Political, &c.

How the News of the Nomination of Douglas was received in Washington --- Great Speech of Judge Douglas.

WASHINGTON, June 24. The news of the nomination of Judge Douglas for President, by the regular National Democratic Convention, was received in this city yesterday afternoon, and caused the greatest excitement. Rumors had prevailed during the morning and the night before that he had withdrawn, and, therefore, his nomination fell upon many who had eagerly trusted in these reports with the greatest surprise. The Republicans especially seemed disappointed and gloomy, and I heard more than one of their leaders declare that his nomination made the fight a more severe and doubtful one than they had expected.

The friends of Judge Douglas, whose numbers were swelled to thousands by the arrival of the numerous trains from Baltimore, were almost frantic with joy. They came crowding into Washington, representatives from every State, North and South, east and West, and here thronging the hotels and crowding Pennsylvania avenue, they carried all before them with their enthusiasm. If they carry back to their homes the spirit which now animates them, many of the pledges they have given of carrying their various States will surely be fulfilled, for they are now clothed with the armor of victory.

The head-quarters of the Douglas Club in Pennsylvania avenue, were brilliantly illuminated last night, and about half past ten o'clock, the Club, one thousand strong, headed by Wither's brass band, proceeded down to the railroad depot to receive a portion of the Illinois delegation, who were understood to be on their way to this city. About eleven o'clock this delegation with the Great Western band arrived, and were taken in charge by their Washington friends, who escorted them up to the residence of Judge Douglas.

Here a large crowd had already assembled in expectation of a serenade. There must have been in all, about twenty-five hundred persons present, and when three cheers were proposed for Judge Douglas, they were given with a power which fairly seemed to shake the earth. After the two bands had played several airs, loud calls were made for Mr. Dergias, and when he presented himself on the steps of his residence, another immense

shout went up. When the enthusiasm had somewhat subsided, he said: FELLOW CITIZENS :- I thank you for this manifestation of your kindness and of your enthusiasm. The circumstances under which this vast crowd have assembled spontaneously, and without previous notice, demonstrates the country from Abolitionism and Disunion, is, indeed, an honor of which any citizen may well be proud. I am fully impressed with the responsibilities of the position, and trust that Divine Providence will impart to me the strength and wisdom to comply with all of its requirements. [Applause.] Our beloved country is threatened with a fearful sectional antagonism which places the Union itself in iminent peril. This antagonism is produced by the effort in one section of the Union to to use the Federal Government for the purpose of restricting and abolishing slavery, and a corresponding effort in the other section for the purpose of extending slavery into those regions where the people do not want it .-Cries of "That is true."] The ultra men in both sections demand Congressional intervention upon the subject of slavery in the Territories. They agree in respect to the power and the duty of the Federal Government to control the question, and differ only as to the mode of exercising the power. The one demands the intervention of the Federal Government for slavery and the other against it. Each appeals to the passions and prejudices of his own section against the peace and harmony of the whole country. [Cries of which may sweep down all political parties "That's so," and applause.] On the other and terminate in a dissolution of the Union. hand, the position of all conservative and It is the duty of patriots and statesmen to Union-loving men is, or at least ought to be, that of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the Territories. ["That is the true doctrine," and immense applause.] This was the position of the Democratic party in the Presidential contest of 1848, 1852, and 1856. This was the position upon which Clay, and Webster, and Cass, and friends of the Union of all political affinities at that day established the Compromise measures of 1850. Upon this common ground of non-interventien they routed and put to flight the Abolitionists of the North, and the Secessionists of the South, in that memorable contest .-[Cries of "We will do it again," and three cheers.] It was on this common ground of non-intervention that Whigs and Democrats agreed to stand in their respective party plat-forms of 1852. The Whig party adhered faithfully to this principle so long as its organization was maintained, and the Democratic party still retains it as the keystone of the political arch which binds the Federal Union together. [Tremendous applause.]-To this cardinal principle of non-intervention has the Democratic party renewed the pledge

of its faith at Charleston and at Baltimore.

[Cheers and cries of "We will keep the faith."]

