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THURSDAY MORNING, JAN. 10, 1861.

SECESSION OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

His Excellency, Gov. HARRIS, received last night the following dispatch from the Hon. W. S. BARRY President of the Mississippi State Convention:

JACKSON, Miss., Jan. 9, 1861.

To Governor Isham G. Harris:

I am instructed by the Mississippi State Convention, to inform you that the State of Mfsissippi, by a vote of her Convention, approaching unanimity, has seceded unconditionally from the Union, and desires, on the basis of the old Constitution, to form a new union with the seceding States.

WILLIAM S. BARRY, President Convention.

Addresses of the Alabama and Mississippi Commissioners.

The two Houses of the General Assembly met yesterday in convention, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 12 o'clock, M., to give audience to the Commissioners from the sovereign States of Alabama and Mississippi. There was present in the galleries and the lobbies a large number of citizens, including quite a bevy of patriotic ladies. The Speaker of the Senate, Hon. T. W. NEWMAN, first introduced Hon. L. F. WALKER, Commissioner from Alabama, with an appropriate welcome, when Gen. WALKER proceeded to address the Convention in a most calm, able and eloquent manner, forcibly stating the grievances of the Southern States, clearly discussing the genius of our Government and boldly declaring the remedy for the evil to be separate State action. The Address made a profound impression upon the audience, and elicited from the galleries spontaneous and irrepressible cheers.

The Convention then took a recess of one hour, at the close of which it re-assembled, and the Speaker of the Senate introduced Gen. T. J. WHARTON, Commissioner from Mississippi, who delivered a graceful, patriotic and earnest appeal to Tennessee, his native State, powerful in argument and fervent in eloquence. We have the pleasure of publishing Gen. WHARTON'S Address this morning, and refer our readers to it as being worthy of their most solemn consideration. Gen. W. was also cheered from the galleries.

Owing to the great length of Gen. WALKER'S Address we have been compelled to postpone its publication until to-morrow morning.

Addresses of Hon. W. T. Avery and Hon. Jno. V. Wright.

On Monday morning we issued a supplement, containing the addresses of these distinguished Representatives from the 7th and 10th Congressional Districts of Tennessee. We can not too highly commend the matter and spirit of these able and patriotic documents, uttering as they do the true sentiment of the patriotic and enlightened sons of Tennessee, and presenting the question of our rights in a clear, forcible and eloquent manner.

The Spirit of Compromise.

The spirit of compromise of the Lincolnites, from which so much is even yet expected by some of the more hopeful among us, is fairly illustrated in the following paragraph from the NEW YORK *Tribune* of the 1st inst.:

Let it be understood and remembered—and it ought not to be necessary at this late day to enforce it—*that, when the Republican party asserted at the ballot-box the doctrine of "no more Slave Territory," they meant that dictum should apply not only to all territory belonging to the United States now, but to all that by any possibility ever should belong to it.* THEY MEANT TO PUT THIS QUESTION, BEYOND A PERADVENTURE, AND TO GIVE NOTICE, TO ALL GOOD THINKERS AND BOTH PARTIES, THAT THE EXTENSION OF SLAVERY, WHETHER POSSIBLE OR IMPOSSIBLE, WAS PROHIBITED FOR EVERMORE. This was a good doctrine with which to go through the canvass; it is equally good as a sound principle of government, as we all believed; and now let us stick to it.

This is exactly the doctrine of the Governor of New York, as communicated in his recent message.

Arkansas Delegation in Congress.

The following dipatch, dated Washington City, December 21, 1860, has been published in Little Rock:

It is now manifest that the other cotton States will secede. North Carolina moves toward the same end. The people of the border States are taking steps to call Conventions. The spirit of the Southern people and Southern congress forbids a reasonable hope of any adequate remedy. We believe it to be our public duty to state our present conviction, which is, that it is the imperative interest of the State to pass an act calling together a convention of the people of Arkansas to join in the common councils of the South for her protection and further safety.

R. W. JOHNSON,
T. C. HINDMAN.

The New York *Tribune* has the follow comments on the admission of New Mexico:

