

Thus has South Carolina shut the door against reconciliation, asserted independence, and begun the attempt to establish upon reactionary principles, a new government, with a basis antagonistic to all European Powers, whose recognition they expect to purchase by promises of profitable trade. Let us, for the sake of the past, not the possible future, and more to sorrow than in anger, screen from further view the pretensions, prejudices, and hatreds, the unholty ambition and leading desperation of the present masters of South Carolina, whose is the anomalous position of having complaints without foundation, grievances without actuality, suffering without burdens, and apprehensions without reason.

ITS INEVITABLE FAILURE. As, Mr. Speaker, I have thought of the possible destruction of this Union, and forecasted the manifold and terrible afflictions which must ensue, I have been overwhelmed with dismay at the depth and darkness of the abyss toward which we have been tending. It is unfathomable and unfathomable. By none of us or ours be the attempted measurement ever made! But will this calamity overtake us? I hope not, I believe it will not.

Such self-destruction is in the highest degree unnatural and criminal. It is not only violative of every instinct, but destructive of every valuable interest, immediate and prospective. Not only would dissolution result in several subdivisions, with endless complications, each, a fruitful source of irritation; not only would it subject the weaker to the stronger, and open us to the demoralizing diplomacy of the contending factions, families, and houses of Europe, thus committing a crime against republicanism; but it would destroy American unity, which is one of the great facts of history; thus committing a crime against humanity. All faces feel this yearning for union; and many have struggled, and for years vainly, sought it. To us it came early and without difficulty, for we encountered few or no disturbing causes; and hence we value it too highly. What the hour is doing is to the individual, national unity is to a people.

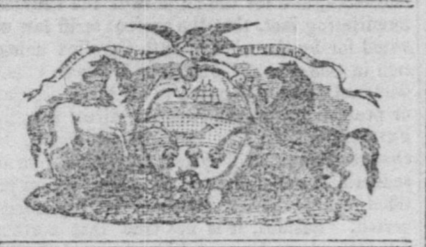
How differently we appear! The events transpiring on our Gulf coast proclaim a revolution threatened without just or adequate cause, or so much by open as secret means; not in a spirit of thoughtfulness, but madness; not in deliberation, but rashness; not in manliness, but coarseness; its purpose to divide men of one race long united under the freest and best institutions, enjoying and having enjoyed unequalled civil, political, social, family, and personal blessings. Can such a movement, thus initiated, carried on, and aimed, be successful? Surely, no. It contains within itself the causes of inevitable failure. It ought to fail. It will fail. Man cannot afford its success. The American people will not allow it. God (I speak with reverence) will not permit the sacrilegious overthrow. Every instinct revolts at it. Every principle rebels against it. Every interest cries aloud in earnest protest. States may reel and fall; communities may forget their duties; majorities may be misled; citizens may neglect their trust; folly, terrorism, and treason, may rule the hour; but the storm will pass, the calm come, and peace be again within our borders. It may not be very soon. The virus is not so easily expelled from the body politic. Blows are not so soon forgotten. Gashes do not at once heal up; and when they do, scars are left. But this much is certain; this Union will not be destroyed. You ask, what will save it? I answer: that ever-living, ever-thinking mass—the people—will save it. But how? Through the agencies within their reach—their popular assemblies, and the myriad forms of their organized life: their local Legislatures, State conventions, congressional representation and executive head, upon each devolving a share of the labor and responsibility. It may not be done in a day; and gentlemen should not demand such precipitancy. Years were required for the original construction, and time is now needed to dissipate passion, reveal truth, and induce rational views of duty. Complaints must be examined, opinions compared, and a policy determined. Whatever can fairly be asked of me, I am ready to do, as my votes will show.

