LETTER FROM HON. JOSEPH HOLT. Washington, May 31, 1861.

J. F. Speed, Esq., Louisville, Ky.—My Dear Sir: The recent overwhelming vote in favor of the Union in Kentucky has afforded unspeakable gratification to all true men throughout the country. That vote indicates that the people of that gallant State have been neither seduced by the arts nor terrified by the menaces of the revolutionists in their midst, and that it is their fixed purpose to remain faithful to the Government which, for nearly seventy years, has remained faithful to them.—Still it cannot be denied that there is in the bosom of that State a band of agitators, who, though few in mamber, are yet powerful from the public confidence they have enjoyed, and who have been, and doubtless will continue to be, unceasing in their endeavors to force Kentucky to unite her fortunes with those of the Rebel Confederacy of the South. In view of this and of the well-known fact that several of the seceded States have by fraud and violence been driven to occupy their present false fatal position. I cannot, even with the encouragement of her late vote before me, look upon the political future of our native State without a painful solicitude. Never have the safety and honor of her people required the exercise of so much vigilance and of so much courage on their part. If true to themselves, the siens and stripes, which, like angels' wings, have so long guarded their homes from every oppression, will still be theirs; but if, chasing the dreams of men's anxition, they shall prove false, the blackness of darkness can but faintly predict the gloom that awaits them. The Legislature, it seems, has determined by resolution that the State, pending the present nulhappy war, shall occupy neutral ground. I must say, in all frankness and without daring to reflect upon the course or sentiments of any, that, in this struggle for the existence of our Government, I can neither practice nor profess nor feel neutrality. I would as soon-think of being neutral in a contest between an officer of justice and an incend WASHINGTON, May 31, 1861. from her intimate social and business relations with the South, Kentucky shall determine to maintain the natural attitude assumed for her by her Legis-lature, her position will still be an honorable one, though falling far shert of that full measure of loy-

lature, her position will still be an honorable one, though falling far shert of that full measure of loyalty which her history has so constantly idinstrated. Her Executive, ignoring, as I am happy to believe, alike the popular and Legislative sentiment of the State, has, by proclamation, forbidden the Government of the United States from marching troops across her territory. This is, in no sense, a neutral step, but one of aggressive hostility. The troops of the Federal Government have as clear a constitutional right to pass over the soil of Kentucky as they have to march along the streets of Washington; and could this prohibition be effective, it would not only be a violation of the fundamental law, but would, in all its tendencies, be directly in advancement of the revolution, and might, in an emergency easily imagined, compromise the highest national interests. I was rejoiced that the Legislature so promptly refused to indores this proclamation as expressive of the true policy of the State. But I turn away from even this to the ballot-box, and find an abounding consolation in the conviction it inspires, that the popular heart of Kentucky, in its devotion to the Union, is far in advance alike of logislative resoive and of Executive proclamation. tive proclamation. But as it is well understood that the late popular demonstration has rather scotched than killed rebellion in Kentucky, I propose inquiring briefly as practicable, whether, in the recent action or present declared poicty of the Administration, or in the history of the pending revolution, or in the objects it seeks to accomplish, or in the results which must follow from it, if successful, there can be discovered any reasons why that State should sever the ties that units her with a Confederacy in whose councils and upon whose battle-fields she has won ouncils and upon whose battle-fields she has to much honor, and under whose protection she has enjoyed so much prosperity.

