# The Primitive Republican.

F. G. BALDWIN, "Error may be safely tolerated, when Truth is left free to combat it."—JEFFERSON. Editor & Proprietor.

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### S. OF T.

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March 14 19-6m*


## Beautiful Allusion to Mr. Webster.

In a discourse delivered before the Phi-Beta Kappa Society, of Bowdoin College, Maine, the Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Sprague gives his thoughts on "The Perpetuity of Intellectual Influence." From this splendid and classical production we take pleasure in making the following extract:

If I were to select from the whole intellectual nobility of the present day one whose influence, especially as a statesman, furnishes as apt an illustration of my subject as any other, I should have no occasion to look beyond New England; and the name to which I refer, has already become so much the property of history that delicacy does not forbid me to allude to it; while yet it is so much a house word, that I should pronounce it. That illustrious man, nearly half a century ago, was hard at work at a neighboring college in the cultivation of his intellect and he has been hard at work ever since for the welfare of his country. I speak not of the distinctive hue of his political opinions, or of any particular position he may at any time have assumed; but overlooking all party distinctions, I speak of him as an earnest, honest, far-seeing patriot; a man of wisdom and a man of might as great truly in repose as in action; in thoughtful moderation in resistless power. I honor him as fit to be a balance wheel in our political mechanism which shall give to each and every part of it a steady, safe and effective operation. I honor him as one who has more than once shown himself able to stand up in serene grandure amidst warring elements, and to make his voice heard above the loudest swell of the storm, declaring for his country, his whole country forever. I honor him as one who has given additional value to the privilege of being an American, and whose name we have only to repeat, to rebut many of the paltry calumnies of other nations.

There have been periods in our history, when all parties have united in a tribute of homage to his public character; and even when he appeared on the arena of political conflict, and mingled in the hottest of the fight, he has never stood in so much as an equivocal attitude, in respect either to dignity or integrity; and his very adversaries have felt constrained to do him honor. His vocation has been that of a statesman; and there his influence and his honors have chiefly centered; and yet he has occasionally brought an offering to the cause of literature, which has given him a place among her most renowned benefactors. The productions of his pen, distinguished alike by chaste simplicity and rugged strength; may fairly challenge comparison with the most classic productions of antiquity. His thoughts are like a chain of diamonds, and his style like a crystal stream. Even Plymouth Rock and Bunker Hill have been invested with new attractions by the power of his eloquence; and as long as one stands a witness for religious freedom, each will be a witness also to the majesty of his intellect. Yes, he will live on through all coming time; will live a continually brighter and stronger and more widely diffused life. And if the State where he was born and nurtured, or the State in which most of his public life has been passed, should venture an attempt to monopolize his fame, or hereafter to build his monument, his country would cry out that he belonged to her; the world would cry out that he belonged to her; and these universal claims would be echoed and re-echoed by each passing generation."

## TO THE PEOPLE OF GEORGIA.

In the exciting discussions of the present canvass, I have hitherto taken no part. Severe, and protracted domestic affliction has almost entirely denied to me the privilege of intercourse with my constituents, from the moment of my return to the State, in April last, up to the time in which I write. Meanwhile, the press, and a host of patriotic orators, of every shade of political opinion, who have traversed the State in every direction, from its centre to its extremities, have been engaged in enlightening the public mind, on the various topics, which belong, or are supposed to belong, to the crisis in our natural affairs, which is alleged to exist. If no other effect has been produced by these efforts, they have at least resulted in creating an unusual degree of excitement, division, and bitterness of feeling, among certain classes of our citizens.

I have not witnessed this state of things, with indifference or unconcern. On the contrary, I have contemplated it, with deep and painful interest. I feel that we are wanting in domestic strife, those energies which ought to be reserved for the constitutional assertion of our constitutional rights, in that hour of trial, which union among ourselves may avert, but which our intestine divisions are only calculated to accellerate. Compelled to decline for the reason which I have stated, the numerous calls which have been made upon me to join in these discussions, I have been obliged to content myself with the declaration that my opinions on the various subjects, connected with the slavery question, as these have been delivered in the Senate of the United States, and in public addresses, remain unchanged. I have uniformily recommended acquiescence in the decision of the people of Georgia in Convention, and have urged the indispensable necessity of union among ourselves, for our protection against future aggression.

