

SECESSION. We publish on the outside of our paper to-day, that famous Proclamation of Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, which has become a part of our political history, issued on the occasion of the State of South Carolina nullifying a law of the Federal Government. It is right and proper at times to turn over the pages of the past, seeking among the noble deeds and wise sayings of those men that have shed lustre and renown upon our common country, for wisdom and instruction, wherewith to direct us in times of great difficulty and danger.

We therefore commend this proclamation to the calm, careful and attentive perusal of our readers, as the words of one whose long life, spent in the defence and support of his country, both upon the field of battle as well as in the halls of legislation, entitles them to the earnest attention of all; and more especially it is necessary now, when unrestrained passion is raging so fearfully abroad in our land, clouding the mental and moral perception of the people that we should pause for reflection before taking any hasty action, and lend a listening ear to the voice of those who have gone before us—the glorious patriots who fought and bled for American liberty and the happiness of the American people.

The South has suffered many grievances at the hands of the North; the rights of the people have undoubtedly often been denied, and in some cases they have been unjustly deprived of their property; but does this array of complaints call for secession upon the part of the South? are they of sufficient magnitude to set at naught the supreme law of the land, and entail all the evils of anarchy and civil war or revolution upon a country blessed with peace, prosperity and happiness? Under the mild sway of the Constitution of the United States, our property has increased four, yea ten fold in value, our territorial limits have been largely expanded, we have enjoyed liberty of speech, freedom of conscience, and the rights of property. A government which produces all these, surely cannot be oppressive, and deserving of destruction, but more properly, the effort of all good men for its preservation. It is true there will be blotches upon the body politic; local disturbances may arise and fanatics may occasionally damage the rights and property of others, but these are no more than may be expected from the imperfections of human nature, and afford no argument for secession.

The hasty action which has been taken by some of the Southern States is to be sincerely regretted and deprecated. No overt act of aggression has yet been committed by the Federal government, and the employment of menace or violence is most unwise, as well as most inconsistent with that dignity which should mark the intercourse of one man with another. A convention of the States appears to be the most correct mode of procedure, but it should be a convention of all the States of the Union, and not of the Southern States only; it should also be called by the Federal authorities, in accordance with the Constitution and the laws already provided. Let it be a convention of the people, through their own chosen representatives, and not a convention of political demagogues. The sober sense of the American people is right, and if left to themselves they will preserve the fraternal feeling which existed between the two sections of the Republic in its earlier and better days.

But unfortunately the people of the country have had very little to do with the affairs of our country for years past. They have left the management of our political affairs to a set of political scoundrels and demagogues, whose policy has been to "rule or ruin," and our people begin to see the effects of it. What care these politicians whether our country is prosperous or not, so they are provided for! They have lived and fattened upon internal commotion brought on by themselves for the purpose. What care the Rhett, Keitts, Yanceys, Siddells, Davises, and a host of other disunionists of the South about the liberties of the people, so they become the chief rulers of a "Southern Confederacy!" They care nothing for treasonable ambition is their aim, and they would break up the noblest fabric ever erected on earth for the benefit of the human race, to gratify that ambition.

The people of the United States are a conservative people, willing at all times to concede just and equal rights to all sections, whether North or South, East or West. But we must say that they have been silent too long, and the consequence is that at this time our country is on the verge of ruin. Mutiny has commenced on board of our noble ship, and it will require all the calmness and coolness of its commanders to put it down. This mutiny commenced years ago, but was soon quelled by the noble patriot and statesman whose name we have mentioned above. Would it not be well for us if we had a JACKSON at the helm of State to-day? But we fear the age of patriots and statesmen is past, and their places are now filled with the worst enemies of free institutions. Our gallant "Old Ship," the Constitution, has been in the possession of pirates for years, who have spread ruin and desolation all around, and have brought her to the verge of ruin, and it now behooves the real owners, the people, to put forth all their energies to extricate her from the perilous position in which these pirates have placed her. It can be done—it will be done. The sovereign people of these United States will awake from their lethargy and proclaim

to the world that the American Union shall be perpetuated—that the rights of all sections shall be respected and be fully maintained. The extra session of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana will meet at Baton Rouge, on Monday next, to take into consideration the condition of the State at the present time, and particularly the state of the office-holders and office-seekers, and their prospects for the future. The interests of the people of the State will not be taken into consideration, as the land pirates will occupy the whole time of the Legislature in preparing some mode of obtaining a livelihood for the future. "Old Hounas" no doubt will be present and direct the movements of the concern, having an eye to the next Senatorship. After he arranges this, he will attend to the wants of the remainder of the swarm; when this is accomplished he will direct his aid-de-camp, Gov. Moore, to issue his proclamation ordering members of a State convention to be elected, to meet at a certain place and at a certain time to deliberate how the ends of those fellows can be best accomplished.