As the chosen representative of the great par-

ty, it is my fixed purpose to keep the faith

and redeem that pledge, at all hazards and

under all circumstances. [Three cheers for Douglas.] The safety of the Union depends

upon a strict adherence to the doctrine of

non-intervention. Intervention means dis-

union. Intervention, whether by the North

or by the South, whether for or against sla-

very tends directly to disunion. Upon this

identical question an attempt is now being



WILLIAM LEWIS ---PERSEVERE.-- Editor and Proprietor.

HUNTINGDON, PA., JULY 4, 1860.

NO. 2.

Secession is disunion. Secession from the Democratic party means secession from the not for the maintenance of principle. They Federal Union. ["That's so," and applause] were willing to jeopardize the integrity of the Those who enlist under the secession banner

VOL. XVI.

now will be expected on the 4th of March next to take up arms against the constituted authorities in certain contingencies. We have been told that in a certain event the South must forcibly resist the inauguration of the Presi- is, yet there never was a time when the South. dent elect, while we find those who are loudest in their threats of such resistance en- tion. Why, then, should they have seceded? gaged in the scheme to divide and destroy the Democratic party, and thereby secure the to dismember and destroy the party? election of the Republican candidate. Does of "Yes;" " It cannot be effected," &c.] Intelligent men must be presumed to un-

lead directly to the secession of the Southern before it is too late to save the country. [Ap-

The Union must be preserved. [Cheers.] The Constitution must be maintained inviolate, [renewed cheering,] and it is our mission under Divine Providence, as I believe, to save the Constitution and the Union from the assaults of Northern Abolitionists and Southern Disunionists. [Tremendous applause, and three cheers for Douglas.] the North and the South which human ingenuity can advise.

My friends, I have detained you to long, and will close by renewing the expressions of my sincere thanks.

a year, Judge] and I merely made my appearhour of the night. I recognize among you the hand. [A voice." Your heart is big enough." Tremendous enthusiasm and three times three cheers for Stephen A. Douglas, the next President of the United States.

Speech of Hon. H. V. Johnson, Demo cratic Nominee for Vice President. WASHINGTON, June 26.

The following is the speech of Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, of Georgia, last night at the National Hotel, on accepting the nomination for the Vice Presidency on the ticket with the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas:

MR. CHAIRMAN, GENTLEMEN OF THE NAbearer of the only political organization which | ceived a telegraphic message in Baltimore, at is conservative and powerful enough to save | three o'clock this day, that the Hon. Benjamin Fitzpatrick had declined the nomination tendered him by the Democratic Convention. and that it was demanded of me to accept it. It is known to many of you that my name was freely mentioned in Baltimore in connection with this nomination, and that I persistently refused to contenance it, but invariably argued that if Georgia were to be thus honored, it was due to another of her sons, most distinguished for his talents and great public services.

This was my earnest desire and the desire of the delegation of which I was a member. But the Convention in its wisdom deemed it best to nominate a statesman of Alabama .-It was entirely satisfactory. Alabama is the child of Georgia, and the mother cordially responds to any compliment bestowed upon her daughter. These are the circumstances under which I have been assigned this distinguished position, and which demand that discrimination should yield to the voice of duty.

The National Democratic party is in a peculiar condition. It is assailed in the house of its professed friends, and threatened with overthrow. The country is in a peculiar condition. It is on the eve of a sectional conflict, unite in averting these threatened calamities.

It may not be inapppropriate to refer to the circumstances which imperil the National Democracy. The Alabama delegation went to the Convention at Charleston, instructed to demand the incorporation into the platform of the party the proposition that Congress should intervene for the protection of slavery in the Territories, and to withdraw if the demand should be refused. It was refused, and I think properly refused. That delegation did retire, and with them a large portion of the delegations from the cotton States. Why should they have retired? The record shows that if they had remained at their post, they had the power to prevent the nomination of any candidate who might be obnoxious to

the South. Thus reduced by the secessions, the Convention adjourned to Baltimore, requested the States to fill the vacancies in their respective delegations. The Convention re-asembled on the 18th. The seceding delegations were returned-some accredited to Richmond, and others to Baltimore, by the way of Richmond-instructed to make the same demand, and to withdraw if it be refused. Delegates were appointed in Louisiana, Alabama, and Georgia by the National Democrats of those States, to fill the vacant seats of the seceders. Those of Alabama and Lousiana were admitted, and the seceding delegates rejected, and the seceding delegates from Georgia were admitted to seats and they all took umbrage at the decisions of the Convention touching the various contests for seats. They retired, organized, and nominated candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. And they claim to be the National Democracy of the