If it be true, as Mr. Sherman asserts in his reply to the invitation to a public dinner in Philadelphia, that slavery can never be established in New Mexico, it is folly to expect that offering her admission as a slave State now will be accepted as a sufficient concession to pacify the South; if it is not true that slavery can never be established there, then the concession is one the North should never make. In either case, the proposition is an unwise one, conceding too much for too little, and one which does little credit to those who made it. Let it be understood and remembered, and it ought not to be necessary at this late day to enforce it, that when the Republican party asserted at the ballot box the doctrine of no more slave territory, they meant that that dictum should apply not only to all Territories belonging to the United States now, but to all that by any possibility ever should belong to it. They meant to put this question beyond a peradventure, and to give notice to hold good thenceforward and forever that the extension of slavery, whether possible or impossible, was prohibited forever. This was a good doctrine on which to go through the canvass. It is equally good as a sound principle of Government, as we all believed; and now let us stick to it. There is no safety for us elsewhere. It is not impossible, though we hope not probable, that the South may accept the admission of New Mexico as a State as a sufficient compromise. Suppose they do this, will it be because they consider the privilege of carrying slavery into that State all they need ask for? Not at all. We all of us know better. But it will be because they welcome a concession, whereby the North fails to enforce the principles of non-extension of slavery, trusting to time an opportunity to turn that accession to their own advantage, and the time and the opportunity will not long be wanting. Admit New Mexico with the privilege of holding slaves if she pleases, and there is a precedent to plead in favor of introducing the institution into adjoining States, and at any rate the way is paved for a new struggle, new contentions, more ill blood to precipitate the country at some future time into civil war, more dire and more disastrous than in any event can befall us now. Let us retract nothing, let us not yield a single inch, let us be firm under every provocation and every threat.

Progressive Submissionism.

The Louisville *Courier* says: "The arguments for submission to the North have gone through so many phases that it is difficult to follow them. We subjoin a summary of the leading ones in the order they have been brought forward to urge the South to put on the halter.

1st. We have been urged upon the ground "that it wouldn't choke."

2d. If it should choke a little we "could stand it for four years."

3d. That those who held the other end of the rope wouldn't pull it tight.

4th. It was proposed to tie a new knot in the halter that couldn't possibly slip.

5th. That if we tried it and didn't like it, we could resist better with it on than off.

6th. We should submit to the halter to show our "love of liberty" and of a "free government."

7th. We should submit as an example to the enslaved nations of Europe, to show that "we are not spoiled by too much liberty."

8th. That it is the only condition on which we can retain our share of "past glory," and stay in "the house our fathers builded."

9th. That all objection to halters is blind and foolish prejudice and madness.

10th. That it is absolutely necessary to halter the South to keep it from rushing to destruction.

11th. That none but "traitors" object to halter, and they ought therefore to be hung to get them used to it.

12th and last. If the South don't put it on quietly, it will have to be put on at the *point of the bayonet*.

P. S. All these arguments have proved and will prove about equally successful.

GOV. MORGAN'S MESSAGE.—The Governor of New York has quite mistaken the temper of the times. In suggesting that the Northern State Legislatures should reaffirm Southern rights, and repeal their own Personal Liberty Laws, and in advising our Federal representation in Congress to aim at some measures of concession for the pacification of the South, he runs counter not only to the prevailing tone of the Republican party, but to the tone of the whole North, irrespective of party. The feeling everywhere to-day is that expressed by our Springfield correspondent—no amendment to the Constitution, no concession to the South.

We regret the tone of the Governor's message, but have strong hope that the Legislature will not *humiliate the State* in this critical hour.—*New York Independent.*

ADDRESS OF HON. T. J. WHARTON,

Commissioner from the State of Mississippi, before the General Assembly of Tennessee, in the Capitol at Nashville, January 9th, 1861.

Mr. President, and Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives of Tennessee:

Returning to my native State, after many years residence abroad, I am profoundly grateful for the cordial reception extended to me by his Excellency, the Governor, and the assembled representatives of the people.

I know, however, and am proud to acknowledge that the compliment is not intended for me personally, but for the State which I have the honor to represent on this occasion. In her name, and by her authority, I come to commune with you in reference to the fearful political crisis which has befallen our common country, in the hope that the cooperation of Tennessee may be secured in the effort to preserve the rights, the honor and the independence of the slaveholding States of this Confederacy.

I am charged, in the language of my commission, to inform your honorable body, and the people of the State you represent, that the Legislature of Mississippi has passed an act calling a convention of the people of the State to consider the present threatening relations of the Northern and Southern sections of the Confederacy, aggravated by the recent election of a President upon principles of hostility to the States of the South, and to express the earnest hope of Mississippi that Tennessee will co-operate with her in the adoption of efficient measures for the common defence and safety of the States thus threatened. That Convention assembled on the 7th inst. and is now in session deliberating upon the action contemplated by the Legislature in the act which called it into being.

I am charged also to present certain resolutions adopted, almost without a dissenting voice, enumerating the grievances of which they complain, and prescribing the remedy for the same. Each of the measures thus adopted has received the sanction of the people, in an election held on the 20th ult.

A popular majority of not less than 18,000, and a majority in the Convention of from 60 to 70, have cordially endorsed the action of the Legislature in the premises.

Notwithstanding the differences of opinion that exist amongst us as to the character of the remedy proposed, there is but one sentiment as to the necessity of prompt and efficient action. That unanimity of sentiment prevailed even before the recent startling events which have occurred in South Carolina. Probably there is not in the State a man who does not feel that the argument is exhausted; that it is in vain longer to remind the dominant majority of the North of their repeated violations of the constitutional rights of the South, of the consideration upon which the South acquiesced in the Compromise measures of 1850-51, which at that time convulsed and so nearly dissolved the Union.