We learn from very good authority that it is the determination of the Rapides clique to send none but pure dyed-in-the-wool Breckinridge men to the convention, as their plans might be upset if honest and true men were selected for that position. It has now come to a battle between the office-holders and the people, and we hope that the people will look to their own interest for once and upset this damnable scheme of disunion put forth by "Old Hounas" and those he has driven into his net for a treasonable and dishonorable purpose. We say, let the people act, and not be dictated to by a set of demagogues who are kicking up all of this disturbance to benefit themselves. These fellows were preaching Union during the whole of the late canvass, when they were charged by the opposition press of the State with being disunionists, and no doubt a great many voted for their ticket believing that it was a Union ticket. But as soon as the election is over we see the chrysalis of disunion laid bare by the very men who made the people that they were the only Union party in the field.

All that we have to say in conclusion is, if a convention be called, let the people of Rapides select the best men, without distinction of party, and let our grievances be laid before honest men for once in twenty years, and we have no doubt that the whole people will stand or fall by their decision. A meeting was held at the Court House, on Monday night last, for the purpose of forming a "Volunteer Company." Like everything else of a public nature which is brought forward in this place, it did not amount to much, as there is a certain set of men who are determined to have every thing their own way, and put themselves foremost in all that transpires, determined to be the leaders, let the consequences be what they may.

We would like to see a good and effective Company organized in our city. We think that at the present time it is needed, but we do think that it should be placed under the command of sober, sedate and capable men, men who would do to die in any emergency. The proceedings of the meeting spoken of above will be found in another column. We publish them by request.

Virginia on Secession. At a meeting lately held in Rockbridge Co., Va. the following resolutions were all most unanimously adopted: Resolved, That the allegation that Virginia "is so hitched to the Southern States that they can drag her into a common destiny with them," is a foul calumny and aspersion on this noble old Commonwealth and a gross insult to her people. Resolved, That we verily believe that nine-tenths of the people of this State will be opposed to resisting the General Government, so long as it may be administered in conformity to the Constitution and the common benefit of all the States. Resolved, That Virginia owes no "duty to the South," or any other quarter of the world, except to discharge these constitutional obligations resting on her as a member of the Union; and such as every civilized community owes to every other, and that she has the ability and resolution to maintain her rights from whatever quarter they may be assailed. Again the Norfolk, (Va.) Herald describes a meeting at Portsmouth, for the purpose of hearing Ex-Gov. Wise in defence of his "Princes Anne resolutions." The scene was one of the wildest confusion. Mr. Doughtrey attempted to reply to Mr. Wise, but was not permitted. The Herald closes by saying: "Mr. Doughtrey, it is true, was not allowed to speak, nor was Mr. Wise enabled to make the people of Portsmouth swallow his revolutionary resolutions, and the meeting adjourned amidst the wildest tumult."

The Lynchburg Virginian says: "Any effort to ally Virginia with a State in rebellion, would create an antagonism amongst our own people that would be fatal to our peace and prosperity. There is no just cause now existing for a resort to extreme measures, though, when that cause shall exist, it will, we doubt not, find us united in resistance to aggression."

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OPINIONS OF THE PEOPLE. THE PRESS UPON THE CRISIS. We extract from our exchanges some of the most important opinions upon the crisis through which the country is now passing. We think, from these expressions, the real sentiment of the country may be more truly learnt than from the impassioned appeals of headstrong politicians.

POSITION OF THE DEMOCRACY NORTH. The Philadelphia Ledger says: The Democratic Association of the Twenty-second Ward have held a meeting in reference to the present "crisis," and passed resolutions which are published in another column. These resolutions declare that the National Democracy have exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the election of a sectional President, believing that it would seriously interrupt the continued prosperity and happiness of the country. They have been outvoted and submit, believing that any other course would introduce evils greater than it could remedy. They look to the Constitution and the returning sense of justice of the people of the United States for a remedy for every wrong tending to provoke a gallant and patriotic people to desperation or violence. But, while exhibiting this fraternal and generous feeling, they see with alarm that the South is urged to desert the weaker party in the North, struck down in its defence, and appeal earnestly to it to continue to co-operate with its friends in the North, as the best means of checking any abuse of power and maintaining the Government upon the constitutional basis. They declare their devotion to the Union and the Constitution, and rejoice in the guarantee afforded for the preservation of the constitutional rights of all in the Union by the check which the National Legislature has upon the acts of the Executive.