made to divide and destroy the Democratic United States! Now, they were actuated by principle; if party. Because the minority of interventionit was their purpose, in good faith, to obtain ists could not intimidate the majority into an the recognition of the principle of Congressionabandonment of the doctrine of non-intervention, they have seceded from the organization | al protection for slavery in the Territories, of the Democratic party, and are endeavoring why not wait until a proper time to bring gress from Berks count to form a new party in hostility to it. [Cries that subject before the Convention, and then, ton on Thursday last.

of "let them go," "we can whip the dis-unionists North and South," etc.] according to their instructions, withdraw from the body? The reason is palpable: they were waging war against a distinguished man, were willing to jeopardize the integrity of the Democratic party and triumphs of its cherished principles, rather than see its will proclaimed in the nomination of its favorite.-Admitting, for the sake of argument, Mr. Douglas to be as obnoxious as they allege he united, could not have defeated his nomina-Why not remain at their post? Why seek

I question not the patriotism of any, but not this line of policy look to disunion? [Cries | the people will hold them responsible sooner or later to all the ills that may flow from their errors. I said the demand for Congressional derstand the tendency and consequences of intervention was properly rejected at Charlestheir own action. Can the seceders fail to | ton. And why do I say so? Because it was perceive that their efforts to divide and defeat | the agreement between the North and the the Democratic party, if successful, must | South that the slavery agitation should be removed from the halls of Congress, and the States? I trust that they will see what must people of the Territories be left perfectly free be the result of such a policy, and return to to regulate their domestic institutions in their the organization and platform of the party own way, subject to the Constitution of the United States. This was the principle of the Compromise Measures of 1850, and practi-cally applied to the Nebraska-Kansas act in 1854. It was adopted by the great political parties of the United States in 1852. It triumphed in the election of Franklin Pierce in that year, and of James Buchanan in 1856. It is perhaps the best compromise between

It is understood by the people of all sections and by it the Democratic party, at least, of all sections should be willing to abide. It Many voices—Go on, go on.

Mr. Douglas, No, it is nearly Sabbath morning. [A voice, We will listen to you for Taritarial Properties of Congressional or Taritarial Properties of Sabbath and Sabbath morning. [A voice, We will listen to you for Taritarial Properties of Sabbath and Sab Territorial power over the subject of slavery ance to acknowledge the compliment you have to the final arbitrament of the Supreme Court paid me by so large a meeting at this late of the United States. It is therefore safe for the North, and safe for the South. Its practhe faces of many of my old friends and a tical working is not without satisfactory relarge number of my immediate neighbors sults. Where the people of a Territory desire from Illinois, as well as others from almost slave labor, and the soil and climate are every State of the Union. I only regret that suited to it, slavery will go; where these conmy house is not large enough to enable me ditions do not exist, it will not go. That to invite you in and take you individually by finds an illustration in New Mexico, where slavery is established, and this in those Territories where it is excluded. Only a few days ago, propositions to repeal the slavery laws of New Mexico, on the one hand, and the anti-slavery laws of Kansas on the other, were made and rejected in the Senate of the

> Suppose these propositions, or either of them, had prevailed, is it not certain that the country would have been thrown into the highest excitement? But by their rejection, non-intervention was practically adhered to, and the public mind is satisfied and quiet .-Let us maintain it firmly and faithfully. We donment will prove fatal to the National Democratic party, and ultimately to the Union itself. It will drive the South into intense sectionalism, and the North into the ranks of Black Republicanism.

I do not say every man of the North, for I know that the great body of the Northern Democracy will remain true to the Constitution, despite the overwhelming flood of its relentless cohorts. But I mean that the freelabor States would be controlled by Black Republicanism, and would not be able to return a single member to either house of Congress friendly to the constitutional rights of the South.

I trust that this condition of things may never exist; but if it should, I know of no way by which the Union can be saved .-Honce the doctrine of Congressional intervention, as advocated by the new-born sectional party, is fraught with peril to the country.

