the Secretary, and the following Delegates reported themselves in attendance:

List of Delegates.

BLOUNT COUNTY.

Dr. Wm. S. Findley, J. G. Spears, S. P. Doss, J. W. McReynolds.

POLK COUNTY.

J. M. McCleary.

BRADLEY COUNTY.

S. Reed, R. M. Edwards, John McPherson, J. L. Kirby, C. D. Champion, J. S. Bradford, C. T. Hardwick, A. A. Clingan, S. P. Gant, T. L. Cate, Dr. J. M. Campbell, J. N. Dunn.

HAMILTON COUNTY.

Monroe Masterson, Wilson Hixson, A. Selzer, J. G. Thomas, L. C. Rogers, J. D. Blackford, J. D. Kenner, D. C. Trewhitt, J. F. Ector, Dr. F. G. Blackwell, Peter Monger, A. W. McDaniel, A. M. Cate, G. D. Cate, J. A. Matthews, John Anderson, P. L. Matthews, Wm. Denny, A. A. Pearson, Wm. Clift, R. C. Mc-Rae, S. M. Greenland, Wm. Crutchfield, R. Hall.

BONGAR COUNTY.

S. T. Staples, J. M. Britton, Jesse Stinecipher, M. Stephens, S. C. Honeycutt, E. Langley.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.

J. P. Swann, J. M. Bowley, W. A. Haun, Dr. Samuel Anderson, Joel Johnson, Wm. Jones, Wm. McFarland, Wm. Dick, Dr. Cawood, J. Monroe Meek, Wiley Foust, Dr. A. A. Caldwell, L. F. Leeper, John Tate.

COCKE COUNTY.

P. H. Easterly, J. W. Clarke.

SEVIER COUNTY.

W. H. Dawson, Wm. M. Smith, Wm. Heiskell, Sam. M. Johnson, J. R. Robinson, Dr. B. Franklin, A. W. Cozart, I. C. Brown.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

A. C. Yates, F. Kindred.

ROANE COUNTY.

J. W. Bowman, R. W. Boyd, George Littleton, W. L. Goldston, J. I. Dale, M. Ross, R. K. Byrd, J. T. Shelty, T. Russell, R. D. Hoss, W. H. Alexander, Jno. Hays, D. F. Harrison, J. W. Wester, Joseph B. Martin, W. S. Patton, G. W. Easter, Isaac A. Clark, John Womble, Samuel Williams, Reuben Davis, L. M. Wester, T. F. Carter, Wm. H. Selvidge, T. J. Tipton, Wesley Harwell, E. W. Brazeale, J. J. West, T. J. Mason, Jas. Anderson, Wm. Lowry, A. L. Greene, F. Young, J. Y. Smith, C. C. Wester, James H. Johnston, J. W. Adkisson, John Dr Armond, P. I. Dereman, Wm. Clark, F. M. Wylie, Wm. S. Pope, Samuel L. Childress, W. P. Rose, T. T. Coffin, F. Boles, J. O. Hays, E. S. Clarke.

CLAIBORNE COUNTY.

E. E. Jones.

CAMPBELL COUNTY.

Joseph Rutmaker, R. D. Wheeler, David Hart, Joseph Cooper, George Bowling, John Meader, Wm. Robbins, John Jones, Wm. Carey, J. L. Keeny.

CARTER COUNTY.

Abram Tipton, C. P. Tonerey, Daniel L. Store, Jno. W. Comerland, T. P. Carter.

UNION COUNTY.

J. W. Thornburgh, J. M. Sawyers, John Cox, A. McPheters, Isaac Bayless, F. P. Hansard, S. H. Smith, L. Huddleston, J. G. Palmer.

SULLIVAN COUNTY.

P. N. Baily, Wm. Mullennix, Dr. R. L. Stanford, G. R. Netherland, Jacob Shewalter, James Lynn.

JOHNSON COUNTY.