The most distinguished leaders of the party opposed to the immediate and separate secession of the State, unhesitatingly denounced the election of Mr. Lincoln as a declaration of war against the Southern States, and indignantly repelled the thought of submitting to it.

Indeed they pointed to the necessity of a Southern Confederacy, and only sought the co-operation of Southern States, and to secure that recommended that a convention of such States should be held.

Her sovereign voice can only be inferred from the known and declared sentiments of the delegates who have been elected. In a few days, if not ere this, the convention will give expression to it in the most solemn and authoritative form. When that has been done it will be the command of the Sovereign, which, like the fiat of the Omnipotent, challenges the obedience of every citizen.

That obedience will be rendered, not grudgingly, but with charity. Already the public mind is expecting it, and is prepared for it.

Forgetting all past political dissentions, her sons will gather around her standard, and vie with each other in demonstrations of loyalty and affection, there swear eternal fidelity to her sacred cause.

Without repeating the almost innumerable instances in which the anti-slavery sentiment of the North has invaded the constitutional rights of the people of the South, many of which are so forth in the preamble to the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Mississippi, I may say its aggressive spirit has culminated in the recent Presidential election.

The election of a sectional candidate, by a dominant sectional majority, on a platform of hostility to the constitutional rights of the people of fifteen sovereign States, was an event which never entered the minds of the framers of the Constitution. Like parricide amongst the Grecians—there was no law to punish it, as they supposed no child could be so unnatural as to murder his parent. So, the sages who framed the great Magna Charta of our liberty, never imagined the time would come when it would be possible, in a Government of equal, enlightened, sister sovereignty, that a party organized upon principles of deadly hostility to the domestic institutions of the minority, would obtain the ascendency.

The cardinal principle upon which the theory of Government rests which they inaugurated was the absolute equality of the States, in all political rights and privileges.

To establish that principle, the battles of the Revolution were fought. It was worth all the blood and treasure, privations and suffering it cost. When it has been surrendered, nothing accomplished by the Revolution worth preserving will remain. Mississippi has determined to cling to it "as the mariner clings to the last plank, when night and the tempest have gathered around him."

It is not the mere election of Lincoln—insulting as that of itself would be, in view of the offensive sentiments he has uttered, and is known to entertain—which has awakened that tornado of popular indignation which is now sweeping over the South. It is not the mere platform, upon which he was nominated—infamous as that is to the Southern man—but it is the determined, aggressive spirit of Abolition, indulging and sustaining the party which has secured his triumph and the overthrow of the Constitution. It is the unappeasable hatred which that party cherishes, and has ever cherished, for slavery and the slaveholder, that proclaiming to us that there is an "irrepressible conflict" between them and us. It is that the Chair of State, once occupied by Washington, is to be desecrated by the chief of a party which has risen upon the principle of depriving to the citizens of fifteen sovereign States that equality of rights secured to them in the common property of all the States. It is that an institution existing at the formation of the Constitution, and now the foundation of the wealth, property and happiness of twelve millions of people, is to be outlawed, and the moral sentiment of the world invoked to make it and those who tolerate it, hateful. It is that the President elect owes his triumph to such a party, that he has pandered to such a sentiment, and that the Government is to be administered for such a purpose, that the State of Mississippi has resolved—whatever may be the issue—fearlessly to appeal to the God of battles the justice of her cause, and the arbitrament of mankind. Come what may, though it should cost every drop of blood and every cent of property, she will never submit to the domination of such a party and of such a chief.

In that appeal, she invokes no sympathy or compassion. She has fully counted the cost of resistance. She has not rashly taken her position. A necessity too strong and imposing to be disregarded, demands that she should assume the guardianship of her own rights and honor. She will never consent that either shall be under the control of a government hostile to her and hers. She ardently desires the co-operation of her sisters, having a common interest and destiny. She defies and despises the malice of her foes. She has sent commissioners to all the slaveholding States to invite their co-operation in defence of common rights against a common enemy. She bids me, as her representative, say to her chivalrous sister, Tennessee, that she has too often illustrated her heroism in arms, and her wisdom in council, to doubt that, as upon the deathless plains of Chalmette and at the storming of Monterey they stood shoulder to shoulder, that they will be separated now, when the holiest cause that ever inspired the human heart, summons them to the conflict.