The question is now distinctly presented to the people, whether they will adhere to the doctrine of non-intervention, or whether they will abandon it; whether they will re-open the slavery agitation, by requiring Congress to take jurisdiction over it, or whether they will give repose to the public mind, and security to the Union, by leaving it where the Compromise leaves it, to the free action of the | State. people of the Territories, under the Constitution of the United States. The issue is fairly made up. Its decision involves the destinies of this great Republic, and the highest interests of the civilized world. Compared with it, the aspirations of men and the fate of political parties sink into utter insignificance. Where shall we look for deliverance from

these threatened evils? It has been the mission of the Democratic party of the Union, in a thousand perils, to rescue our country from impending calemities. Its past career abounds with heroic passages, and is illustrated with the most glorious achievements in the cause of constitutional liberty. It is the party of Jefferson, and Madison, and Jackson, and Polk, whose Administrations constitute grand epochs in our national history. It is the party of the Constitution. I look to it with confidence .-Where else shall the patriot look in these times of political defection and sectional agitation? Let its integrity be permanently destroyed, and the doctrine of non-intervention overthrown, and then the best hopes of the statesman may well be clouded with gloom and darkness.

It is to maintain these that I consent to take the position now assigned me, and welcome the consequences of personal good or personal ill which that position may bring. Nothing else could induce me to brave the detraction which it invites and incur the heavy responsibility which it imposes. I have nothing to add but the expression of my profound thanks for the honor so unexpectedly conferred upon me, and my cordial acknowledgment for the flattering terms in which I have been notified of my nomination. Whatever may be honorably done, I shall cheerfully do to maintain the integrity of the party and the triumph of its principles.

Hon. John Schwartz, member of Congress from Berks county, died at Washing-

The leading events in the history of the nominee of the Democratic National Convention for President, Stephen A. Douglas, are so well known to the American people that any extended reference to them at this time is unnecessary; but a few prominent facts may be appropriately enumerated as a matter of record. He was born in Brandon, Rutland county, Vermont, on the 23d of April, 1813. His father, who was a native of New York, and a celebrated physician, died suddenly about two months after the birth of his now distinguished son. Mrs. Douglas retired to a farm which she inherited conjointly with an unmarried brother, and some sixteen years afterwards married a second time to Mr. Ginger, of Ontario county, New York. By the time Mr. Douglas attained the age of fifteen, he had received a good commonschool education, and desired to prepare for the requsite expense. He therefore left the farm and engaged himself as an apprentice six years from the fourth of March, 1859.—
to the trade of cabinet making, at which he At the same election the popular vote for the worked a year and a half, when his health became so much impaired that he was obliged to abandon that occupation. After the marriage of his mother, he removed with her to Canandaigua, where he entered the academy at that place as a student, and simultaneously studied law.

In 1833 he started to the West in search of an eligible location in which to establish himself as a lawyer. During his journey he was detained at Cleveland a whole summer by severe illness, and after his recovery he went to Cineinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, and Jacksonville, Illinois. On his arrival at the latter place, he found that his funds were reduced to thirtyseven and a half cents, and not seeing any immediate opportunity of entering upon remunerative employment as a lawyer, he sought an employment as a school teacher, and being fortunate enough to obtain a ready capital of six dollars, by his services as a clerk for three days at a vendue, he opened a school at Winchester, in which he had forty pupils, whom he taught for three months, at three dollars a quarter, practicing law, meanwhile, in petty cases before the justices of the peace of that town.

In March, 1834, he opened an office and began to practice in the higher courts, and from this time forward his professional and political advancement was rapid. When he was less than twenty-two years of age he was elected by the Illinois Legislature, Attorney General of the State. In 1835 he was elected a member of the State Legislature by the the Democrats of Morgan county. In 1837 he was appointed by President Van Buren Register of the Land Office, at Springfield, Ill., a post which he resigned in 1839. In 1838 he ran as the Democratic candidate for Con-the ran as the Democratic candidate for Con-attention. But a few remarks from me will Whig candidate, was declared to be elected by a majority of five only; but as a number of ballots, sufficient to have changed the result, were rejected by the canvassers because the name of Mr. Douglas was incorrectly pared. We had heard around us the rumors spelled, the result was sonsidered by himself and his friends as a virtual triumph.