This is a timely and appropriate expression of sentiment, which will be endorsed by every Northern friend of Southern rights and Southern equality. Those Southern politicians who are urging secession, under the belief that they will find Northern sympathy, and the great Democratic party in the North aiding a disruption of the Union, are mistaken in their conclusions. There is no such party North, and any movement towards secession will unite all parties in determined opposition. The Northern friends of the South in the late election co-operated with their brethren for the purpose of maintaining its integrity. They had experienced its benefits, enjoyed its advantages, and wished all sections of the Union to partake of its blessings and feel its securities. They took the constitutional and legal means to prevent what they believed had at least a tendency to impair the stability of their institutions, by exasperating sectional feeling or destroying confidence in the protection the government has hitherto afforded to all the States. The decision was against them, but that decision being a legal and constitutional one, they are not disposed, in a moment of irritation, to precipitate the mischief they were trying to prevent.

CONSERVATIVE SENTIMENT AT THE SOUTH. The Louisville Courier (Breckinridge) concludes an article on the present excitement with the following declaration: Kentucky will not go out of the Union in consequence of the election of Lincoln. We do not suppose there is one man in who thinks she will take such a step. She will wait and hope until there is no room for hope. But she will not aid Lincoln or Gen. Douglas in hanging the citizens of any State for obedience to the constitutional authorities of such State. She will not become the hangman of the Federal Government in such a case. She will never permit an army of Northern mercenaries to be marched across her territory to force one of her Southern sisters to remain in a Union from which in a proper manner she has determined to withdraw. She will advise moderation, counsel prudence, urge forbearance, use all her influence, to induce the Southern States to remain in the Union until there is no hope for peace, or justice or safety in it; she will and can and ought to do no more.

The Nashville Patriot (Bell and Everett) says: In regard to the doctrine of secession a great deal of error is prevalent in the South. The events of the next sixty days will probably give rise to discussions which will correct it to a considerable extent. Light only is wanted to render the doctrine as odious now as it was when Gen. Jackson "crushed it out."

The Nashville Democrat (Douglas) explains: Beware of ultraism. Let to good Democrats give the least countenance to the sentiments of disunion which now to such an alarming extent in the South. Try to get conservative men from the Bolbers and from the Bell party, to unite with us in our high and holy mission of saving this glorious Confederacy of States. We must forget former animosity towards those parties, and let the good, safe, and Union loving portion of both these parties join us. Let us cordially invite their cooperation. We are for our country and our whole country. We are for the American flag of the whole Confederacy of States. We are for guaranteeing the rights of every section of the Union, and with the co-operation of national men, we will be able to secure to every section their just rights within the Union. Let no contingency lead us into disunion. Let this be our motto: "The Federal Union—It Must Be Preserved." Let us cling to this as the shipwrecked mariner does to the last plank. Union now—and Union forever!!!