Meanwhile, whatever be the precipitate or error conduct of complaining States, the Government should preserve its position—giving up no right, escaping from no duty, and conceding no release from allegiance to itself. Combining the magnanimity of the powerful with the tenderness of the loving, while asserting and maintaining its authority, it should exhaust all peaceful agencies to restore the fractured consciousness of mind and sobriety of judgment. But if conciliation should not awaken dormant patriotism, nor kindness produce consideration; if, in dire infatuation, all honorable adjustment be spurned, all peaceful accommodation be refused, then will have arrived the time to "test the strength of the Government." Sir, I both dread and reprobate collision; but if to maintain this Government against vile cospiracy, and save ourselves from anarchy and the republican system from contempt; if, to protect our property from spoliation and our flag from dishonor; if, to keep from the page of history the scorching sentence, "free institutions are a failure," collision must come, let it come, and upon the aggressors rest the responsibility. It has been remarked by a profound thinker, with as much force as freshness, "blood is not the worst thing in history." I add, neither is it the weakest. I have always hoped that, at least in this country, we had advanced beyond the necessity for an appeal to force. I sincerely hope we have. I yet cherish the belief we have. But if we have not, we to those whose wickedness is misleading, deceiving and "firing" the people, makes such a probability within ordinary range.

But during every danger, bearing every burden, submitting to every sacrifice, and meeting every consequence, the American people will preserve this Government, because they love its liberal institutions which, in their compactness, vigor, efficiency and power, are fitting monuments of the towering men who made them; because every dear association, every tie of interest, every present and prospective good, is involved in the maintenance of this Union; because, justly measuring their

history, which has been one of great achievement, and their future, which abounds with brilliant promise, they know that union has made our pathway radiantly bright, and is the bow of promise which flushes the coming years; because they appreciate the importance of mankind of the many qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race, which requires a home and a becoming theatre of action, and whose choicest seat is the fertile, expansive and central empire; and because, their souls reverently mindful of these centuries of toil, privation and suffering, of which modern civilization is the product, they would esteem it impiety to throw away their precious privileges, whose fruits are peace, prosperity and happiness. Having thus determined, and from so exalted motives, the self-reliant American people will address themselves—yes, are now addressing themselves—to this patriotic and Christian act; and they will patiently perform the duty, whether it leads through sunshine or storm, the plenty of peace or the perils of war; never ceasing from their labor until, their labor until, their nation saved, mankind assured an asylum, and liberty a country, their work shall be fully, honorably, nobly done. Sir, in this faith I have lived; in it I wish to die.

BEDFORD INQUIRER.



Bedford, Pa.

Friday Morning, Feb. 15, 1861.

"FEARLESS AND FREE."

D. OVER—Editor and Proprietor.

Republican Meeting.

Pursuant to notice, the Republican party of Bedford County, assembled in Mass Meeting, on Tuesday night last. The meeting was called to order by the appointment of the following officers:

- PRESIDENT: GEO. W. HOUSEHOLDER, of East Freedom.
VICE PRESIDENTS: DAVID STUCKEY, Middle Woodberry. GEORGE SMITH, Bedford Tp. WM. ROBINSON, Southampton Tp. WM. CARROLL, Middle Tp. WM. SLERK, St. Clair Tp. SAMUEL ARMSTRONG, Snake Springs. JOSEPH INLER, Union Tp. WM. KISER, Bedford borough.
SECRETARIES: John B. Caster, Broad Tp. Daniel M. Bare, South Woodberry. S. M. Moore, Liberty. William Jones, St. Clair.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

- A. King, B. R. Ashome, Jeremiah Jarred, A. B. Bunn, Jacob Barndollar, Jr., Jeter Hanks, John S. Hetrick, Jonathan Fitchner, George S. Mallin.

After the committee had retired, Hon. Fr. Jordan was called on to address the meeting. His speech was a powerful defence of the Republican cause, and fully exposed the long matured plans of the Southern conspirators, to break up this glorious Union. He opposed the Crittenden Resolutions, but would favor the restoration of the old Missouri Compromise line.

The Committee on Resolutions then reported, after their reading by the Chairman, our young friend R. D. Barclay, Esq., moved that a couple of the Resolutions should be stricken out. He then made a long and elaborate speech in favor of his motion, and announced himself in favor of the Border State Resolutions, the Elderidge plan, the Crittenden Resolution, or any other plan to settle our difficulties. The Locofoco attended the meeting in considerable numbers, and frequently loudly abused him, from the back seats. To show the unanimity of the meeting, our young friend could get no person to second his motion. Two resolutions, were then put to a vote by the Chairman, and carried unanimously. Mr. Barclay not even voting against them.