Standing thus, on the ground marked out by the Convention in December last—having vindicated your rights in the Senate of the United States, and been cheered by repeated expressions of your approbation—having thought a long course of public service, at all times manifested an unfaltering devotion to the Union, and uniformly, and *before* the public sentiment of Georgia had deen declared in Convention, having often and publicly repelled the idea, that disunion was the proper remedy for the wrongs of which we complained, I was content, so far as I was personally concerned, to await the result of discussion in which I could not participate, in the consciousness of having, to the best of my ability, discharged my duty to you, and of having thus, however imperfectly, manifested the gratitude which I felt for the long continued confidence with which you had honored me.

This position I have not been permitted quietly to hold. In the seclusion which circumstances have forced upon me—with my anxiety constantly excited by domestic claims requiring all my care and attention, I have been met by denunciations of infidelity to the State, of whose interests I am declared to be an "unsafe" representative. Stating their understanding that I am a candidate for re-election, the nominating Convention of Richmond have not merely instructed their Representatives to vote against me, which was their right to do, but by resolution formally adopted, and ostentatiously published, have announced to the people of Georgia, that serious doubts concerning my opinions on the compromise measures, are entertained by many intelligent and prtriotic men, so serious, as to render my re-election impolitic and unsafe.

Now, the gentlemen composing this convention, are for aught I know to the contrary, very worthy and respectable persons. I desire to think so. I do think so, of such of them as are known to me. These resolutions, I would fain believe were adopted without any very careful consideration of their import and extent. I would hope that these gentlemen were not aware of the serious and utterly unfounded impeachment of my personal integrity, which they were preferring—that like many proceedings in such conventions the party purpose to be accomplished was agreed upon, and no very careful consideration given to the terms which were emyloyed to carry that purpose into effect.

However this may be, one of two conclusions is inevitable. If these resolutions were carefully examined and adopted, without understanding the serious charge which they preferred, the intelligence of those who so examined, and without such understanding, adopted them, is not merely questionable. If with an understanding of the false and unfounded charge which they preferred against my integrity, they deliberately ushered them to the world, they have violated the plainest and most obvious principles of justice, and have manifested an utter disregard of the obligations which man owes to his fellow-man If this is strong language, it is the language of a man whose integrity has been wantonly impeached—who is falsely accused of such insincerity in the declaration of his political opinions, and such consequent infidelity to the State, as renders him an *"unsafe"* representative of her interests. I do not mean to practise upon the maxim, that those who give blows, should make up their minds to receive them. It is indeed difficult to repress the expression of the feeling, which such imputations are calculated to excite in the breast of one, concious, ah, let me add, proubconcious of having labored through the wholely of this unhappy controversy, with a sole view to the preservation of the peace and harmony of the Union, and to the vindication of the constitutional and cherished rights of a State, which is at once the home of his affections, and humanly speaking, the boundary of his hopes. But while exercising the right of self-defence, I will endeavor to restrain the expression of this feeling, within the limits prescribed by the respect, which is justly due to those to whom I address myself.

The obvious course on this occasion is, to enquire—

1st. What it is, which these resolutions either directly or indirectly assert?

2d. How far in either aspect, they are consistant with truth? There is however a preliminary remark.

The Convention have proceeded in this matter, on *their understanding*, that I am a candidate for re-election to the Senate of the United States. Now I pray to enquire by what means this understanding was obtained? I have made no such announcement to the public. I have not (if my situation had permitted, I would not have) canvassed the State, to solicit any man's vote. Assuredly, I have made no such announcement. I have presented no such solicitation to the gentlemen composing this convention. I repeat the question then—How was this understanding obtained? I think I have in my possession the means of answering it. I think I can trace the source of this understanding to a gentleman, who has for some time past been employing himself not merely in efforts to defeat my re-election if I was a candidate, but to prevent me from becoming so—acting in direct opposition to the known wishes, and as I believe, to the express injunctions of the gentleman whose advancement he professed to be desirous of promoting. The proof of this, and the correspondence resulting from it, may, if it becomes necessary, be given to the public. At present, it is sufficient to say, that to a question whether I intended to be a candidate, propounded to me by that gentleman, in terms little consistent, as I thought, with ordinary courtesy, and which I considered, (to use no stronger expression,) as a very improper attempt to pry into my private views, by one who was employing himself in efforts to drive me from the position which I held, I replied by the enquiry, whether the question propounded to me, was asked by the authority, or with the knowledge and consent of the gentleman for whose benefit it purported to be made. To a question which I considered intrusive, from the manner in which, and the person by whom it was presented, I did not reply by saying that I was not a candidate and hence, as I believe, the inference that I was. I think I do not err in attributing to this source, the *understanding* of the convention, nor if I may be allowed to conjecture, in supposing that irritated feeling exerted by that correspondence, found expression in the resolutions which I am considering—I will only add that when I do become a candidate, I shall of course feel it to be my duty to make it known, and especially, to gentlemen disposed to deal so fairly with me, as the nominating Convention of Richmond, and the gentleman referred to?