Mississippi knows and appreciates the loyalty to the Union which has ever distinguished her sister. The sentiment has an abiding place in her own bosom. Yet she is ready to sacrifice everything which a proud sovereign State may or dare sacrifice of care, comfort or convenience. Her *honor and constitutional rights* she may not, dare not surrender. For the honor of the national Government, she has sacrificed hecatombs of her best sons. To vindicate her own honor she is ready to sacrifice her last son, and herself disappear from the map of nations. She bids me say that "she loves and cherishes the Union; that she remembers, with the kindest feelings, our common origin, with pride our common achievements, and has fondly anticipated the common greatness and glory which has seemed to await us; but that origin, achievements and anticipations of coming greatness, are to us as nothing compared to this question; that it is to us a vital question; that it involves not only our liberty, but what is greater (if to freemen anything can be) existence itself." So, viewing it, and despairing of a returning sense of justice with her haughty and victorious foe, she has determined to welcome death rather than submission. She considers a dissolution of the Union a great, though not the greatest calamity. In the language of her own warrior statesman, the fearless, the chivalrous Davis, "She would cling tenaciously to our constitutional Government, seeing as she does, in the fraternal union of equal States, the benefit to all, and the fulfillment of that high destiny which our fathers hoped for and left it for their sons to attain. She has seen the national flag surrounded by the flags of foreign countries and the palisades of her heart have beat quicker with every breeze which displayed its honored stripes and brilliant constellation. She has looked with veneration on those stripes, as recording the original size of our political family, and with pride upon that constellation, as marking the family's growth. She glories in the position her own star holds in the group but sooner than see its lustre dimmed; sooner than see it degraded from its present equality, she would tear it from its place, to be set even on the perilous ridge of battle, as a sign round which her bravest and best should gather to the harvest home of death."

What has transpired since the election to encourage the hope that the dangers apprehended from the triumph of the Black Republican party are disappearing or diminishing? Whilst prayer and supplications are going up from the hearts of patriots that He who stilleth the tempest and rules in the armies of men, would disperse the dark storm-cloud which overhangs the land; whilst the silent watches of the night have attested the zeal of venerated statesmen to concert measures to preserve alike the Union of the States and the rights of the South, what indication have our enemies given of a willingness on their part to recede from the position which has caused all the danger? Go to their organs—of the public press—and to their speakers on the floor of Congress, and catch the haughty contempt with which they treat a suggestion that their platform shall be modified, or the offensive State enactments of which we complain, repealed. They are themselves ready to denounce their chosen chief as a traitor, if in the policy upon which he shall administer the Government, he fail to carry out the platform on which he was nominated, or should, for a moment, yield to the "insolent demands of a hateful slave oligarchy." Catch the exultant note with which they hailed his election, as the final overthrow of slavery. Hear the swelling chorus, borne on every breeze to every land, proclaiming the first triumph of the party which should, at no distant day, inaugurate the reign of equality of all races and colors, and the universality of the elective franchise. Look at their President elect, whose silence since his election, in and during the canvass, has been as profound as it is ominous. Read his last *deliverances* to the public ear. As late as the 10th of April, 1859, he said: "This is a world of compensations, and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and under a just God cannot long retain it." But once during the canvass was his voice heard, which was when he spoke at his own door to his neighbors and friends. At Springfield the last of July, or early in August, he was put forward very unexpectedly, and spoke with less than his accustomed caution. He said: "My friends, you will fight for this cause four years hence, as you now fight for it, though I may be dead and gone."

Commenting upon this speech, a distinguished son of Pennsylvania, loyal to the Constitution as a compact between the States, said: "There is, then, to be no repose, no settlement, no finality under his administration. The 'fight' is to go on—nay, it is to be stronger then than now. Not content with the spoils of the compact North over the stricken and insulted South, the arms are not to be laid aside—the army is not to be broken—peace and conciliation are not even hinted. Domestic slavery, driven by a triumphant Executive and Congressional majority from the Territory, is to be beleaguered in the States. It is to exist by sufferance—it is to be destroyed by compression, and the varnished, plausible and deceptive Republicanism of 1860 is to become the aggressive Abolitionism of 1864. So says Mr. Lincoln, if his language has any meaning:

In order that you may see what will be the policy of his administration, I state Mr. Lincoln's position in his own words. He says:

"It is my opinion, it (the slavery agitation) will not cease, until a crisis has been reached and passed. A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall. But I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is the course to ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward until it shall become alike lawful in all the States old as well as new, North as well as South.

Again he says:

"I embrace with pleasure the opportunity of declaring *my disapprobation* of that clause of the Constitution which denies a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage."

"True Democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin, or place of nativity, or any other circumstance or condition. I regard, therefore, the exclusion of the colored people, as a body, from the elective franchise, as *incompatible* with true Democratic principles."

And yet again, with still greater emphasis, and explicitness of expression:

"That no man is good enough to govern another man, *without the other's consent.* I say this is the leading principle—the SHEET ANCHOR of *American Republicanism.*

* * * * * * *

The *master* not only governs the *slave* without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow all the governed AN EQUAL FORCE IN THE GOVERNMENT, and that, and that only, is self-government."