John H. Filler, Esq., then addressed the meeting with great eloquence. He was followed by Hon. A. King, in some very appropriate remarks. The meeting adjourned with three cheers for the Constitution and the Union.

Resolved, That the Constitution of the United States, as our fathers made it, affords the best and surest protection to the rights and liberties of the people. Its efficiency has been tested by the experience of more than three score years, and it will be found sufficient for every exigency if honestly administered and cheerfully obeyed.

Resolved, That any attempt to change its provisions, especially in times of high popular excitement, is an exceedingly dangerous experiment, and that no adequate reason has yet been, or can be furnished, for amending it at this particular crisis in public affairs.

Resolved, That it would greatly weaken the powers of the General Government to admit that the Constitution ought to be amended at the behest, or to suit the views of men in a state of revolt—on the contrary the safety of the country demands that no such humiliating concession should be made.

Resolved, That the secession of the seven most ultra democratic States of this Union, and the connivance of a large portion of the same party in the remaining States, demonstrate the "rule or ruin" policy by which they are actuated. It is a glaring attempt to subvert the Constitution, to compel the majority to submit to the will of the minority, a lawless appeal from the ballot box to the cartridge box, which well deserves the execration of every patriotic union-loving, and law-abiding citizen in the land.

Resolved, That, so far as regards the Border Slave holding States, who have refused to join

the Southern confederacy and who cherish a sincere attachment to the Union and all its hallowed memories, it is right and proper to adopt such a course of kindness and conciliation as will give the fullest assurance that the people of the non-slaveholding States entertain no purpose nor desire to interfere, in the amicable degree, with the rights, or render insecure the property of their southern brethren, but that they are determined to stand by the constitution and all its compromises.

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the course of the constituted authorities of the Commonwealth, in the manifestation of a fraternal spirit and disposition to accommodate existing difficulties by so readily responding to the call to send commissioners to the Peace Congress at Washington, and that we sincerely hope that the patriotic men there assembled may bring about an adjustment, honorable to all parties, and productive of lasting harmony and peace.

Resolved, That the political dogma upon which secessionists and traitors have based their rebellion against the lawful authority of the Government, namely, that the Constitution of the United States, is simply a compact between the several States, and that any State may at any time and for any reason rightfully separate from the rest is a most pernicious and dangerous heresy, converting the bond, which as our fathers understood it, is "stronger than links of iron," into, according to the new interpretation, "a rope of sand." Ours is a government of all the people of all the States, with limited powers it is true, but to the extent of its powers absolutely sovereign and supreme and must be so acknowledged universally, or it cannot endure.

Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln having been elected President in strict accordance with the constitution and laws, and by a larger popular vote than was ever before cast for any other man, his election furnishes no excuse for revolution or a disruption of the government; but on the contrary it is the duty of every loyal citizen to stand by the Constitution, and cheerfully acquiesce in the people's choice.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Bedford Inquirer.

THE LOCOFOCO MEETING.—RICH SCENES.

The Locofocos held a meeting on Monday evening last. We never attended a meeting of the Democracy, which was more uproarious. When we entered the house, John Cessna, Esq., was speaking in defence of himself and the Douglas men. The fight sprung up in the organization of the Committee on Resolutions, and was kept up for over an hour, between Mr. Cessna, Spang, Shannon, Reed, and others.

Mr. Shannon was making some remarks in opposition to a motion of Cessna; Cessna told him "he knew no more about parliamentary rules than a horse does about Sunday." Shannon replied that "Mr. Cessna had been in the Legislature he ought to know more than some other people"; Cessna, rejoined that "Shannon had been in his office long enough to have learned." Mr. Cessna carried the day, and was elected a delegate for the Borough. Shannon, Reed, and quite a number of others voted against him. The real object was to prevent him being sent to Harrisburg as a delegate to the State Convention, but he triumphed in that also. Shannon then made a speech, in which he defended treason and secession, Mr. Hall then followed in a moderate speech, but in which he was willing to concede all the traitors asked, and more.