Samuel Moore, Wm. Cross, L. C. Houk, Phil. Sisher, Wm. Smith, L. Hockworth, Gradison Queener, P. C. Wallace, D. K. Young, J. S. Lamar, T. Ashton, G. W. Leath, Wm. Reynolds, W. S. Freels, John Freels, J. C. Chiles, J. Ayres, John Stack, W. W. Weaver, James Rose, A. T. Williams, Oliver Hopkins, H. H. Baker, John Weaver, J. A. Doughty, S. C. Young, Lindsey D. Hill, Ed. Freels, J. Thompson, J. H. Cox, L. A. Powell.

WAYNE COUNTY.

Robert Cochran, Wm. M. Lester, M. D. Anderson, D. Dobson, Wm. L. Sodder, B. Wells, Martin Cate, D. F. York, M. R. Hay, J. H. Horsley, W. W. Alexander, David Nelson, J. Hays, T. B. McGhee, M. D. Peters, Easter Kilgore, B. Dobson, G. Foster, J. Hansell, G. W. Bridges, E. T. Reeves, John McGaughey, Benj. John Williams, Wm. Foster.

MONROE COUNTY.

A. D. Smith, R. R. Butler, J. H. Vaught, John Murphy, Rev. L. Venable, Rev. L. Medford, J. Ewing, F. Bibb, J. W. M. Gregory, Dr. R. T. Locke, Dr. D. Smithpeter, S. R. Northington, G. H. Shoun.

ANDERSON COUNTY.

Thomas Miller, T. J. Matthews, Andrew Campbell, Thomas Sewell.

WASHINGTON COUNTY.

Samuel West, S. K. N. Patton, B. T. Logan, J. F. Maloney, Dr. R. Palmer, J. F. Graham, A. J. Brown, Thomas A. R. Nelson, D. B. Barclay, A. Hoss.

GREENE COUNTY.

James Britton, James P. McDowell, W. D. McClelland, Solomon Goode, Abram Hammond, Adam Pennsworth, John Jones, jr., Samuel H. Burns, Reuben Easterly, James Britton, jr., Charles Gass, John Mahoney, R. A. Crawford, T. G. Brown, Dr. Wm. Outcrier, D. G. Vance, G. Clark, Dr. C. Johnson, B. Sherly, Dr. Wm. West, A. A. Lane, A. W. Walker, Robert Johnson, W. A. Maloney, Wm. Jones, Jonathan Easterly, A. G. Easterly, R. H. Easterly.

HAWKINS COUNTY.

W. C. Kyle, John Rierlea, John Vaughn, Robert G. Netherland, A. P. Caldwell.

SMITH COUNTY.

T. S. Hatchell, Seth Lee, James C. Luttrell, M. D. Lee, J. M. Nelson, Jacob L. Nelson, J. P. Harper, John Currier, John Hanson, W. N. Maxwell, W. Kennedy, R. M. Bennett, Daniel King, Wm. Coker, David Nelson, W. H. Hess, Dr. P. Walker, B. Roberts, Andrew Thompson, P. Devinea, T. A. Smith, John Vance, Dr. Robert Sneed, A. R. Trotter, Nicholas Nelson, J. R. Morris, James Raison, H. Osborne, M. Childress, Milton Roberts, H. Turner, A. Nelson, John J. May, John A. Calloway, James Smith, Jacob Reid, Joseph Garner, Robert Harper, J. F. Rosher, James Maxwell, Daniel Bonnell, Wm. D. Johnson, John Looney, John Williams, Matthew Simpson, Joseph Larew, F. H. Bounds, Thomas Rodgers, John Smith, W. A. A. Conner, Joseph W. Fowler, John Kirk, A. Davis, J. M. Marcum, J. R. Draper, R. M. Hall, John M. Conner, D. F. DeArmond, Wm. Hines, Louis Reed, L. D. Johnson, A. D. C. Hinds, Thomas Long, James Hall, Lest McCloud, B. Frazier, W. R. Lawrence, J. A. McMillen, P. H. Skeggs, A. A. Meek, Absalom Barnett, John Armstrong, Jno. Luttrell, P. H. Cardwell, John Tunnel, C. W. Carnes, Wm. McClelland, R. A. Harrison, H. R. Brown, D. W. Parker, F. M. Yarnell, W. B. Carnes, John H. Mynatt, O. H. Crippen, P. Georger, G. W. Tindel, Jos. Shell, John Lester, Hugh Mynatt, T. W. Carnes, Henry Chiles, Joseph Hubbs, Wm. Sharp, R. B. Gibbs, H. Clapp, R. G. Mynatt, George Cooper, Col. Mynatt, F. Luther and H. D. C. Mynatt, A. K. Mynatt, Wm. Clapp, F. Coram, C. H. Baker, John Letsinger, James Stubbs, James Hartley, W. E. Hedgcock, John Dover, W. G. Brownlow, John Baxter, C. P. Temple, William Beard, J. C. S. McDaniel, John M. Fleming, C. F. Trigg, Dr. Wm. Rodgers, John J. Craig, Robert Craighead, S. R. Rodgers, Andrew Knott, Thos. J. White, John Luttrell, Martin Yarnell, T. W. Brown, James D. Bell, R. M. Bell, Wilson Grunner, J. O. Gentry, John Wood, John M. Brown, R. H. Wood, Calvin Wood, R. A. York, J. S. Bell, F. A. Armstrong, David Burnett, John Brown, Samuel McCommas, Frederick Rule, A. P. Rambo, James Turnster.