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TELEGRAPHIC NEWS. THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS. WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—The United States Senate assembled this morning. Seventeen Senators were absent. On hearing that the President's message would not be read to-day, the Senate adjourned. The House is in excessively good humor. Two hundred members answered to their names. The House followed the example of the Senate, and adjourned till to-morrow on account of the non-reception of the President's message. The U. S. Supreme Court also assembled to-day. Judge Wayne was absent, but he had called on the President. The Court soon adjourned. The assurances of the Representatives and others from Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, that those States will positively follow South Carolina, have unmistakably alarmed the conservatives who believed that South Carolina would have no supporters among the Southern States. A proposition is on foot for a conference of the Representatives of all the Southern States, South Carolina excepted, to prepare a list of their grievances, and set forth what will satisfy them. This list is to be submitted to the Conservative Republicans and in the event of receiving their favor, to be referred to a committee of one from each State. This proposition is under discussion. Several prominent Black Republicans have acquiesced therein. WASHINGTON, Dec. 3.—An evening consultation is now being held between several delegates of the Southern States on the cooperation of the border States in the secession movement. NEW YORK, Dec. 4.—The Washington correspondent of the Times telegraphs Texas advices representing the people on the eve of revolution against the State Government, Gov. Houston having refused to call a convention. The President's message fills eight columns of the Constitution newspaper. Nearly half the message is devoted to the secession question. It is believed that Senator Clingman, of North Carolina, will soon offer a proposition for the peaceable secession of the States and a fair distribution of the assets and liabilities. It is rumored that Secretary Thompson will resign on Thursday next, and will be succeeded by Governor Pratt of Maryland. The President has sent an assistant Secretary of State to Gov. Gist, with copies of the Message, to guard against mistakes. The idea of the National Convention being called by Congress is not favorably received by either party. The naval estimates for the year amount to over eleven and a half millions. General Intelligence. Dispatches from Fort Scott to the Interior Department, dated the 26th ult., say the business of the office has not been interfered with, nor is likely to be. The dispatches further state that Montgomery's raid amounts to nothing. TALLAHASSEE, Dec. 1.—The bill providing for the assembling of a convention of the people has passed both branches of the Florida Legislature. The convention is to meet on the 3d day of January, 1861. FORT KEARNY, Dec. 3.—The overland pony express passed here to-day on its way to St. Joseph with advices from San Francisco to the 21st ult. Lincoln has carried the State of California by 700 to 1000 plurality. Lincoln's plurality in Oregon thus far amounts to 318. California has of late been visited by a severe storm, unroofing houses and doing other damages of a serious character. Wm. Governor Morris killed Wm. Shannon, editor of the Visalia Delta, in a rencontre growing out of politics. Morris was prosecuted, and afterwards acquitted. The Pacific Mail Company's steamer Golden Age sailed from San Francisco on the 21st, for Panama, taking out \$1,215,000 of treasure. At San Francisco provisions were declining. Sugar was 1-1-2c. lower. NEW YORK, Dec. 3.—The United States mail steamship Northern Light arrived here to-day from Aspinwall. She brings on freight upward of \$800,000 of treasure. Mr. Clay, the United States Minister to Peru, was among the passengers. The U. S. steamer of war Saranac arrived at Panama on the 19th ult. from San Francisco—all well. BOSTON, Dec. 1.—Redpath's John Brown meeting was taken possession of by Union men. Richard S. Fay was nominated chairman. Resolutions were passed denouncing John Brown and justifying his execution for having landed in Virginia. The Abolitionists unsuccessfully endeavored to obtain a hearing. Finally the police were called. Tremont Temple was cleared and closed by order of the Mayor. JOHN BROWN SYMPATHY MEETING IN BOSTON. BOSTON, Dec. 4.—After the dissolution of the John Brown meeting, his sympathizers held a meeting at the Baptist Colored Church. As a disturbance was apprehended, a battalion of infantry was held in readiness, but the police prevented the threatened disorder. Many of the leading business men and others largely outvoted the Abolitionists at the former meeting. The summary dissolution of the meeting is viewed with general dissatisfaction. CHARLESTON, Dec. 1.—A special telegraphic dispatch from Washington to the Courier, says the President hopes that South Carolina will not compel him to collect the revenue by force. At the large meeting held here last night Col. Bilbo said that Tennessee would secede thirty days after South Carolina. INDEPENDENCE, Dec. 3.—The New Mexican mail has arrived with Santa Fe dated the 12th ult. Business generally was dull. The advices by this arrival contain nothing of importance. MILLEDGEVILLE, Dec. 3.—The retaliatory bill passed the House of Representatives after the rejection of Mr. Sprayberry's amendment. Later from Washington. WASHINGTON, Dec. 5.—In the United States Senate yesterday, Mr. Clingman made a motion for the publication of the message. He thought a number of the

States would secede from the federal Union within sixty days, and the best thing Congress can do under the circumstances is to divide the public property, fairly after paying its debts. Mr. Crittenden said the gentlemen had better have stayed at home than come to make such propositions. Mr. Clingman replied that when the Union ceases to protect North Carolina, the latter will give good bye. The discussion ended, and the Senate adjourned over till to-day. In the House of Representatives the question of printing the message was taken up and discussed at considerable length. Several southern members refused to vote on the proposition or amendments on account of their States having called conventions to consider secession. Nothing was accomplished, and the House adjourned. WASHINGTON, Dec. 5.—The President's message is condemned by the extremists both North and South. The conservative members, including those from the border slave States, approve mainly of the general principles enunciated. NEW PAPER.—The Washington (D. C.) Constitution says that a new paper was issued in that city on the 27th ult. It is styled the National Republican, (queer name isn't it) is to be an evening daily, is printed by Lewis, Clephane & Co., will support Lincoln, and so on. We are requested to state that the steamer HANJO will be at Alexandria with a celebrated Troupe of Minstrels on or about the 26th inst.