I advert to these extracts to show how vain and delusive the hope that a remorseless fanaticism, which has fastened its fangs in the vitals of the Constitution, will, in the flush of triumph, stay its hand from further and yet haughtier demands. Never, in the history of nations, has such a spirit paused or taken a step backward. It is unappeasable. It knows no quarters. It takes no prisoners. It wages a war of extermination, more relentless than a war of races or of castes. It must be met with brave hearts and stout arms, and crushed out, or its desolating sweep over organized Governments will be more fearful than the unchained wilds which rend forests and scatter fleets. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, when this vorracious demon was in its swaddling clothing, and the nurses in charge made their first requisition upon Congress in the shape of Abolition Petitions, Mr. Calhoun raised his prophetic voice in words of wisdom and warning, which, if heeded, would have arrested the terrible catastrophe now imminent and unavoidable. He then declared that aggression should not be met by concession; that those who acted upon the principle that it should, were prepared to become slaves; that if an inch was conceded, concession would follow concession, compromise would follow compromise, until our ranks would be so broken that effectual resistance would be impossible. He counselled that the remedy should be met on the frontier with a fixed determination to maintain the position—the very hazard. Tracing the subsequent history and career of that spirit of aggression which had seized the Northern mind, he undertook to predict that however sound the great body of the non-slaveholding States then were, that in the course of a few years they would be succeeded by those who will have been taught to slight the people and institutions of nearly one-half of this Union, with a hatred more deadly than one hostile nation ever entertained towards another. He said it was easy to see the end. By the necessary course of events, if left to themselves, we must become, finally, two people. It is impossible, under the deadly hatred which must springing between the two great sections, if the present causes are permitted to operate unchecked, that we should continue under the same political system. The conflicting elements would burst the Union asunder, as powerful as are the links which hold it together. Abolition and the Union cannot co-exist. As the friend of the Union, I openly proclaim it, and the sooner it is known the better. The former may now be controlled, but in a short time, it will be beyond the power of man to arrest the course of events. We of the South will not, cannot surrender our institution. The subversion of them would drench the country in blood, and extirpate one or other of the races. I quote his words, and as I repeat them who is not struck with the inspiration of his utterance, and the fulfilment of his prediction? What heart does not send up the prayer, "I would his counsels and warnings had been heeded." But they were regarded at the time as the sickly abstractions of a dreamer and metaphysician.

Men, in their impotence to reach the height of this great argument, not gifted with his far reaching sagacity, adopted the opposite policy. "Others, for a while, seemed struggling 'neath their argument, he, far above, descending stooped to touch the loftiest thought."

I have purposely avoided a discussion of the remedy proposed in the resolutions adopted by the Legislature of Mississippi. I know full well the sentiment which has long prevailed in Tennessee on that subject. I could not hope to change it, and I would not be understood as presuming to dictate. Besides, practical results are more to be desired than discussions of abstract propositions. It will make no difference as to the form of the remedy, or the name by which it is called, if we are animated by the same determined purpose, to maintain the rights of the South at whatever hazard or cost. We may find ourselves borne along by the current of events, and forced to defend what we might be unwilling to aid producing.

My first and great concern—the chief object indeed of my mission—is to know that Tennessee, like Mississippi, will bend to her last man, never submit to be ruled over by a Black Republican Administration. Events are crowding upon each other with startling rapidity. The Rubicon is already passed. *Nulla retrorsum vestigia*, is inscribed upon every shield and every helmet. South Carolina—aptly denominated the Harry Percy of the Union—has flung to the wild winds free her banner of State independence, and back from the Spirit land comes the cheering war cry which rerved the arms and hearts of her Sumters and Marions, her Pickens and Rutledges, now echoing in tones of thunder in the ears of their descendants—

"Strike, till the last armed foe expires,
Strike for your altars and your fires—
Strike for the green graves of your sires—
God and your native land."

Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, will catch the swelling refrain, and high above the croaking voice of submission, they will pledge hearts and hands to South Carolina—together march to victory and independence, or when the "last torch of liberty shall burn then sleep the night of death." Aye, and Tennessee will enter the grand carnival—not with slow and measured tread, but with all the fire which warm, and ready to charge with all her chivalry. Before I could doubt it, I should have to obliterate the brightest pages of my country's history—ignore the undying laurels with which fame decked the brow of the immortal Jackson, on the plains of Chalmette and the more recent, but as undying harvest of glory which were gathered by her sons amidst the storming of Monterey. If such a doubt were forced upon my mind—as a native of the State—I would throw myself upon her bosom, and in the language of another, I would exclaim: Oh Earth, Earth, Earth! as did the Hebrew Prophet when wearied out with the perversity of his countrymen, he turned to his native soil and adjured that, to see if he could not arouse with it some answering spirit. If such an appeal was made to the soil of Tennessee, in such a cause, it seems to me that the very genius of the place would spring forth, and trumpet tongued, sound the call, which from the topmost height of her mountains to the depths of her valleys would summon her host to the rescue.