I recur to the enquiry what it is which these resolutions either directly or indirectly assert. They assert directly,

That it is inexpedient to sustain any aspirant to political office, concerning whose opinions on the compromise measures, serious doubts are entertained—and,

That my course has excited such doubts in the minds of many patriots and intelligent men—doubts so serious as to render my re-election at this juncture, "impolitic and unsafe."

I make no remark on the first of these propositions—but when it is applied to me, by the assertion that these serious doubts are entertained concerning my opinions on these measures, so serious that the interests of the State cannot be safely entrusted to my care, every man must feel that the truth and sincerity of my public and reiterated declarations of those opinions, are called in question by a most offensive impeachment of my integrity.

This is the inevitable inference from these resolutions, taken in connection with the fact of the repeated declarations of my opinions, to which I have referred. Do the members of the Convention themselves believe what they have thus indirectly asserted? I acquit them of such outrageous injustice. I have looked over the list of their names, and find that very few of them are known to me, but I hazard nothing in asserting that there is not a solitary member of that Convention, to whom I am known, either personally or by reputation, who in the retirement of his closet, left to commune alone with God, and his own conscience, would venture to avow to himself his belief of the truth of the charge which he has thus contributed to prefer against my personal integrity.

What then, was the motive of this extraordinary proceeding? I do not say that the members of that Convention, have been influenced by, and participated in the movement of which I am about to speak; that they have, however, unconsciously lent themselves to it, is obvious. Ever since the Senatorial election in 1847 there has been a concerted movement to destroy my public standing before the people of Georgia. The individuals engaged in it were not numerous, but they were active, and some of them had control of the press. Failing to find in my course in the Senate, any act which they could use for the purpose of crimination, they resorted to the extraordinary alternative of withholding from my constituents, the knowledge of any thing which I had done, which might be rewarded by their approbation. From some of the presses of the political party with which I was associated, my name was studiously excluded—or if its insertion became unavoidable in a report of Congressional proceedings, the part which I had taken, however prominent, was either entirely omitted, or imperfectly reported. Now I cannot say that I am a busy member of the Senate, but the record of its debates will show that I have taken my full share in its proceedings, and yet there have been portions of time, in which I have been actively engaged in those debates, during which, the fact of my being a member of the body, could not have been ascertained, by reference to those presses. This singular mode of destroying a man in public station, by withdrawing him from the notice of his constituents, while others were prominently put forward, has been the subject of remark to me on several occasions.

The struggles of 1850, in Congress, and in the State, at length occurred, and have secured to present an occasion for increased activity in this movement. In the session of our Legislature in 1849, some measures of a very marked character had been adopted in anticipation of the result of those which were pending in Congress. When that result become known in the State, there were some—a very few, as I then believed, and as the event has shown—whose excited and indignant feelings would have led them to extremes. It is the part taken by me in these transactions in Congress, and in the State, which is now to be adverted to, to determine on the justice of the charge preferred by these resolutions. I will state it briefly, appealing to the Congressional records, and to the recollections of those to whom I addressed myself, for the correctness of that statement.

At an early period of the session of Congress in 1850, the resolutions of the Legislature of Georgia were sent to the delegation. They claimed, as their predecessors had always done (whether Whig or Democratic counsels predominated in that body,) *equality in the distribution of the territory acquired from Mexico.* It became the duty of the delegation to endeavor to give effect to the wishes of their constituents, and I am not aware of any diversity of opinion as to the rightfulness of the claim which they preferred. In common with my colleagues, I resisted the admission of California as a State. While the several measures relating to the newly acquired territory were embraced in one bill, I endeavored to obtain such modifications of it as would enable me to vote for it. It failed in the Senate as a combined measure, by no act of mine, but by a disagreement between its friends relative to the boundary of New Mexico, as the records of that body will shew. When a separate bill for the admission of California was presented, the delegation united in opposing it. They may have differed as to the grounds on which they rested their opposition, but all, I believe, concurred in the act.