GRAINGER COUNTY.

James James, John Brocks, Harmon G Lea, D C Senter.

MADISON COUNTY.

W G Brownlow, (Proxy.)

HANCOCK COUNTY.

W. C. Kyle, W G Brownlow. (proxies.)

SEVIER COUNTY.

J C Murphey, R M Cresswell, J T Davis, Wilson Duggan, Tom Duggan, Sam Pickens, David Arcner, Rev James Cummings, D M Ray, Wm Catlett, D M Crosskey, Dr R H Hodges, Alexander McBath, Harvey Cowan, E H Williams, John H Caldwell, Wm Petty, Isaac Russell, J K Franklin, Edmund Hodges.

BLOUNT COUNTY.

Rev W T Dowell, Rev J S Craig, James Henry, J M Hemphill, H Foster, Spencer Henry, Sanders Leeper, Jno Trew, S F Bell, A Kirkpatrick, Robert Pickens, W L Dearing, John Godfrey, Stephen Mathews, John Jackson, Thos Pickens, Henry Brakehill, W A Hunter, S G Finnigan, David Goddard, W H Cunningham, M McFeer, Lawson Wear, Jefferson Kidd, Ed Kidd, Wm Goddard, Solomon Farmer, Fleming Hays, Andrew McBath, Henry Hammel, Alex Kennedy, Jos H Walker, James H Rowan, Robert Eagleton, G W Hutsell, Isaac Hinds.

On motion of S. R. Rogers, Esq., of Knox, the Temporary President was directed to appoint a Committee of five to report officers for the permanent organization of the Convention.

The President appointed as said Committee, Messrs S R Rogers, of Knox, John McGaughey, of McMinn, A Ross, of Washington, Alexander Kennedy, of Blount and David Hart of Campbell, who, having retired for a short time, reported the following as permanent officers:

President—Hon. T. A. R. NELSON, of Washington county.

Vice President—Col. J. G. SPEARS, of Blount.

Assistant Vice Presidents—R. D. WHEELER, of Campbell, J. C. MURPHY, of Sevier, Dr. M S MAY, of McMinn, John WILLIAMS, of Knox, Wm. HEISKELL, of Monroe.

Principal Secretary—JOHN M. FLEMING, of Knox.

Assistant Secretaries—A. L. GREENE, of Roane, S. P. Doss, of Blount and J. M. MEEK, of Jefferson.

The report of the Committee was adopted by acclamation.

By appointment of the Chair, the President elected was escorted to the stand, by Messrs S. R. Rodgers and C. F. Trigg.

Before taking his seat, the President addressed the Convention in a speech of more than an hour's length, in which he forcibly reviewed the history of the revolutionary movement now convulsing the country, and exposed with masterly ability, the usurpations of the Governor of Tennessee, and the unconstitutional acts of the recent extra session of our Legislature, and closed with an earnest and eloquent appeal to the members of the Convention to discharge their responsible duties with calmness and firmness; to submit to no wanton tyranny, and to acquiesce in the will of the people, if constitutionally and legally expressed.