That something must be done, and speedily done, aye, before the ruins of Government shall pass into the hands of our haughty and insolent foes, the patriot commissionists admit. Yielding to the sentiment of resistance, which wells up from the great popular heart of the South, her statesmen and patriots—men of wisdom and prudence, who "hold the helm when passion blows the gale," have exhausted every effort to restore peace to a distracted country.

Their very prayers and supplications on behalf of the Constitution, and the co-equal rights of the States have been insulted and derided by our enemies whether addressed to a throne of grace or to their own adamantine hearts. If appeals are made to their sense of patriotism—if they are reminded of a common ancestry and a common revolutionary history—if they invoke the memories of the Republic, when struggle, of the purest patriots of the Revolution, Washington and Adams, Jefferson and Hancock, and their illustrious compeers, met at the shrine and presented their offerings on the same altar, with pharisaic piety they turn away disdaining fellowship with slavery, and slaveholding. When reminded of their breaches of faith in the observance of solemn covenants and violations of plain provisions of the Constitution, and exhorted not to drive us to extremities in the defence of our rights, our exhortations are denounced as threats. A paper wielding, perhaps, a wider influence over Northern sentiment than any other, and which, from the part taken by its editor in securing his nomination, may be presumed to express the feelings of Mr. Lincoln, and the party of which it is the accredited organ—(the New York *Tribune*)—repels with ridicule all such appeals. The only answer made to the South is to justify all that has been said and done by the party. It protests that they have elected a President by honest legal votes, on the largest poll ever known, and after the most heated canvass ever had in the country—that they have done just exactly what they had a right to do, what they ought to have done, and what should have given peace and prosperity to the Union, and that all the distress and danger now existing spring from the fact that the factions they have fairly beaten, insist that they shall repudiate their principles and surrender the just fruits of their triumph, or that they will break up the Union. It hails with acclamations of rejoicing the failure of the committees of Congress to devise any plan of adjustment. It throws back upon the South the responsibility for all the dangers which exist, and denounces it for treason and disunion.

Why talk to such people about new guarantees, amendments of the Constitution, &c.? In the first place, we know how they would be met; crimination and recrimination are the reply they make; denying that the evils complained of exist—but, if they do, that they are of our own creation. In the second place, what reason have we to suppose, if our demands were accepted, that the amendments and new guarantees would be more faithfully observed than the plain provisions of the Constitution and the Fugitive Slave Law have been?

They have been educated for the last forty years, in the nurseries, in the Sunday schools, from the pulpit, at the bar, in the legislative halls, and from the hustings to loathe slavery and the defenders of it. This has all to be undone. It is impossible to eradicate the sentiment from the minds and hearts of the present generation. With the masses, the sentiment has been engendered by religious fanaticism, and by appeals to their prejudices. They have been taught that slaveholders disdain labor, and look with contempt upon the laboring classes, regarding them alike, whether white or black, as an inferior caste in society. With the leaders, it originates in a contest for political supremacy, and a jealousy of the influence which the South has exercised by her wisdom in council and her heroism in arms.

Of what avail would all the constitutional compacts in the world be when coming in contact with a sentiment such as that imbedded in the hearts of the people? "All laws depend for their efficacy and enforcement upon the consent and loyalty of those who administer them, and those for whose government they were intended."

Such being, then, the sentiments and feelings of the party which will be charged with the administration of the Government after the 4th of March, what safety or protection will there be for Southern men and property, seeing that new guarantees cannot be obtained, and if they could be, would never be observed.

Slavery, of all property in the world, most needs the protection of a friendly government. As well commit the lamb to the protection of the wolf, as slavery to the protection of a Government hostile to it.

Besides, all these propositions involve delay, and delay now is fatal. It is not wonderful, indeed it is most natural, that up to this time we should have held back—that we should have tried to keep others back until the wisest and most prudent counsels had calmly surveyed the whole field and had failed to discover a remedy for the disorders prevailing. That much deliberation was due to the sacred trust committed to us, and to the cause of human liberty throughout the world. But events of the past few days admonish us that but little time remains for deliberation and indecision. Some may deplore the course of South Carolina as precipitate and ill advised—others may regard it as unjust to her sisters, having an equal interest and a common destiny with her—others again, may hail it as the magic wand which shall extract the forked lightning from the storm cloud and convey it harmless to the earth, or, as "a bright Iris o'er the boiling surge." Whatever may be the view held of it, whether approved or condemned, her lone star has been unfurled and proudly courts the breeze. Mississippi has sent her word of cheering. "On ye brave, who rush to glory or the grave. Wave, South Carolina, wave, all thy banners wave, and charge with all thy chivalry." God grant that Tennessee, the synonym of patriotism and dauntless heroism, true to her own high instincts, her historic renown, and the fame of her illustrious chieftain, who has rendered her own and his name immortal, may also arm to the teeth and resolve to the death in defence of her gallant sister, the Queen of the Atlantic!