For more than a month after the inauguration of President Lincoln, the manifestations seemed une-quivocal that his Administration would seek a president Lincoln, the mainistration would seek a peaceful solution of our unhappy political troubles, and would look to time and amendments to the Federal Constitution, adopted in accordance with its provisions, to bring back the revolted States to their allegiance. So marked was the effect of these manifestations in tranquilizing the Border States, and in reassuring their loyalty, that the conspirators who had set this revolution on foot took the alarm. While affecting to despise these States as not sufficiently intensified in their devotion to African servitude, they know they could never succeed in their treasonable enterprise without their support. Hence it was resolved to precipate a collision of arms with the Federal authoraties, in the hope that, under the panic and exasperation incident to the commencement of a civil war, the Border States, following the natural bent of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government. Fort Sunter, occupied by a of their sympathies, would array themselves against the Government. Fort Sumter, occupied by a seeble garrison, and girded by powerful if not impregnable batteries, afforded convenient means for accomplishing their purpose, and for testing also thair lavorite theory that blood was needed to cement the new Confederacy. Its provisions were exhausted, and the request made by the President in the interests of peace and humanity, for the privilege of replenishing its stores, had been refused. The Confederate authorities were aware—for so the gallant commander of the fort had declaired to them—that in two days a capitulation from starvation must take place. A peaceful surrender, however, would not have subserved their aims—They sought the clash of arms and the estasion of blood as an instrumentality for impressing the Borblood as an instrumentality for impressing the Bor-der States, and they sought the humiliation of the Government and the dishonor of its flag as a means of giving prestige to their own cause. The result is known. Without the slightest provocation a heavy cannonade was opened upon the fort, and beavy cannonade was opened upon the fort, and borne by its helpless garrison for hours without re borne by its helpless garrison for hours without reply, and when, in the progress of the bombardment, the fortification became wrapped in flues, the besieging batteries, in violation of the usages of civilized warf.re, instead of relaxing or suspending, redoubled their fires. A more wanton or wicked war was never commenced on any government whose history has been written. Cotemporary with and following the fall of Sumter, the siege of Fort Pickens was and still is actively pressed, the property of the United States Government continued to be seized wherever found, and its troops, by fraud or force, captured in the State of Texas in violation of a solemn compact with its authoriin violation of a solemn compact with its authorities that they should be permitted to embark with This was the requital which the out molestation. This was the requitar which the Lone Star State made to brave men who, through long years of peril and privation, had guarded its he has met it with promitted and fearlessness. It is provided and fearlessness. It is continued that of cooperating with their sister States, in obtaining these guarenties, they designedly as some a fearlessness to the most active and extended warlike speaking of the gradit due himself for house a fearlessness. preparations in the South, the announcement was made by the Secretary of War of the second States, and echoed with taunts and instant bravawas to be invaded and captured, and that the flag of him who had saved it from overthrow after the Confederate States would soon float over the Confederate States would soon float over the dome of its capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world—ambracing followed an invitation to all the world—ambracing so it may be said of the glery of that states the fload of the glery of that states are not soon thereafter there is the degree of the world?"

So it may be said of the glery of that states the fload of the glery of that states are not soon thereafter there is weak, and that the flag of him who had saved it from overthrow after the beginning. Cetemperary with and in some the beginning to seal that contains and that contain the dome of its capitol. Soon thereafter there followed an invitation to all the world—mbracing necessarily the outcasts and desparadoes of every

prey upon the rich and unprotected commerce of the United States.

In view of these events and threatenings, what was the duty of the Chief Magistrate of the Republic? He might have taken counsel of the revolutionists and trembled under their menaces; he might, upon the fall of Sumter, have directed that Fort Pickens should be surrendered without firing a gun in its defenge and proceeding yet further, and meeting fully the requirements of the clet-us-alone? policy insisted on in the South, he might have ordered that the stars and stripes should be laid in the dust in the presence of every bit of rebel bunting that might appear. But he did none of these things, nor could he have done them without forgetting his oath and betraying the most sublime trust that has ever been confided to the hands of man. With a heroic filelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these the hands of man. With a heroic fidelity to his constitutional obligations, feeling justly that these obligations charged him with the protection of the Republic and its Japital against the assaults alike of foreign and domestic enemies be threw himself on the loyalty of the country for support in the struggle upon which he was about to enter, and nobly has that appeal been responded to. States containing an aggregate population of nineteen millions have answered to the appeal as with the voice of one man, offering soldiers without num-

voice of one man, offering soldiers without num-ber, and treasure without limitation, for the service of the Government.