On motion of Col. TRIGG, of Knox, the President was authorized and directed to appoint a General Committee, representing the various counties, to prepare and report business for the Convention.

The following gentlemen were appointed on said Committee:

C. F. Trigg,	of Knox,
Alex E. Smith,	" Johnson,
J. T. Carter,	" Carter,
S. T. Logan,	" Washington,
J. P. McDowell,	" Greene,
W. Mullennix,	" Sullivan,
W. C. Kyle,	" Hawkins,
Wm. McFarland,	" Jefferson,
Sam Pickens,	" Sevier,
Brownlow & Kyle,	" Hancock,
W. T. Dowell,	" Blount,
Dan'l Heiskell,	" Monroe,
Jno W. Wester,	" Roane,
D. C. Trewhitt,	" Hamilton,
R. M. Edwards,	" Bradley,
B. T. Staples,	" Morgan,
D. K. Young,	" Anderson,
W. G. Brownlow,	" Marion,
David Hart,	" Campbell,
Geo. W. Bridges,	" McMinn,
T. J. Mathews,	" Meigs,
A. G. Yates,	" Cumberland,
C. M. McCleary,	" Polk,
S. P. Doss,	" Blount,
S. E. Jones,	" Claiborne,
Isaac Bayless,	" Union,
Harmon G. Lea,	" Grainger,
P. Easterly,	" Cocke.

Who retired to the Committee Room for consultation.

Upon the retirement of the committee, Gen Thomas D. Arnold, was introduced to the Convention, who spoke at considerable length in opposition to the schemes of the Governor and Legislature of Tennessee to plunge our people, against their own will, into a ruinous and unwarranted revolution. His speech was bold, pointed, earnest and eloquent, and was well received by the Convention.

At the conclusion of Gen. Arnold's remarks, the Committee on Business, through their Chairman, Col. C. F. Trigg, reported, in part, the result of their deliberations, but asked further time to perfect their report.

The President, at the call of the Convention, introduced the Hon. ANDREW JOHNSON, who acknowledged the compliment briefly, but owing to the lateness of the hour, he deferred his remarks till to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

And thereupon, on motion of Col. Spears of Blount, the Convention adjourned till 8 o'clock to-morrow morning.

SECOND DAY—FRIDAY.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment—the Hon. President presiding.

The roll of Delegates was called by the Secretary, and revised and corrected by the Convention.

Gen. Arnold commenced his speech, but pending his remarks, the Committee, through their Chairman, Col. Trigg, submitted their report.

After a smoothing debate, participated in by Messrs. Baxter, Temple, Trigg and Fleming of Knox, Spears of Blount, Heiskell of Monroe, and others, the report of the Committee was amended and finally adopted as follows:

In the enumeration of the rights of the Union which have been declared under the solemn sanction of the people of Tennessee, there are none which should be more warmly cherished or more highly estimated than that which declares, "that the citizens have a right in a peaceable manner to assemble together for their common good." And at no time since the organization of our government has there been on occasion which called so loudly for the exercise of that inestimable right, as that upon which we are now assembled.

Our Country is at this moment in a most deplorable condition. The Constitution of the United States has been openly contemned and set at defiance, while that of our own State has shared no better fate, and, by the sworn representatives of the people, has been utterly disregarded.

Constitutions which in other days, were wont to control and give direction to our public councils, and to those in authority by the fiat of the people, have been wholly supplanted; and bonfiction, passion and prejudice have assumed an arbitrary sway. Law and order seem to have yielded their boasted empire in spite of the attendant horrors, has raised its hideous head. The condition of the country is most perilous, the present crisis most fearful.

In this calamitous state of affairs, when the liberties of the people are so imperiled and their most valued rights endangered, it behooves them in their primary meeting, and in all other their accustomed modes, to meet together, consult calmly as to their safety, and with *firmness*, give expression to their opinions and convictions of right.