We learn that a robbery was committed in Pineville on Thursday night last. The robbers got possession of two watches, a coat, about fifty dollars in money and the ferry boat, with which they left for parts unknown. This is the first time within our knowledge that Pineville has contained anything worth stealing. We are requested to state that the steamer HANJO will be at Alexandria with a celebrated Troupe of Minstrels on or about the 26th inst.

The new Court House is progressing slowly. We expect that it will be finished about the year 1875, if Gov. Mills should live that length of time. If not, there is no telling that it will ever be completed. We have hope however that the Gov. will do his best while he does live. We publish by request the following preamble and resolutions of the Board of Supervisors of the State Seminary of Learning and Military Academy. Adopted at their late meeting: The Board of Supervisors having had the subject of the Cadets Commons, all the various complaints, and all the testimony relating thereto, under consideration; and having made personal examination of the same, and having made personal examination of the fare themselves, have come to the conclusion that many of the complaints are whimsical and capricious; that the fare is generally as abundant and of as good quality as can be furnished here for the price paid; and more so from the best evidence that the Board is able than at most of similar Institutions. The Board is well aware that no Cookery can always be kept up to the same point; if it is generally good, an occasional occasional defect should not be complained of, it is only habitual defects in fare and Cookery, that should form sufficient ground for complaint. Therefore, Resolved, That the Board does not feel itself justified in either censuring the Steward on the one hand, or in increasing the price on the other; the regulations of the Institution, together with the provisions of the contract with the Steward, of forcing an easy and open road to the Cadets themselves, for redress of any well grounded complaint. Passed December 5th 1860. Alexandria La.

The Fulton Guards. Pursuant to notice issued by Col. B. F. Fulton, the citizens of Alexandria met at the Court House for the purpose of forming a Volunteer Company. The meeting was organized by calling Col. Fulton to the Chair, and appointing M. A. Grogan Secretary pro tem. Col. Fulton in a few pertinent remarks explained the object of the meeting, and called upon all present who were desirous of forming the company, to do so. Upon the roll being called it was ascertained that 72 had responded to the call. The following officers were elected: Captain, John Kelso; 1st Lieut., M. A. Grogan; 2d Lieut., W. S. Ridge; 1st Sergeant, J. W. Martin; 2d Serg't, R. C. Hetherwick; 3d Serg't, L. A. Cameron; 4th Serg't, Jas. W. Orsborn; 1st Corporal, B. J. Hutchins; 2d do, W. G. Lloyd; 3d do, B. Bogan; 4th do, Wm. H. Rogers. Upon motion, Jas. De Lahanty was elected Secretary and R. Legras Treasurer. Upon motion, the FULTON GUARDS was adopted as the name of the company. Upon motion, the "La. Democrat" and the "Constitutional" newspapers were requested to publish the proceedings of the meeting. Upon motion, the meeting adjourned to meet on Thursday evening next, at 7 o'clock, at the Court House. JAS. DE LAHANTY, Secy. ALEXANDRIA, DEC. 3d, 1860.

Florence, the actor, did a little "gag" in a St. Louis theatre the other night, which brought down the house tremendously. Mrs. Florence had sung and danced in sailor's costume, holding the star-spangled banner, which she tossed to Mr. Florence at the other side of the stage. He took it, spread it out carefully, and exclaimed, with deep feeling, "Thank God, they are all there!" The house roared at one man, and the enthusiasm lasted several minutes.

Proceedings of the Police Jury—Extra Session. ALEXANDRIA, VA., Monday, Dec. 3, 1860. Pursuant to a Petition signed by twelve free-holders of the Parish of Rapides, the Police Jury of said Parish met. Members present: G. Baillio, President, N. Villain, K. M. Clark, C. W. Boyce, N. Davidson, S. D. Williams, E. A. Neal, J. P. Eddleman and A. Raehal. On motion of Mr. Boyce, Resolved, That the President of the Police Jury appoint a Committee of three to consult with the Bayou Rapides Navigation Company, in relation to the alteration of Bridge across the Bayou Rapides, or the building of a dam across the mouth of said Bayou, and report at the next meeting of the Police Jury. The President appointed as said committee, Messrs. N. Davidson, J. H. Hynson and A. Raehal. On motion of Mr. Boyce, Dr. John Casson was added to the Committee. Mr. Davidson being called to the Chair it was on motion of G. Baillio, Resolved, That every Member of the Police Jury make himself acquainted with the condition of poor and necessitous in his ward and report at the next meeting of the Police Jury. On motion of Mr. Raehal, Resolved, That the sum of Two Hundred and Fifty dollars be appropriated and placed at the disposition of Col. W. T. Sherman, for the purpose of purchasing ammunition &c. for the use and defence of the Parish. And the President of the Police Jury is hereby authorized to issue a warrant in his favor for said amount. On motion of Mr. Raehal, Resolved, That the Town of Alexandria be established as a Patrol Ward, and that R. Legras be appointed Captain of said ward. On motion of Mr. Boyce the Police Jury adjourned till the first Monday of January next. G. BAILLIO, Pres't. J. N. ROBERT, Sec'y. P. P. J. Clerk.