In these States, 1,500,000 freemen cast their votes In these States, 1,000,000 freemen cast their votes in favor of candidates supporting the rights of the South, at the last Presidential election, and yet everywhere, alike in popular assemblies and upon the tented field, this millien and a half of voters are found yielding to none in the zeal with which they rally to their country's flag. They are not less the friends of the South than before; but they less the friends of the South than before; but they realize that the question now presented is not one of administrative policy, or of the claims of the North, the South, the East, or the West; but is, simply, whether nineteen millions of people shall tamely and ignobly permit five or six millions to overthrow and destroy institutions which are the common property, and have been the common blessings and glory of all. The great throughfares of the North, the East, and the West, are luminous with the banners and glistening with the bayonets of citizen soldiers marching to the capital, or to other noints of rendezvous; but they come in no of citizen soldiers marching to the Papital, of the other points of rendezvous; but they come in no hostile spirit to the South. If called to press her soil, they will not ruffle a flower of her gardens, nor a blade of grass of her fields in unkingness.—No excesses will mark the foot-steeps of the armies of the Republic; no institution of the States will be invaded or temperad with no rights of per-

weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men at once offered their services to suppress it.—
These voluteers have been denounced by the South as "knaves and "agrants," who dress and offsecurings of the populace," who would "rather filch a haudkerchief than fight an enemy ln manly combat," yet we know here that their discipline and bearing are most admirable, and, I presume, it may be safely affirmed that a larger amount of social position, culture, and elevation in character, has never been found in so large an army in any age or country. If they go to the South, it will. age or country. If they go to the South, it will be as friends and protectors, to relieve the Union sentiment of the second States from the cruel domination by which it is oppressed and silenced, unfurl the stars and stripes in the midst of those who long to look upon them, and to restore the flag that bears them to the forts and arsenals from which disloyal hands have torn it. Their mission will be one of peace, unless wicked and blood-thirsty men shall unsheath the sword across their

It is in vain for the Revolutionists to exclaim that this is candidation." It is so, precisely in the sense in which you and I and all law-abiding citizens are subjugated. The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enactions of the property of the south are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enactions. They were but too successful, and to this rethat our positions are subjugated. The people of the South are our brethren, and while we obey the laws enactions. It is a subjugated and reprised the position of a Republican President would be are being granted to all who seek them, so that our course will soon swarm with these ed by our joint authority, and keep a compact to They were but too successful, and to this re-which we are all parties, we only ask that they sult the inaction and indecission of the Bor. piratical cruisers, as the President has prop-We impose no burden which we ourselves do not bear, we claim no privilege or blessing which our brethren of the South shall not equally share.— Their country is our country, and ours is theirs; and that unity of both country and of Government which the providence of God and the compacts of men have created, we could not ourselves, without self immolation, destroy; nor can we permit it to

Equally vain is it for them to declare that they only wish "to be let alone," and that in gress. establishing the independence of the Seceded this ho States, they do those which remain in the old Confederacy no barm. The Free States, if allowed the opportunity of doing so, will the action of Congress or of the State Legisundoubtedly concede every guaranty needed to latures. Had the Southern members continsullied the Revolution at every step of its proif allowed the opportunity of doing so, will afford complete protection to the institutions ued in their seats, a satisfactory compromise of the South, and furnish assurances of her perfect equality in the .Uoion; but all such guarantees and assurances; are now openly it was, after their retirement, and after Con- ed to barter it away for that miserable mees of that the discussion of Slavery, which has been spurned, and the only Southern right now in sisted on is that of dismembering the Republie. It is perfectly certain that in the attempted exercise of this right neither States nor statesmen will be "let alone." Should a ruffian meet me in the streets, and seek with an ax to hew an arm and a leg from my body, I would no less resist him because, as a dishonored and helpless trunk, I might perchance survive the mutilation. It is easy to perceive what fatal results to the old Confederacy would follow should the blow now struck at its integrity ultimately triumph. We can well understand what degradation it would bring it abroad and weakness at home; what exhaustion from incessant war and standing armies, and from the erection of fortifications along the thousands of miles of new frontier; what embarrassments to commerce from having its natural channels incumbered or ent off; what elements of disintegration and revolution would be introduced from the pernicious example; and, above all, what bumiliation would cover the whole American people for having failed in their great mission to demonstrate before the world the capacity of our race for self-government.