We, therefore, the Delegates here assembled, representing and reflecting, as we verily believe, the opinions and wishes of a very large majority of the people of East Tennessee, do resolve and declare.

1. That the evils which now afflict our beloved country, in our opinion, are the legitimate offspring of the ruinous and heretical doctrine of *Secession*—that the people of East Tennessee have ever been and we believe still are opposed to it by a very large majority.

2. That while the country is now upon the very threshold of a most ruinous and desolating civil war, it may with truth be said, and we protest before God, that the people (so far as we can see) have done nothing to produce it.

3. That the people of Tennessee when the question was submitted to them in February last, decided, by an overwhelming majority, that the relations of the State towards the Federal Government should not be changed—thereby expressing their preference for the Union and Constitution under which they had lived prosperously and happily, and *queerly*, in the most emphatic manner, the idea that they had been oppressed by the General Government in any of its acts—legislative, executive or judicial.

4. That in view of so decided an expression of the will of the people, in whom "all power is inherent and on whose authority all free governments are founded," and in the honest conviction that nothing has transpired since that time, which should change that deliberate judgment of the people, we have contemplated with peculiar emotions the perilous activity with which those in authority have labored to override the judgment of the people, and to bring about the very result which the people themselves had so overwhelmingly condemned.

5. That the Legislative assembly is but the creature of the Constitution of the State, and has no power to pass any law or to exercise any act of sovereignty, except such as may be authorized by that instrument, and believing as we do, that in their recent legislation the General Assembly have disregarded the rights of the people, and transcended their legitimate powers; we feel constrained, and we invoke the people throughout the State, as they value their liberties, to visit that heavy, inconsiderate and unconstitutional legislation with a decided rebuke by voting, on the 8th day of next month against both the act of "Secession," and of union with the "Confederate States."

6. That the Legislature of the State, without having first obtained the consent of the people, had no authority to enter into a "Military League," with the "Confederate States," against the General Government, and by so doing to put the State of Tennessee in hostile array against the government of which it then was, and still is a member. Such legislation in advance of the expressed will of the people to change their governmental relations, was an act of usurpation, and should be visited, with the severest condemnation of the people.

7. That the forming of such "Military League," and thus practically assuming the attitude of an enemy towards the General Government, (the too in the absence of any hostile demonstrations against this State) has afforded the pretext for raising, arming and equipping a large military force, the expense of which must be enormous, and will have to be paid by the people. And to do this, the taxes, already onerous enough, will necessarily have to be very greatly increased, and probably to an extent beyond the ability of the people to pay.

8. That the General Assembly by passing a law authorizing the volunteers to vote where ever they may be on the day of election, whether in or out of the State—and in offering to the "Confederate States" the Capitol of Tennessee, together with other acts—have exercised powers and stretched their authority to an extent not within their constitutional limits, and not justified by the exigencies of the country.

9. "That Government being instituted for the common benefit, the doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."

10. That the position which the people of our sister State of Kentucky have assumed in this momentous crisis, commands our highest admiration—Their interests are our interests—Their policy is the true policy, as we believe, of Tennessee and all the border States. And in the spirit of freemen, with an earnest desire to avoid the waste of the blood and the treasure of our State, we appeal to the people of Tennessee, while it is yet in their power, to come with the majesty of their strength and restore Tennessee to her true position.

11. We await with the utmost anxiety the decision of the people of Tennessee, on the 8th day of next month, and sincerely trust that wiser counsels will pervade the great fountain of freedom, (the People) than seems to have actuated their constituted agents.

12. For the promotion of the peace and harmony of the people of East Tennessee, it is deemed expedient that this Convention should again assemble—therefore,

Resolved, That when this Convention adjourns, it adjourns to meet again at such time and place as the President, or Vice President in his absence, may determine and publish.

The entire Report, on motion of Col. Heiskell, of Monroe, was unanimously adopted.

Dr. W. W. Alexander, of McMinn, offered the following:—

Resolved, That those members of our State Legislature who heroically, though vainly, resisted to the utmost extent of their ability, the iniquitous and unconstitutional ordinance of the late extra