TELEGRAPHIC SYNOPSIS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE. WASHINGTON, Dec. 4.—The following is a synopsis of the President's message read to-day in the Senate of the United States: On Secession. The President, in relation to secession, recommends what in the meantime is the responsibility and true position of the executive. He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what, if the performance of his duty, in whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control. Such, at the present moment, is the case throughout the State of South Carolina, so far as the laws of the United States, for the maintenance of justice by the means of the Federal Judiciary, are concerned. All the Federal officers within its limits, through whose agency alone those laws can be carried into execution, have either resigned, or are no longer a district judge, a district attorney, or a marshal in South Carolina. In fact the whole machinery of the federal government, necessary for the distribution of remedial justice among the people, has been demolished, and it would be difficult, if not impossible to replace it. The only acts of Congress bearing upon this subject are those of the 26th February, 1852, and 23d March, 1857. They authorize the president, after he shall have ascertained that the marshals with his posse comitatus is unable to execute civil or criminal process, in any particular case, to call forth and employ the army and navy of the United States, to help in the execution of this service, having first by proclamation, commanded the insurgents to disperse and peacefully retire to their respective abodes within limited time. This duty cannot by possibility be performed in a state where no judicial authority exists to issue process, and where if even there were such authority, the executive population would constitute one solid combination to resist him. Preservation of United States Property in South Carolina. Then, in regard to the property of the United States in South Carolina, this has been purchased for a fair equivalent, by the consent of the State, for the erection of a fort, armaments, magazines, &c., and over these the authority to exercise executive legislation has been expressly granted by the constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property, for the erection of the fort, armaments, magazines, &c., and over these the authority to exercise executive legislation has been expressly granted by the constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property, for the erection of the fort, armaments, magazines, &c., and over these the authority to exercise executive legislation has been expressly granted by the constitution to Congress. It is not believed that any attempt will be made to expel the United States from this property, for the erection of the fort, armaments, magazines, &c., and over these the authority to exercise executive legislation has been expressly granted by the constitution to Congress.

Declines the Responsibility. This would be to invest a mere executive officer with the power of recognizing the dissolution of the confederacy existing among our thirty-three sovereign states. It bears no resemblance to the recognition of a foreign de facto government, the recognition of such responsibility. Any attempt to do this, without the sanction of Congress, is an invasion. It is therefore my duty to submit to Congress the whole question in all its bearings. The course of events is so rapidly hastening forward that the emergency may soon arise when you may be called upon to decide the responsibility of the executive, not possessing the power, by force of arms, to compel a state to remain in the Union. I should feel myself unworthy to my duty, were I not to express an opinion on this important subject. The Constitution gives no Power to Coerce a State into Submission. The question fairly stated is, has the constitution delegated to the executive the power to suspend the writ of habeas corpus, or to suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or has he actually withdrawn from the constitution any such power? If answered in the affirmative, it must be on the principle that the power has been conferred upon Congress to declare and make war against a state. After much serious reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress, or to any other department of the government. It is manifest, upon inspection of the constitution, that this is not among the specific enumerated powers granted to Congress, and it is equally apparent that its exercise is not necessary and proper for carrying into execution any one of those powers. Since from this power having been delegated to Congress, it was expressly refused by the convention which framed the constitution. It appears from the proceedings of that body that on the 31st of May, A. D. 1787, the clause authorizing the execution of the force of the whole nation against a delinquent state came up for consideration. President Madison's Opinion. Mr. Madison opposed it in a brief but powerful speech, from which I shall extract but a single sentence. He observed, "I do not think that the United States should ever be authorized to use force against a state, which would look more like a declaration of war than a sanction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compact, which might be liable to the same consequences."

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