During the Presidential campaign of 1840 Mr. Douglas traversed his State in all directions for seven months, and addressed more than two hundred political gatherings. He had the satisfaction, at the close of the contest to find that Illinois was one of the six States which sustained the Democratic nominee. In December, 1840, he was appointed Secretary of State of Illinois; in February, 1841, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, an office which he resigned in 1843 to accept the Democratic nomination for Congress. This contest, after a spirited canvass, terminated in his favor by this glorious nation who was to be her next more than four hundred majority. He was re-elected in 1844 by a majority of nineteen hundred, and again in 1846 by nearly three thousand majority, but he did not take his seat under the last election, because, in the meantime, he had been chosen to the Senate of the United States for six years, from March 4, 1847—a position in which he has ever enlightened; instead of principles discussed since been continued by the Democracy of

While a member of the House of Repre-sentatives he acquired a national reputation waged by an army of unprincipled and unby his able advocacy of the bill to refund to scrupulous politicians, leagued with a power Gen. Jackson the fine of one thousand dol- which could not be exerted on their side withlars imposed upon him by Judge Hall, of outdisgracing itself and disgracing the nation. New Orleans, and by his vigorous support of [Renewed applause.] When this Conventhe Administration of President Polk, and tion assembled at Charleston, the idea had the measures it adopted for the prosecution of | not yet struck their minds that a movement the war with Mexico.

As early as 1847, when the Wilmot Proviso was first passed in the House of Representatives, he opposed that measure-contending (Mr. Yancey,) who has fathered this secesthen, as he has ever since contended, that the sion. It was presumed by these political inpeople of the Territories should regulate their | triguers outside of the Convention, who were own domestic institutions to suit themselves. | manœuvring the measures through by which The Compromise measures of 1850 he zealously advocated, and on his return to his to be effected—it was presumed by them that home in Chicago, finding them assailed with it would be in their power after raising the much violence, he defended the whole series storm to master and guide it. But it will be in a public speech, on the 24th of October, 1850, which made a profound impression that in their storm they are bound eventually upon the country, and which was, undoubtedly, one of the ablest ever made by an American statesman. Its influence upon the citizens of Chicago, who heard it, was very extraordinary, and it almost completely changed the current of public sentiment.

In 1852 he was a prominent candidate for the Presidential nomination of the Democratic National Convention which assembled ceal another word, of more significancy. If at Baltimore. On the thirtieth ballot he received ninety-two votes, out of a total of two ple of this great Confederacy, then no longer hundred and eighty-eight—being more than were given on that ballot to any other candidate. In 1854 he reported, as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories, the cel- ment. Secession must beget disunion. Upon ebrated Kansas Nebraska bill, which after a severe struggle, was adopted by both Houses | I will not do those distinguished gentlemen, of Congress, and signed by President Pierce, and which has led to very important and re- the injustice to suppose that they truly parted markable political changes and recognitions from you because of your having decided the of parties. In 1856 he was again a prominent candidate for the Democratic Presiden- that did not agree with their views. They tial nomination at the Cincinnati Convention may give this as a pretence; they may use it as —receiving on the sixteenth ballot one hun- a cloak to cover their desertion from the pardred and twenty-one votes, at a time when ty; but the truth cannot be disguised.—

one hundred and sixty-eight votes were cast for Mr. Buchanan, and six for General Cass. In the Congressional session of 1857-8 he

opposed the admission of Kansas, under the Lecompton Constitution, on the ground that t was not the act and deed of the people of that Territory, with indomitable energy and masterly ability, and, after his return home, defended his conduct before the people of Illinois in a series of speeches of extraordinary force. Mr. Lincoln, the present nominee of the Republican party, was the champion selected by that organization as his opponent, and on a number of different occasions they addressed the same audience in opposition to each other. But, although he was compelled to encounter, in this remarkable struggle, the determined hostility of the Federal Administration and the powerful oppposition of the Republican party, he emerged from the contest victoriously, receiving fifty-four votes of the Senators and Representatives of the State college, but his mother was unable to bear to forty-six cast for Mr. Lincoln, and being thus returned to the United States Senate for At the same election the popular vote for the Douglas candidate for the Superintendent of Common Schools was 122,413; for the Republican candidate 124,566, and for the Buchanan or Administration candidate 5,173. Since his re-election, in a number of de-

bates with his Senatorial associates, he has continued to defend the principle of non-intervention with unswerving determination .-We have not space here to enumerate the marked incidents of Mr. Douglas Senatorial career, nor is it necessary, as all newspaper readers are familiar with them. He was married April 7th, 1847, to Miss