While a far more fearful responsibility has fallen upon President Lincoln than upon any are denied them, and it the same time, instead of his predecessors, it must be admitted that of cooperating with their sister States, in obspeaking of the credit due himself for having suppressed the conspiracy of that arch-traitor, said, "if the glery of him who founded Rome States, and echoed with taunts and inspects of the Goniederate States would soon float over of the Goniederate States would soon float over it had grown to be the mistress of the world?" was great, how much greater should be that from the Confederacy which was sought from of him who had saved it from overthrow after the beginning. Cotemporary with and in some

dering heap of ruins.

fairs to little advantage who suppose that the in our midst—men who, because unable per-election of Lincoln was 'the real ground of manently to grasp the helm of the ship, are the revolutionary outbreak that has occurred. willing to destroy it in the hope to command The roots of the revolution may be traced some one of the rafts that may float away back for more than a quarter of a century, from the wreck. The effect is to degrade and any unboly lust for power is the soil out us to a level with the military bandits of Mexof which it sprang. A prominent member of ico and South Americo, who; when beaten at the band of agitators declared in one of his an election, fly to arms, and seek to master by speeches at Charleston, last November or the sword what they have been unable to con-December, that they had been occupied for trol by the ballot-box. 30 years in the work of a re ving South Car- The strocious acts enumerated were acts crushed Nulification, he said it would revive again under the form of the Slavery agitation, president patriotically cultivated peace—how and we have lived to see his prediction verifical. Indeed, that agitation, during the last knews. While, however, the revolutionary 15 or 20 years, has been almost the entire leaders greeted him with all hails to his face, stock in trade of Southern politicions. The they did not the less diligently continue to Southern people, Snown to be as generous in what their swords behind his back. Immense will be invaded or tampered with no rights of persons or of property will be violated.

The known puspose of the administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike greatenee the truthfulness of the statement.—
When an insurrection was apprehended a few weeks since in Maryland, the Massachusetts men the context series of the country to the more of the context clad in full are shown to be as generous in what their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not inditary preparations were made, so that when wrought into a free zv of passion by the intermediate their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not inditary preparations were made, so that when wrought into a free zv of passion by the intermediate their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not inditary preparations were made, so that when wrought into a free zv of passion by the intermediate their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not intermediately preparations were made, so that when their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not intermediately preparations were made, so that when wrought into a free zv of passion by the intermediately preparations were made, so that when their awords behind his back. Immense their impulses as they are chivalric, were not intermediately preparations were made, so that when their impulses as they are chivalric, were not intermediately preparations were made, so that when their impulses as they are chivalric, were not intermediately preparations were made, so that when their awords behind his back. Immense their awords behind have fallen to the ground as publics into the mor. sea, and would have been heard of no mo. o .-But it was the coho of these words, repeated with exaggerations for the thousandth time by Southern politicians, in the halls of Congress and in the deliberative and popular assemblies, and North West. The millions thus gained

and through the press of the South, that pro- will doubtless prove a pleasant sublitute for duced the exasperation which has proved so those guaranties now so scornfully rejected .potent a lever in the hands of the conspira-tors. The cloud was fully charged, and the juggling revolutionists who held the wires and the citizens of loyal States: and, indeed, the ould at will direct its lightenings appeared at Charleston, broke up the the Democratic Convention assembled to nominate a candidate for the Presidence and the outgets of loyal States, and, indeed, and saddy addly a Charleston, broke up the the Democratic Convention assembled to nominate a candidate for the Presidence and the convention of this step is already saddly and the convention of this step is already saddly apprehension of this step is already saddly and the outgets. Fortunately, however, infirmity of date for the Presidence and the outgets and the outgets of loyal States. date for the Presidency, and thus secured the faith, springing from such a cause, is not likeelection or Mr. Lincoln. Having thus ren-dered this certain, they at once set to work to prosecuted by the Confederate States in a bring the popular wind of the South to the temper as fierce and unsparing as that which They were but too successful, and to this re- that our coasts will soon swarm with these election of Mr. Liucoln was announced, there desires to rob American commerce upon the patient. was rejoicing in the streets of Charleston, and, ocean can for the asking, obtain a warrent to doubtless, at other points in the South; for it was believed by the conspirators that this had crown all, large bodies of Iudians have been enforced, and though, under shelter of the brought a tide in the current of their machi- mustered into the service of the revolutiona-The drama of Secession was now open, and of the Southern Army. A leading North State after State rapidly rushed out of the Union, and their members withdrew from Congress. The revolution was pressed on with this hot haste in order that no time should be allowed for reaction in the Northern mind, or for any adjustment of the Slavery issues by would, no doubt have been arranged and passed before the adjournment of Congress. As gress had become Republican, an amendment to the Conscitution was adopted by a two-third vote, declaring that Congress should never interfere with Slavery in the States, and debe irrevocable. Thus was falsified the clamor so long and so insidiously rung in the ears hitherto so stainless in its glory, to light the of the Southern people, that the abolition of corsair on his way? Has the war-whoop, Slavery in the States was the ultimate aim of