For the bills establishing territorial governments in New Mexico and Utah, I rested under the belief that we were bound by the treaty with Mexico to relieve the inhabitants of the former from the military government to which they were subjected, and to emancipate the latter from Mormon rule.

I gave not only my vote, but my cordial support, to the bill providing for the settlement of the conflicting claims of Texas and the United States, for the following (among others) reasons, which I will state, without discussing them:

1. I thought the peace and harmony of the Union were endangered. There was a part of the army of the United States in New Mexico, whose commander exercised civil authority within the limits of the territory claimed by Texas. That State had provided for the extension of her laws over the whole territory which she claimed, and for a military power to sustain her officers in the execution of them. In this state of things a collision seemed inevitable; and not believing that ours was a Government of force, or which could be sustained by it, or could survive the strife of arms between a State and the United State, I was anxious that these conflicting claims should be peacefully adjusted.

2. Justice to the inhabitants of New Mexico required this, or some similar adjustment. By the boundaries which had been established for California and Utah, a very small portion of territory lying west of the Rio Grande, remained to New Mexico.—Santa Fe, her chief city, and the principal centre of her population lies east of it, and thus, if the jurisdiction of Texas had been extended to the Rio Grande, New Mexico would have been limited to a narrow strip of land west of that river, the population of which, for a long and indefinite period, would not have authorised the creation of a State, to be, in terms of the treaty with New Mexico, "incorporated into the Union of the United States."

3. I believed that Texas, one of the sovereign States of this Union, invested with all the rights and immunities of any other State had, in virtue of her sovereignty, an unquestionable and an exclusive right to decide for herself, on the proposal to be submitted by the United States—that the interests of that State, and of the Union, required that it should be made and accepted, and that the exercise by Texas of her undoubted right, could not authorize the interference of, or give any just cause of offence to, any other State. That is certainly not a perfect right, which cannot be exercised independently and free from the control of any other State, seeking to dispute it on the ground of its supposed interference with her interests. We, in Georgia, would have realized the truth of this proposition, if any other State had attempted to interfere between us, in the cession made by Georgia to the United States of the territory which now constitutes the States of Alabama and Mississippi. It has, moreover, appeared to me strange, that those who claim this right of interference by other States, in the adjustment between Texas and the United States, do not perceive how directly such claim conflicts with their own denial of a like right of interference in the case of a state withdrawing from the Union, for causes which she may determine to be just.

4. I considered that this adjustment was eminently conducive to the interests of the slaveholding States. Texas is a sparsely populated State, of great territorial extent, containing within her limits large bodies of of rich lands yet uncultivated. New States, in which slavery shall be allowed, may, by the resolution of annexation, be carved out of that portion of her territory lying south of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, and admitted into the Union. It is important to us that these States should be created as soon as practicable. Two, four or six Senators, added to those now representing slaveholding States, would essentially change our condition in that body, and this can only be accomplished by the speedy settlement of Texas. That has hitherto advanced slowly, owing to the great amount of her public debt. Men of property have been unwilling to remove to a State where the alternative would be presented to them, of a repudiation of the public debt, or a heavy taxation to discharge it. The adjustment removes this obstruction, by enabling Texas to discharge her debts, and its effects are already visible in the increased emigration to that State. The admission into the Union of these new States, whose institutions and interests would be identified with our own, seemed to me to be a consideration of paramount importance to the South—incalculably more important than that of withdrawing from the jurisdiction of Texas, and subjecting to the legislation of Congress, a slip of land lying east and west between the Rio Grande, and the meridian of one hundred and three degress west from Greenwich, and north and south, between thirty-two degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes, north latitude. For these and other reasons, I voted for the adjustment with Texas.

In common with my colleagues, I opposed the bill to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia, after an ineffectual attempt had been made to substitute a pecuniary penalty for the emancipation of the slave, and with them I voted for the fugitive slave bill.