Martha D. Martin, daughter of Col. Robert Martin, of Rockingham county, North Carolina, by whom he had three children—two of whom are living. She died January 19, 1853. He was again married November 20, 1856, to Miss Adele Cutts, daughter of James Comptroller of the Treasury.

Speech of Pierre Soule before the Democratic National Convention.

Mr. Soule, of Louisiana, next addressed the Convention, when that State was called. He was hailed with round after round of apnlause. Mr. President, I am appalled, truly ap-

palled, by the expectations which the wel-

come which has just been extended to me

Convention from whom anything deserving these manifestations could be expected, and it is at once with a deep feeling of gratitude for what of kindness was in them, and of great diffidence that I attempt to address you need not fear to stand. [Applause.] on this most solemn, most momentous occasion. Be not afraid, however, that I shall an earnestness of feeling which fills my heart with gratitude. To be the chosen standard-with gratitude. To be the chosen standard-with gratitude. To be the chosen standard-with gratitude are bound to it by every consideration of interest, and obligations of compact. Its abanthirty-six thousand, and his opponent, the honor in part to represent in this body. I Northern Abolitonists claim intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. What are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the number of votes polled was the Union. The number of votes polled was the Union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. What is the Union. The number of votes polled was the Union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. What is the Union. The number of votes polled was the Union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. What is the Union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. What is the Union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. When it is the union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. When it is the union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. When it is the union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of mine is predicated. When it is the union are bound to it by every consideration of intervention for the vote which I shall that opinion of the vote which I shall that opinio have not been at all discouraged by the emotion which has been attempted to be created Territories. On the other hand, Southern in this body, by those who have seceded from it. We from the farthest South were prewhich were to be initiatory of the exit which you have witnessed on this day, and we knew that the conspiracy which had been brooding for months past would break out on this occasion, and for the purposes which are obvious to every member. Sirs, there are in political life men who were once honored by popular favor, who consider that the favor has become to them an inalienable property and who cling to it as to something that can no longer be wrested from their hands. Political fossils, so much encrusted in office, that there is hardly any power that can extract them. [Applause.] They saw that the popular voice was clearly manifesting to ruler. More than eight or ten months before this Convention assembled, the name of that future ruler of these States had been thrown into the canvass and was before the people. Instead of bringing a candidate to oppose him; instead of creating before the people issues upon which the choice of the nation could be what have we seen? An unrelenting war against the individual assumed to be the faof the nature of the one which has been effected, could be based upon the doctrines of the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, the destruction of the Democratic party was nearly exhasted. found, before forty-eight hours have elapsed, to sink and disappear, [loud applause,] for it is idle for Southern men to disguise the true object of that movement. Secession from the Democratic party can be nothing more than a disruption of that party at the very moment when the hopes of the whole nation are hanging upon its continuing in power. [Applause.] Secession is a word intended to con-

secession was to find an echo among the peo-

could this Republic boast that the structure

which our fathers erected with so much sac-

rifice and so much toil, was a noble experi-

what pretence has secession been predicated?

who stepped out of this room this morning,

hands of intriguers, and their course must necessarily tend to disunion. [Applause.] Sirs, it is said that they carry with them out of this Convention the sympathy of the South. Believe it not. [Applause.] Be-