vote ean possibly be secured, which is less than the constitutional number. Thus we have the extraordinary and disoreditable spectacle of a revolution made by certain States professedly on the ground tha guaranties for the safety of their institutions This profound dissipulation shows that it was not the safety of the South but its severence

the Republican party. But even this amend-

defeated by the secession of eleven States,

refuse to vote upon, and in effect will vote

against any proposals to modify the Federal Constitution. There are now thirty-four States

in the Confederacy, three-fourths of which,

being twenty-six, must occur in the adoption

of any amendment before it can become a part of the Constitution; but the Secsion of eleven States leaves but twenty-three whose

that not only has war like peace its laws, but in sommand, and, as if in the hope of consethat it has also its privileges and its duties.—
Whatever of severity, or even irregularity, wirtues of the age, the surrender of an entire may have arisen, will find its justification in the presure of terrible necessity under which the Administration has been called to act—
When a man feels the prignard of the destination of the commendation and the presure of the peace its laws, but in sommand, and, as if in the hope of consetheration the provisions of this law has eaused a perfect peace among the runaway slaves in the Erreduction and the presure of terrible necessity under which has been called to act—
When a man feels the prignard of the destination to enforce in command, and, as if in the hope of consetheration the provisions of this law has eaused a perfect peace and the provisions of the provisions of this law has eaused a perfect peace and the provisions of the provisions the Administration has been called to act.—
When a man feels the poignard of the destroyer at his bosom, he is not likely to consult the law books as to the mode or measure of his rights of self-defense. What is true of individuals is in this respect equally true of governments. The man who thinks he has become disloyal because of what the Administration has done, will probably discover, after a close self-examination, that he was disloyal before. But for what has been done, plicated machinery of this revolution. The states are not recognized as son for a disolution of the Union.

That the Slave States are not recognized as equals in the Confederacy, has for several population and directed to have been prompted and directed by men oscupying seats in the Capitol, some of whom were frank enough to declare that they could not and would not, though in a minority, live under a Government which they been, and still are, in all respects, the peers of the Free. Of the fourteen Presidents who have been elected, seven were citizens of Slave States; and of the seven remaining, three reployal before. But for what has been done, plicated machinery of this revolution. The Washington might ere this have been a smoul- profligate ambition of public men in all ages ering heap of ruins.

and I-nds has been the rock on which republics have noted the course of public af-

a from the Union. When Gen. Jackson of war, and might all have been treated as

As if nothing should be wanting to darken these confiscations will probably succeed soon those of lands and negroes owned by orably contributed. When the erly denounced them. Every baccani do so, in the name of the new republic. To unionists, the Fuggive Stave Law is honestly Carolina journal, noting their stalwart frames

the scalping knife and tomahawk If Kentucky willing to link her name in lips? Can she without laying her face in the eved the foundation of the institution. dust for very shame, become a participant in which used to startle the sleep of our frontiers, so died away in her ears that she is willing to ment, and all others which may be needed to take the red-handed savage to her bosom as the furnish the guaranties demanded, are now champion of her rights and the representative of ber spirit? Must she not first forgot her own which claiming to be out of the Union, will beroic sons who perished, butchered and scalp-

ed, upon the disastrous field of Raisu? The object of the revolution, as avowed by all who are pressing it forward, is the permas nent dismemberment of the Confederacy. dream of reconstruction-used during the last winter as a lure to draw the hesitating or the hopeful into the movement-has been formerly abandoned. If Kentucky separates herself from the Union, it must be upon the basis that the separation is to be finel and eternal. Is there ought in the organization or administration of the Government of the United States to justify, on her part, an act so solemn and so perilous? Could the wisest of her lawyers, if called upon, find material for an indictment in any or in all the pages of the history of the Republie? Could the most leprona-lipped of its calumninators point to a single State or Territory, or community or oitizen, that it has wronged or oppressed? It would be impossible. So far as the Slave States are concerned, their protection has been complete, and if it has not