What said the illustrious ex-President Fillmore in his speech at Albany, in 1856, when contemplating the very event which has occurred—the election of a sectional President—and which, though not the cause, is the occasion of the wide-spread excitement at the South: "Can they," (referring to the people of the North,) "have the madness, or the folly, to believe that our Southern brethren would submit to be governed by such a Chief Magistrate? Suppose that the South, having a majority of the electoral votes, should declare that they would hold only slaveholders for President and Vice-President, and should elect such by their suffrages to rule over us at the North, do you think you would submit? No; not for a moment. Do you believe that your Southern brethren are less sensitive on this subject than you are, or less jealous of their rights? If you do, let me tell you, you are mistaken; and therefore you must see that if this sectional party succeeds, it leads inevitably to the destruction of this beautiful fabric reared by our forefathers." Again, in his speech at Rochester, the same season, referring to the same event, he said; "the success of such a party with such an object, must be a dissolution of the Union."

What said the Hon. Mr. Vallandigham, member of Congress from Ohio? "I tell you, as a Western man, and I tell the gentleman from Tennessee, (Mr. Nelson,) that when you of the South shall have attained the numerical power and strength in this Union, and shall organize a Southern party on a Southern basis, and, under the forms of the Constitution, shall elect a Southern President, for the purpose of controlling the vast power and patronage and influence of the Government by action or non-action, for the advancement of Southern interests; and above all, for the purpose of extending slavery into States now free, I will meet you as the Irish patriot would have met the invaders of Ireland—with a sword in one hand and a torch in the other—dispute every inch of ground—burn every blade of grass, till the last intrenchment of independence shall be my grave. I will not wait for an overt act. What! Do I not know that fire will burn; that frost will congeal; that steel and poison will do their work of destruction to the human system; and that, in the slow process of experiment I shall wait for the inevitable effects?" This was spoken in answer to the question whether the South would be justified in resisting the election of a Northern sectional candidate on a sectional platform.

I quote a passage from a single other Northern statesman, (Hon. Caleb Cushing,) on the same point. After arguing to them the practical result of the election of such a candidate, he says: "I repeat, confidently, if Mr. Lincoln is elected, the Republicans will have to burst up at once, or attack the domestic rights of the South. What, then, will the people of the Southern States, attacked in their constitutional rights, their domestic peace, their property, and their persons do? What will they do? Will they passively submit to be conquered subjects of New England? No. I do not hope, believe or doubt what they will do. I know they will defend themselves to the uttermost—first with constitutional means; in fine, with all the means of defence which God and nature have committed to them; and if they were not to do it, they would be recreant to the blood of Washington, of Henry, Carroll, of Rutledge; they would be unworthy of the name of American."

The issue is made. We could not avoid it if we would. We can fearlessly appeal to God, to our consciences, and to the enlightened opinion of mankind to vindicate our course. If war result, the responsibility will not be upon us, but upon those who are intent upon the overthrow of our constitutional rights. It we must pass the dread ordeal—if the tocsin of civil war is sounded, and the land is drenched with the blood of brothers, "I trust in God that there is a redeeming spirit in the Constitution which will be seen to walk with the South through the flames, and preserve her unhurt by the conflagration."

TENNESSEE LEGISLATURE.

SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1861.

The Senate was called to order by the SPEAKER, and opened by prayer by Rev. J. S. HAYS.

CALLING STATE CONVENTION.

Mr. PAYNE introduced a bill providing for the calling a State Convention at an early day, which passed first reading, and 75 copies ordered printed for the use of Senate.

RELIEF RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. WOOD introduced a resolution to appoint a committee to consider the Finance question and report bill thereon.

HOUSE RESOLUTIONS.

Several resolutions were received from the House, and respectively concurred in:

No. 1, on the Political Crisis; No. 2, on Banks and the Pecuniary condition of the people; No. 3, on Military Affairs; and No. 4, on the subject of Commissioners from the States of Alabama and Mississippi.

FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Mr. PAYNE introduced a series of resolutions, bearing upon our Federal Relations, which lie over, and 75 copies ordered printed.

SLAVERY QUESTION.

Mr. RICHARDSON introduced resolutions recommending Congress to call a Convention of the States to propose such constitutional guarantees as they may deem necessary to preserve the Union and the equality of the States, by settling the slavery question, which lies over, and 75 copies ordered printed

PER DIEM.

A resolution from the House authorizing the payment of the per diem to members as it becomes due, was amended and adopted by the Senate.

POSTAGE STAMPS.