John Cessna, Esq., was the next speaker. His speech was a strange admixture of truth and error, misrepresentation, &c. He commenced by abusing the Republicans in unmeasured terms. He then lit down on the Southern traitors, and stated that he was in favor of the Union at all hazards, that he was opposed to a dismemberment, with the object of reconstruction, that it could never be done, that he was in favor of protecting our forts, arsenals, navy yards, custom houses, &c. He was frequently interrupted in his remarks by the Breakinridge men, but he triumphed over them all, as he always carries things his own way in his party. A man of Mr. Cessna's calibre should stoop to nothing dishonorable, and we were surprised to hear him misstate the Missouri Compromise and the Crittenden plan.

He said that the former made all North of 36 deg. 30 min. free, and all South slave, and the latter did the same. This Mr. Cessna knows to be simply not true. Col. Jos. W. Tate followed in opposition to Mr. Cessna. He was quite eloquent, as he always is! The meeting then adjourned. It was a fight from the commencement to the end, and everybody went away in bad humor.

The electoral vote was counted in the United States Senate on Wednesday.—The Peace Congress is getting along quietly, and it is thought they may come to terms.—The other day, at Savannah, Georgia, a British sea captain was tarred and feathered, because he invited a black stevedore to dine with him during the interval between loading the ship. The chivalry had better look out that they don't get England down on them.—It is thought that there has not been a secessionist elected in Tennessee.—It is thought the Morrill Tariff bill, with slight modifications, will pass in a few days.

A Resolution was passed the other day in the House, at Washington, unanimously, declaring it the right and purpose of the North to interfere with slavery where it now exists. This ought to satisfy the secession democracy.—It is now thought that the secessionists have postponed the attack on Forts Sumter and Pickens.—Gen. Scott has now about 1,000 troops in Washington. It is thought they will be sufficient to prevent any attack on that city.—At the request of John A. Dix, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Pennsylvania Legislature have unanimously passed an act to endorse the National Government, to the amount of \$2,867,514.78. Pennsylvania's share of the surplus revenue in the National Treasury in 1856.

In Philadelphia, wheat flour is selling at \$5 and \$5.12; rye flour at \$3.62; and corn meal at \$2.87 1/2 per barrel.

Both branches of Congress have been remarkably peaceful and courteous, since purged of the fire-eaters. A CARD.—As there are a number of different reports in circulation in reference to the fate or destiny of Mr. David Bolger, who suddenly left his home, in Martinsburg, Blair Co., Pa., on the night of the 7th of November last, it is deemed proper, on the part of his friends, to publish the following card: The disappearance of Mr. Bolger is still a matter of profound mystery. The family have as yet, no positive or reliable information as to his fate or destiny. Mr. Bolger is a man 50 years of age, some six feet in stature, of spare features, prominent forehead, straight dark hair, mixed with gray, and a little thin on the top, and which he left his home was dressed in dark clothes, low shoes, and a dark straw hat. In point of morality, Mr. Bolger stood high in the community in which he lived, and his habits of industry were very exemplary.—His business profession is that of a carpenter. He also had cultivated a high taste for Church music. Any information in reference to this man, his fate or locality, will be thankfully received by the undersigned, or by any of the citizens of Martinsburg, Blair Co., Pa. Respectfully signed. J. HASSLER. Jan. 25, 1861.

what, as a matter of principle, is a State better than a country? There would, in the exchange of names, be an exchange of rights.—Upon what principle—by what rightful principle—may a State, being not more than one-fiftieth part of the nation, in soil and population, break up the nation, and then coerce the larger division of itself? What mysterious right to play the tyrant is conferred on a district of the country, with its people, by merely calling it a State?

Mr. Lincoln, in conclusion, said he was not asserting anything, but only asking them questions to consider, and to decide in their own minds what was right and what was wrong. Governor Marton being loudly called for, appeared and spoke in congratulatory tones to the multitude, which had now become immense.

For the Bedford Inquirer.