States; and of the seven remaining, three represented Southern principles, and received the votes of the Southern people; so that, in our whole history, but four Presidents have been chosen who can be claimed as the special champions of the policy and principles of the Free States, and even these so only in a modified sense. Does this look as if the South had ever been deprived of her equal share of the honors and powers of the Government? The of the Slave States can, at will, take their slaves into all the Territories of the United States; and this decision, which has never been resisted or juterferred with in a single case, is the law of the land, and the whole power of the Government is pleged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present Administration, I entertain no doubt. A Repubthe rights of the Southern emigrant to tring his slaves with him. At this moment, therefere-and I state it without qualification-there is not a Territory belonging to the United Union, is now protected from the scourge of States into which the Southern people may not foreign war, however much its ravages may introduce their slaves at pleasure, and enjoy there complete protection. Kentunky should consider this great and undeniable fact, before which all the frothy rant of demagogues and Disunionists must disappear as a bank of fog before the wind. But were it otherwise and did a defect exist in our organic law, or in the practical Administration of the Government, South now sleep quietly in their beds, while in reference to the rights of Southern slave. in reference to the rights of Southern slave-holders in the Territories, still the question would be a mere abstraction, since the laws of climate forbid the establishment of glavery in and latitudes; and to destroy such institutions as ours for such a cause, instead of pa-tiently trying to remove it, would be little short tucky may read her own. No wonder, therea of national insanity. It would be to burn the house down over our heads merely because to unite her fortunes with those of the South. there is a leak in the roof; to source the ship and to lay down the bodies of her ohivalrous in mid-scena merely because there is a uitference of opinion among the erew as to the era people may be sheltered. Even as attachpoint of the compass to which the vessel should ed to the Southern Confederacy, she would be be steered; it would be, in fact, to apply the weak for all purposes of self-protection, as

But what remains? Though, say the Dis-Supreme Court, we can take our Slaves into nations which would bear them on to victory. It States, and are now conspicuous in the ranks the Territories, yet the Northern people will persist in discussing the institution of Slavery, and therefore we will break up the Government It is true that Slavery has been very intemand unerring marksmanship, observes, with an exultation positively fiendish, that they are perately discussed at the North, and it is armed, not only with the rafle, but also with equally true that until we have an Asiatic despolism, crushing out all freedom of speech and of the press, this discussion will probably tions, buman and divine, are discussed, and gress? Can she soil ber pure hands with its so they ought to be; and all that cannot bear ooty! She possesses the noblest heritage that discussion must go to the wall, where they God has granted to his children; is she prepar- ought to go. It is not pretended, however, pottage, which the gratification of the unboly continued in our country for more than forty ambition of her public men would bring to her years, has in any manner d sturbed or weakthe contrary, we learn from the press of the claring, further, that this amendment should the spoliation of the commerce off her neigh- seconded States that their slaves were never hors and friends, by contributing her star more tranquil or obedient. There are zealors -happily few in number-been North and South, whose language upon this subject is alike extravagant and alike deserving our conshould be exterpated by the sword, and those who maintain the great nation of the white man upon the earth to enslave the black, are not far apart in the folly and strosity of their entertainments.

> Before proceeding further Kentucky should measure well the depth of the gulf she is approaching, and look well to the feet of her guides. Before forsaking a Union in which guides. and such boundless prosperity, she should ask berself, not once but many times, why do I go, and where am I goin! In view of what has ocen said, it would be difficult to answer the first branch of the inquiry, but to answer the second part is patent to all, as are the consenuences which would follow the movement In giving her great materia land moral resources to the support of the Southern Confederacy, Kentucky might prolong the desolating struggle that rebellious States are making to overthrow a Government which they bave only known in its blessings; but the triumph of the Government would nevertheless be certain in the end. She would abandon a Government strong and able to protect her, for one that