These are the several measures constituting what is familialy known as the Compromise. My votes on each of them, and the reasons given for those votes, are on the records of the Senate, have been published to the country, and are, I trust, expressed with sufficient clearness to exclude any "serious doubts" as to my opinions concerning any of them.

Thus far, then, I have, I hope shewn that the accusations of the Richmond Convention, whether direct or indirect, are equally groundless. On my return to the State, I found an unusual degree of excitement prevailing.—The Governor, acting upon his construction of the legislative mandate, had called a convention. There were three different opinions on this subject. There were those who thought and contended that the convention ought to meet and instantly adjourn, in order to mark, in a manner not to be mistaken their disapprobation of the act of calling it. Others, indignant at the wrongs which they imputed to the Compromise, and at the repeated aggressions of which they complained, advocated the adoption of strong measures of resistance. There was a third class, who opposed themselves to all violence, but who, nevertheless, thought that Georgia, had cause of complaint—that the assembling of the convention would afford a fit occasion for a calm, deliberate consideration of those causes—and who advocated a frank, manly remonstrance to our sister states.

For myself, I thought that the call of the convention by the constituted authorities of the State, ought to be treated with respect, and that we had causes of complaint which ought to be considered by that body, but I did not think that these should lead to disunion. On the contrary, in all my public addresses and private conversations, as well *before* as *after* the meeting of the Convention, I repeated the opinion which I had expressed in the Senate, and uniformly repelled the idea that disunion was the proper remedy for our grievances. I think no one will deny this, or will venture to say that my opinions were expressed in terms which would admit of any, the slightest doubt.

The Convention met. Those who had advocated the propriety of its instant adjournment, if they still retained their opinions, were disappointed. Those who were in favor of extreme measures of resistance, if there were such, were also overruled. The Convention proceeded to deliberate calmly and seriously on the several matters before them, and adopted a report and resolutions, which they published, with a journal of their proceedings. Repudiating secession as a remedy, they declared that, although Georgia found "matter for objection" in, and did not "wholly approve" the compromise, she would nevertheless "abide by it," "impelled by an earnest desire to perpetuate the American Union, and to restore that peace and harmony upon which its value to herself, her confederates and mankind, essentially depends." The convention did more. They complained of "the aggressive spirit of Representatives of the non-slaveholding States," which they had long combatted; and to bring this spirit to "their several constituencies," addressed to them "the language of calm and frank remonstrance, rather than that of defiance and menace, "to recall them to the faithful discharge of their duty, as faithful confederates, by an appeal to their reason and their moral sense."

I took an early occasion to bring the action of the Convention to the notice of the Senate of the United States, declaring my desire, as one of the Representatives of the people of Georgia, to give effect to their opinions, expressed in a convention leg'timately assembled, adding that it "represented the conservatism of the State, and was composed of men as anxious for, and devoted to, the preservation of the Union, as could be found within her broad and extended limits;" and my argument on that occasion, was intended and calculated, so far as I could do it, to give effect to the action of the Convention. Is there any indistinctness, any want of directness and clearness in this expression of my purpose—any loop-hole on which to hang a doubt—a serious doubt?—and if not, do the nominating Convention of Richmond mean to question my sincerity—to impeach my integrity?

What possible motive could I have to express what I did not feel? The convention thought with me, that we had cause of complaint; that disunion was not the proper remedy for our grievances—that a calm, manly remonstrance should be addressed to our sister States, to recall them to their duty. These were my sentiments, expressed before the convention met. Was it not natural that I should adhere to them, when they had been confirmed by that body?

I have endeavored to meet this accusation in every aspect in which it can be presented. The resolution of the nominating convention, is however, obscurely expressed. They entertain doubts concerning my opinions on the Compromise measures. The doubts referred to, may relate either to the *measures themselves* or to *the decision of the Convention of Georgia, to abide by them.*

If they refer to the first, the answer is plain and obvious. I voted *for* all those measures, except the admission of California, & *against* that I not only voted, but spoke, and assigned my reasons at large. Is there any room to doubt what my opinion is, on all, or any of those measures? The nominating convention may not agree with me in opinion, but they cannot doubt what my opinion is.