Mr. Editor.—You would no doubt be pleased to hear from your friends at Woodberry, and as this part of the County is denominated by the Locofoco organ as the hub of Republicanism, it will be the more interesting to your numerous readers to hear from us. Among the political topics of the day are the compromise measures, and we find now and then a weak kneed Republican who is ready to compromise for a mess of pottage, without taking into consideration the result of compromise, or to examine into the affected parts of the secession convulsion.

On Monday last, on motion of Hon. Job Mann, Wm. T. Daugherty, Esq., was admitted to practice law in the several Courts of Bedford County. We understand that the Judge passed an excellent examination.

"PEGGED OUT."—The Constitution newspaper, published at Washington, has been discontinued. After President Buchanan struck hands with the Union men, he withdrew his patronage from the Constitution, and the result is it has deceased.

The Constitution of the Southern Confederacy.

The Constitution of the States represented at Montgomery, Ala., as agreed upon by the Convention, is word for word that of the United States, except that the word "Confederated" is used instead of "United," and the following additions or alterations are made:

THE CONSTITUTION

For the provisional government of the Confederate States of America. Framed by Convention of Deputies from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, at Montgomery, Alabama, February 8, 1861.

We, the Deputies of the sovereign and independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this Constitution for the provisional government of the same, to continue one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent constitution or confederation between the said States shall be put in operation, whichever shall first occur.

SECTION 1. The importation of African negroes from any foreign country other than the slaveholding States of the Confederate States is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same. Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy.

SECTION 2. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises for revenue necessary to pay the debts and carry on the government of the Confederacy, and all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the Confederacy.

SECTION 3. A slave in one State escaping to another shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom said slave may belong by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found; and in any case of any abduction or forcible rescue full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place.

The government hereby instituted shall take immediate steps for the settlement of all matters between the States forming it and their late confederates of the United States, in relation to the public property and public debt at the time of their withdrawal from them, these States hereby declaring it to be their wish and earnest desire to adjust everything pertaining to the common property, common liabilities and common obligations of that Union upon principles of right, justice equity and good faith.

Mr. Lincoln is now en route for Washington. At Indianapolis, on the 11th inst., he made the following speech: I have come here to thank you for the support that has been given by Indians to a true and just cause.

In relation to the matter of coercion and invasion, they are terms now much used with temper and hot blood. Let us not misunderstand their meaning, nor the meaning of those who use them. Let us get their meaning from the men who deprecate the things they would represent by their use.

What is the meaning of these words? Would the marching of an army into South Carolina with hostile intent be an invasion? I think it would, and it would be coercion also if South Carolina was forced to submit. But if the United States should merely hold and retake its own forts, collect its duties, or withhold its mails where they were habitually violated, would any or all of these things be invasion or coercion?

Do the professional Union lovers, who are resolved to resist coercion, understand such things on the part of the United States to be coercion or invasion? If they do, their idea of the preservation of this Union is exceedingly thin and airy. In their view, the Union as a family relation, would seem to be no regular marriage, but a sort of free love arrangement, to be maintained by passionate attraction.

In what consists the special sacredness of a State? I speak out of the position assigned to a State in the Union by the Constitution, for that it has by the bond, we all recognize. That position, however, a State cannot occupy out. If a State and the country possess equal rights in a Territory and its inhabitants, to

BY TELEGRAPH. THE CRISIS. "The Confederate States of North America." IMPORTANT FROM MONTGOMERY, ALA. MONTGOMERY, Ala., Feb. 8.—The Congress was in secret session for four hours, and will meet again to-night. The result will probably be made known during the night or to-morrow. The public session lasted only half an hour and was consumed in prayer and some routine business. Gen. Henningson is here. MONTGOMERY, Feb. 9.—The Congress last night unanimously agreed, in secret session on the Constitution and the creation of a Provisional Government.

A strong and vigorous government will go into immediate operation with full powers and ample funds. No proposition for compromises and reconstruction will be entertained. The Congress will remain in session to make all the necessary laws. MONTGOMERY, Feb. 9.—This has been the most important day of the Convention's proceedings, and unusual interest was manifested during the session. The hall and galleries were crowded with spectators.

Mr. Menninger presented a beautiful model of a flag made by South Carolina ladies. It consists of a blue cross on a red field, with seven stars on the cross. The flag is highly admired.