On motion of Mr. PAYNE a resolution was adopted under a suspension of rule, authorizing the Comptroller to issue a warrant to the Doorkeeper for Postage Stamps for the members, for use on documents and letters on legislative business, which resolution was transmitted to the House.

APPRAISEMENT LAW.

Mr. JOHNSON introduced a Bill to have all property to be sold under execution, valued before being offered for sale, and if not sold for two-thirds of its valuation the sale to be void, which passed its first reading

COMMITTEES OF LAST SESSION.

Mr. BRADFORD moved that all the committees remain as at the last session, except those on Federal Relations, Military Affairs, and Banks, which motion was adopted.

RECESS.

The Senate then took a recess of 15 minutes, preparatory to going into Convention of the two Houses

CONVENTION.

The Senate re-assembled, and repaired in a body to the Chamber of the House of Representatives to hear any communications which the Commissioners representing the sovereign States of Alabama and Mississippi, may have to make to the Legislature of Tennessee.

After the Convention dissolved, the Senate returned to their Chamber and adjourned to 10 o'clock to-morrow.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1861.

The SPEAKER called the House to order at nine o'clock.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. BENNETT offered a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee of five who shall confer with the Banks in suspension to ascertain how much paper they have discounted and renewed, and what amount of exchange they have sold, and at what rate, during suspension, and that they report whether the suspension was for the benefit of the people or the Banks themselves, which was adopted under a suspension of the rule.

The SPEAKER appointed Messrs. Bennet, Caldwell, Lockhart, Richardson, and Kennedy said committee.

Mr. LOCKHART offered a series of resolutions declaring that the doctrine that the Federal Government has the power to coerce a seceding State and hold it as a province, is both unwarranted by the Constitution and exceedingly impolitic, and any attempt on the part of the Federal Government to coerce a State would plunge the whole country into civil war; and instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to use every means within their power to prevent the Federal Government from adopting such a policy. The resolutions lie over under the rule.

Mr. SENTER offered a resolution declaring that the rights and honor of Tennessee can alone be preserved in the Union and under the Constitution of the United States, which lies over under the rule.

Mr. CHEATHAM offered a resolution to invite Ministers of the Gospel to open the proceedings of the House with prayer, which was adopted under a suspension of the rules.

Mr. HEBB offered a resolution instructing our Senators and requesting our Representatives in Congress to vote against the passage of the homestead bill, which lies over under the rule.

Mr. TREWHITT offered a series of resolutions declaring that the sentiment of the people of Tennessee is for the Union, and that no State Convention is necessary to give expression to that sentiment; that 10,000 copies of Washington's Farewell Address be printed, and that the members distribute them among their constituents; calling upon the Northern States to repeal their personal liberty bills; suggesting that a National Convention be held to settle the difficulties between the North and the South; and approving the course of Hon. Andrew Johnson. The resolutions lie over under the rule.

NEW BILLS.

The following bills were introduced, read the first time and passed:

By Mr. GILLESPIE: No. 5.—To repeal so much of the act of the 21st February, 1860, as establishes a conventional rate of interest.

By Mr. FORD: No. 6—For the relief of the people. [Suspends the collection of debts for a specified time.]

By Mr. DOAK: No. 7—To amend the usury laws of the State.

By Mr. BENNETT: No. 8—Prescribing the remedy for the collection of debts, and for the relief of the people.

By Mr. BAKER, of Perry: No. 9—To establish quarterly courts of justices of the peace.

By Mr. BUTLER: No. 10—For the relief of revenue collectors. [Allows collectors until the 1st of May to collect and pay over the revenue.]

By Mr. GANTT: No 11—To provide for a convention of the people of the State.

By Mr. TREWHITT: No. 12—For the relief of the people.

By Mr. VAUGHN: No. 13—To suspend the collection of Northern debts due by the people of Tennessee.

By Mr. ARMSTRONG: No. 14—For the relief of the tax-payers of the State. [Allows collectors until July 1, 1861, to collect and pay over the tax for 1860, and until January 1, 1862, to collect tax for 1861.]

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

Mr. Trewhitt's resolution to print 1,500 copies of Washington's Farewell Address was taken up.

On motion of Mr. WISENER, Gen. Jackson's Proclamation was included.

On motion of Mr. BARKSDALE, the Resolutions of 1798 and 1799 were included.

The resolution as thus amended, was then laid upon the table.

RESOLUTIONS REFERRED.

The resolutions offered yesterday by Mr. Hebb in favor of a Southern Congress; by Mr. Wisner, against secession; by Mr. Vaughn and Mr. Beaty, on federal relations, were referred to the Joint Committee on Federal Relations. The resolution of Mr. Wisener declaring it expedient to arm the State was referred to the Joint Committee on the Military.

STATE CONVENTION.

Mr. Wisener's resolution declaring it inexpedient to hold a State Convention, was taken