Does it apply to the last—to the decision of the convention of Georgia to abide by the Compromise? Is this the doubt which it is meant to express?—whether I am disposed to conform to this decision? Why should I not? The opinions stated in their report, were my opinions, and had been publicly expressed by me, before they were adopted by them.—They have been steadily adhered to since.—The declaration that these are my opinions, and that this is, and has been my determination is repeated now. If any man professes to doubt the sincerity of these obligations, what Christian obligation forbids me to say, that such a man professes to doubt what he knows to be true, and to believe what he knows to be false?

I commit these resolutions to the judgment of the people of Georgia—nay, I submit them to the calm and frank re-consideration of those by whom they were adopted, in the confident belief that they cannot fail to acknowledge, at least to themselves, the injustice which they have done me.

A word more. I am not among those who discern in the signs of the times, any immediate danger to the Union; but the scenes through which we have passed and are passing, admonish us of the perishable nature of all merely human institutions. Its security is to be sought in a vigilance which shall never slumber. We must be watchful of ourselves, as well as of others. With the manly assertion of our rights, we must unite the faithful fulfilment of our duties. Our first great duty is to cherish a spirit of union among ourselves. Dangers may spring up in our midst. Our passions may mislead us, and the selfishness of others, may subject us to perils from without. An element of discord between the members of this confederacy, unhappily exists. The institution in which it originates is vital to us, while to our confederates, it is only important as an element of political power. It belongs to an enlightened patriotism to allay the animosities it is calculated to excite. To cherish a spirit of union among ourselves, is to adopt the most efficient means of perpetuating our union with our confederates. We may not expect an entire exemption from future aggressions. If unhappily they should come, prudence and patriotism admonish us to resist them in a manly and temperate spirit. Submission will invite their renewal. The free soil party is active, enterprising, and increasing in numbers. Without being presently ranged under their standard, the advocates of the Compromise in the free States, unite with them in opinion, and share their feeling of opposition to what they denominate "the extension of slavery." Content with their recent triumph, they sing pæans to the Union, and will, when this question shall again occur, be identified with the free soilers—while we, having nothing more to yield, and no reasonable expectation of anything to gain, must submit to legislative exclusion from territories hereafter acquired, without the form of compromise to soothe the wounded feelings of freemen. This result can only be avoided by perfect union among ourselves.

On the other hand, unrestrained violence, in resistance to aggression, will produce divisions among us. You need only look at the contest which is raging in the State, with a bitterness—which not content with the political ostracism of its victim—would remorselessly trample on his reputation, and that too, between those who have been heretofore familiar friends, and whose interests are at this moment identical. To be convinced of this truth, if a few men of excitable temperament, and excited feelings, had not in the fury of their indignation, raised the cry of disunion, startling the apprehension of others and arousing the spirit of devotion to our Constitutional Union—which is the master political feeling of the Southern heart—we should throughout this distracting controversy, have stood side by side, in a united, temperate, manly assertion of our rights. Thus then, while submission invites to the renewal of aggression from without, intemperate violence, and threats of disunion, produce divisions among ourselves, having a similar tendency. These are the rocks which endanger our ship of State—the Scylla and Charybdis, which it is our duty to avoid.

This is probably not the moment when these counsels will receive the deliberate and impartial consideration to which I think they are entitled. They will not be acceptable to ultraism in any quarter. Especially they will be denounced as savoring of disunion, because, although yielding an unqualified acquiescence in the compromise, they do not pronounce its eulogy. I deplore the feeling which prompted the suggestion, not from any merely personal consideration, for I retain the power of placing myself beyond the reach of proscription, and will cheerfully do so, rather than unite in perpetrating it, or fail to fulfil my duty to you, which demands a frank expression of opinion in a crisis like the present.

But are these sentiments inconsistent with an ardent devotion to the Union? Nay, do they not spring from it? Does any one ask whether I am a Union man? Does he wish to learn whether I have ceased to love and revere the memory of him who gave me birth—whose youthful sword was fleshed in the achievement of those liberties, which union was established to secure? Does he mean to inquire whether I have forgotton the lessons of my childhood as they fell from his lips?—Is it his purpose to ask whether I intend to close a life hitherto devoted to the public service, by infidelity to those sacred principles, which with whatever ability God has given me, I have labored to maintain? Bound, irrevocably bound—wedded as I am to the preservation of the peace and harmony of the Union, by every social and sacred tie—by the obligations which I owe to a patriotic and generous people, who through evil and thro' good report, have still sustained me—by an affection it may be, too ardent for that noble State, which from infancy to age has been the scene of my most cherished enjoyments—beneath whose soil, are the graves of my parents and my children, where I too must shortly rest, and which is at once the home and the hope of those who survive. Does he mean to enquire whether, reckless of these ties—faithless to these obligation—insensible to these feelings—I would rase the temple of freedom, erected by our fathers, and bring upon this favored land, all the horrors of civil, intestine, it may be servile war?—Let the unpretending story of a life which, from infancy to age, has been passed among you, return the answer—I have none else to give.