A committee was appointed to report on the flag, and Mr. Meminger also presented another model, by a gentleman of Charleston. This flag has a cross with fifteen stars on a field of stripes.

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The Convention then proceeded to the election of the Executive officers of the new Government, with the following result: For President of the Confederate States of North America, Honorable Jefferson Davis received the unanimous vote of the Convention. For Vice President, Honorable Alexander H. Stephens was elected.

A resolution was adopted appointing a Committee of three of the Alabama deputies to inquire and report on what terms suitable buildings in Montgomery can be secured for the use of the several Executive Departments of the Confederacy under the Provisional Government.

An ordinance was passed continuing in force, until repealed or altered by Congress, all laws of the United States now in force or use, till the first of November, subject to the Constitution of the Provisional Government. It is understood that under this ordinance a tariff is to be laid on all goods brought from the United States.

A resolution was adopted, instructing the Committee on Finance to report promptly a tariff for raising revenue to support the Government. A resolution was adopted authorizing the appointment of a Committee to report a Constitution for the permanent Government of the Confederacy.

The Congress was about two hours in secret session, and the balance of the day in open session. MONTGOMERY, Feb. 9.—The Constitution of the Provisional Government has been printed, and is now made public.

The preamble says: "We, the deputies of the Sovereign and Independent States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, invoking the favor of Almighty God, do hereby, in behalf of these States, ordain and establish this Constitution for the Provisional Government of the same, to continue for one year from the inauguration of the President, or until a permanent Constitution or confederation between the said States shall be put in operation—whichever shall first occur."

The seventh section of the first article reads: "The importation of African negroes from any foreign country, other than the slaveholding States, is hereby forbidden, and Congress is required to pass such laws as shall effectually prevent the same."

The second section reads: "The Congress shall also have power to prohibit the introduction of slaves from any State not a member of this Confederacy."

Article fourth, third clause of the second section, reads: "A slave in one State escaping to another shall be delivered up on the claim of the party to whom the said slave may belong, by the Executive authority of the State in which such slave may be found; and in case of any abduction or forcible rescue, full compensation, including the value of the slave, and all costs and expenses, shall be made to the party by the State in which such abduction or rescue shall take place."

The other portions of this Provisional Constitution are identical with the Constitution of the United States.

The election of executive officers is being celebrated by a grand demonstration to-night. A complimentary serenade was given to the Vice President of the Confederacy.

Mr. Stephens made an eloquent speech in reply to the complimentary speeches by South Carolina, Messrs. Chestnut and Keitt, of South Carolina, Central, of Louisiana, and others. The demonstration is still progressing.

A salute of a hundred guns was fired on Capitol Hill this afternoon. Savannah, Feb. 9.—The State authorities, under direction of Governor Brown, seized five New York vessels yesterday, as follows: Big W. R. Kibby, brig Golden Lead, barque D. Colden, barque Murray and schr Julia Halleck.—The case of the barque Murray is said to have been adjusted.

The above despatch does not explain the cause of the seizure, but it is presumed to be in retaliation for the seizure of arms on board the steamer Monticello, by the police of New York city. WASHINGTON, Feb. 9.—Evening.—No further intelligence has been received from Savannah in relation to the seizure of the New York merchantmen.

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Tennessee for the Union. The Election for State Delegates.

MEMPHIS, Feb. 11, 1861. At the election on Saturday, Memphis gave between 300 and 400 majority for the Union candidates to the State Convention. The returns from West Tennessee indicate the election of the Union candidates.

NASHVILLE, Feb. 11.—As far as heard from all the Union candidates have been elected by an overwhelming majority, and the question of holding a Convention defeated by a large majority. In this city the Union candidates received 2,990 votes and the secessionists 555. On the Convention question the vote stood: For Convention, 1,290. Against Convention, 1,507.

The Traitor Dissolved.—The following States have already formally severed their connection with the American Union,—so far as they are concerned though Uncle Sam will have a word to say in the matter: South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas. Every one of these States voted for Breckinridge and Lane, the Disunion candidates. Comment is entirely unnecessary.