it has been expanded from ocean to ocean, has become the admiration of the world, and has rendered the feuntains of the lives of thirty moneys, and, indeed, every species of its moneys, and indeed, every species of its moneys, and indeed, every species of its instalation of President Lincoln, not at the instalation of the Federal Constitution, which has been denounced; which has been denounced; which has been denounced; which has been denounced the instalation of the Federal Constitution, which it was undensured in the instalation of President Lincoln, not at the instal members, as Autumnal leaves are given to the winds which blow upon them. In 1814, The Richmond Inquirer, then, as now, the organ of public opinion in the South, pronounced secession to be treason, and nothing else, and such was then the doctrine of Southern statesmen. What was true then is equally true now. The prevalence of this precious hereay is mainly the fruit of that farce called "State rights," which demagogues have been so long playing under tragic mask, and which has done more than all things else to unsettle the foundations of the Republic, by estronging the people from the Federal Government, as one to distrusted and resisted, instead of being. what it is, emphatically their own oreation, as all times obedient to their will, and in its

ministrations the grandest reflex of the greatness and beneficence of popular power that Said Mr. Clay: " I owe a supreme allegiance to the General Government, and to my State a subordinante one." And this terse language disposes of the whole controversy which has Supreme Court has decided that the citizens arisen out of the Secession movement in regard to the allegiance of the cit z n. As the power of the State and Federal Governments are in perfeet harmony with each other, so there can be no conflict between the allegiance due to them: each while acting within the sphere of its constitutional authority, is entitled to be obeyed; but when a State, throwing off all constitutional restraints, seeks to destroy the Genlican Congress, at the late session, organ zed eral Government, to say that its citizens are three new Territories, and in the organic law of bound to follow it in this career of crime, and neither was there introduced, or attempted to discard the supreme allegiance they owe to the be introduced, the slightest restriction upon Government assailed, is one of the shallowest and most dangerous fallacies that has ever guined credence among men. Kentucky, ocupying a central position in the

was:o the towns and cities upon our coasts, or the commerce upon our seas; but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, she would be a frontier State, and necessarily the victim of those border feuds and cohfliers which have become proverbial in history alike for their Virginia that is not filled with the alarms, and fore, that she has been so coaxingly besought knife to the throat instead of the cancer of the compared with her present position. But amid mutations incident to such a helpless and selfdisintegrating league, Keutucky would probably soon find herself adhering to a mere fragment of the Confederacy, or it may be standing entirely alone, in the presence of tiers of free States with populations exceeding by many millions her own. Feeble States thus separated from powerful and warlike neighbors by ideal boundaries, or by rivers as easily traversed as rivulets, are as insects that feed upon the lion's lip-liable at every moment to be crushed. The recorded doom of multitudes of such has left us a warning too solemo and impressive to be disregarded.

Kentucky now scarcely feels the contribution she makes to support the Government of the United States, but as a member of the Southern Confederacy, of whose policy freestrade will be a cardinal principle, she will be burdened with dire t taxation to the amount of double, or, it may be, triple or quadruple that which she now pays into her treasury. Superadded to this will be required from her share of those vast outlays necessary for the creation of a navy, the erection of forts and custom houses along a frontier of several thousand miles; and for the maintenance of that large standing army which will be indisdemnation. Those who assert that Slavery pensible at once for that strong military character which, it has been openly avowed the peculiar institutions of the South will inexor-

ably demand.

Kentucky now enjoys for her poenliar insti ] tution the protection of the Eugitive Slave Law, loyally enforced by the Greenens, and it is this law, effective in its moral agency in preventing the escape of slaves, that slone saves that institution in the Border States from atter extinction. She cannot carry this law with her into the new Confede eracy. She will virtually have Capada brought to her doors in the form of Free States, whose population, relieved of all mor. 1 and constitutional obligations to deliver up fugitive slaves, will stand with open arms in viting and welcoming them, if need be, at the point of the bayonet. Under such influences, Slavery will perish rapidly away in Kentucky. as a ball of snow would melt in a Sommer's

Kentucky, in her soul, shines the African slave trade, and turns away with enspeakable horror and loathing from the red altas of King Dahomet. But although this treffi: h s been temp rarily interdicted by the seveder