But from various quarters, the question is propounded to me, will you act with the Constitutional Union party? and it shall be answered frankly.

I adhere to the decision of the Convention. With these representatives of the sovereignty of Georgia, I have a lively recollection of "the aggressive spirit of Representatives of the non-slaveholding States," with which 'we have long combatted," and feel with them, that the sources of this turbid stream lie beyond the Halls of Congress—that "they are to be found in the midst of their several constituences"—I agree with them, that the meeting of the Convention afforded a fit occasion "for the sovereign people of Georgia, to commune with the sovereign people of those States," to remonstrate calmly and frankly with them, and "to recall them to a sense of their duty as confederates." And although I find in the compromise measures, as they did, "matter for objection and matter for approval," though like them, I do not "wholly approve" them, yet like them, I will "abide by it," and will unite with any party, or portion of my fellow-citizens, whose conduct as a party, shall conform to a spirit thus manifested by this patriotic body. Like them, "impelled by an earnest desire to perpetuate the American Union," I am anxious to 'restore that peace and harmony on which its value" depends—and with them, am willing to 'let by-gones be by-gones,' in the cherished hope that "brighter hours will come." If these opinions and these feelings make me a Constitutional Union man, here then is the pledge of my fealty.

But if beyond this, I am required to say what the Convention have not said—to affirm what they have expressly contradicted—if, in the face of the long continued manifestations of an aggressive spirit on the part of the non-slaveholding States, which the Convention denounced in the language of calm, yet manly remonstrance, it is exacted from me to say that Georgia has sustained no wrong—if while they declare, that there is in the Compromise such "matter for objection," that they cannot "wholy approve it," I am required to say, not only that there is in it no matter for objection, and that I wholly approve it, but also that it is fair, just and equitable—a source of triumph and gratulation to the people of Georgia—then I have to say, *non hæc in fœdera*—I cannot enter into these bonds. I will not make war upon the Convention. This is neither their language nor spirit. It is in direct conflict with all they have said or done. I cannot "swallow my own words"—I cannot unsay, to propitiate the favor of a party, what, under the obligations of my oath, I have said in maintaining the rights of the State. I cannot stultify myself, lest I should invade the province of that reverend gentleman, and gallant soldier, and accomplished statesman, who does me the favor to sit in judgment on my "capacity." I cannot entitle myself to the forgiveness, which in such a truly gentle and patronizing spirit, is vouchsafed to my "aberrations." I cannot hope to remove the serious doubts of the many patriotic and intelligent men, who have unburdened themselves to the nominating Convention of Richmond. No, fellow-citizens, when I accepted with profound gratitude to those who bestowed it a seat in the Senate of the United States, I made no surrender of my privileges as a free citizen of Georgia. I retained my rights as a man, and could not divest myself of my obligations as an accountable being. Dragged before the public to repel an unfounded imputation on my personal integrity, at a moment like this, it is both my right and my duty to speak the truth, "without fear, favor, affection, or the hope of reward," unawed by the menace of party proscription, and unseduced by the hope of conciliating opposition. To the decision of the people of Georgia, as it has been announced by their representatives in Convention assembled, I yield a cheerful obedience, and will cordially unite with any party, who will adhere to it, with fidelity, by whatsoever name that party may be distinguished.

By that decision the people of Georgia, impelled by an earnest desire to perpetuate the Union, and to restore the peace and harmony, so indispensable to the accomplishment of that object, agreed to throw a veil over past aggressions, the existence of which they did not deny, but asserted—to *acquiesce* in the compromise, not *wholly to approve* it—not to eulogize it,—not to proclaim it as a triumph to the south—above all, the Convention did nothing to authorize the formation under its auspices, of a *proscriptive party.* They opened wide the portals of the temple of freedom, and called to their frater-