Whether deluded or not, they are tools in the

lieve it not, and I have in my own experience of the past, certain strong reasons why I cannot bring my mind to the supposition that the South, under the present circumstance can respond to that movement, and I will briefly say them before you. I 1849 and 1850, when California was about being admitted into this Union, the South rose against her admission, passed resolutions upon resolutions, and impressed upon the men of the North that if the outrage was perpetrated, she would se-cede from the Union. Many of us, who were then representatives of the South in the National Councils, believing that the South was in earnest, and considering ourselves bound to follow in her footsteps, fought the battle, not only with a view of creating the contingency contemplated, but to defend the rights of the South, and oppose the introduction of California into the councils of the nation .-That at that time was to the South the great wrong, and creating the great danger, because not only was California coming into the Union with a Constitution obliterating the Missouri Compromise-not only was she coming into the Union without passing through the ordeal of a Territorial existence -not only was she coming into the Union organized by the military forces of the Federal Government, but her entrance into the Union was going to destroy that power of numbers which was the last bulwark of our protection in the Senate, the higher house of Congress. We fought against that question-game to the last. One after the other we saw the States of the South receding from their position, disowning ever effort we had made to maintain our rights, and, let me say it with sorrow, dragging us into the very gutter for the very devotion we had shown them; and why did the South? There is no ungrateful breast in the South. It could not be that she was inclined to disown the services of those who had stood by her to the last, but it was because she considered, and truly considered, that even an impending wrong was not to be put in the scale with the preservation of this glorious Confederacy. [Great applause.]-And we, in obedience to their wishes, out of deference to their convictions, surrendered, considered that we were in duty bound to abide by your own decisions; and perhaps it may not be improper for me here to refer to the consise actions upon which these decisions were predicated. The only compensation which the South

could find in the measures generally known as the Compromise Measures, was the doctrine of non-intervention, then claimed. [Applause.] That was the boon offered to us in those days as a compensation for the great Madison Cutts, of Washington city, second sacrifice which was asked at our hands, and the South accepted the compromise, and the compromise became the law of the nation, certainly of the party, as far as the question of slavery was concerned. I am surprised at the extreme sensitiveness exhibited by the men of the South at this day upon that question of non-intervention. John C. Calhoun, when the famous compromise tendered by Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, was being discussed in the United States Senate-John C. Calhoun considered that the proffer to place in the seems to signify. I am the last man in this hands of one Federal tribunal the question of the extent of power in the Territories, was to the South a sufficient guaranty to make acceptable the compromise tendered; and where John C. Calhoun could stand, a Southern man

> I have said, in the very unconnected remarks that I have had the honor to submit to you, that secession meant disunion, and I will go on to show now upon what considerations the purpose of excluding slavery from the men claim intervention on the part of Congress for the purpose of protecting slavery in the Territories. Now, I ask Southern gentlemen here, and elsewhere, are you serious when the battle is thus drawn; when the lines are thus drawn out; when the wholo strength of the North is combined with the great strength on the part of the West to exclude slavery from the Territories? Are you, my friends of the South, in earnest when you ask to submit the protection of your property to the keeping of such men as may be sent from the North and West to constitute the majority in your Congress? There is not a paper in the South which is not teeming with denunciations that Congress has become a rotten body, that the majority in both Houses is in heart, and to all intents and purposes, opposed to slavery; and yet these men, who set up the pretension of being the exclusive friends of slavery at the South, ask that the protection of slavery shall be put in the keeping of that very power which is represented as being bent upon its destruction. [Applause.] I say whatever be the views they take of the manner in which that power might eventually be exerted, from the moment that the power is recognized as existing in Congress. from that moment there is not a Southern heart that does not beat to the conviction that slavery is gone; and if that should be the ultimatum of the issue, is the South ready now for it? Have they prepared their armor?-Are they ready for the battle? Sirs they are not, and the reason is very obvious. The gentlemen who have sececeded from this Convention know that the masses of their people at home will not respond to the call they have made upon them; and the best proof of it is that in no State, whose delegations have seceded, did the seceders call a fair convention of the people to put to the test the innovation which they have attempted. [Applause.]

I perceive that I have detained the Convention longer than I had intended—[cries of "Go on! go on?"[—and my own strength is

Mr. President, though Louisiana is mindful of what she owes to her sisters of the South, and is ever ready to act in concert with them, when actual oppression shall call for actual resistance, still Louisiana is unwilling to risk her future, and the future of this Union, upon impracticable issues, purely theoratical abstractions. [Applause.] She cannot be so far oblivious of past and the recent services as to disown that fearless and indomitable champion of popular rights and of State equality-him who, in that great and memorable struggle which, in his own State, initiated that war which has been waged against him so unrelentingly; him who has vindicated the rights of the South so victoriously against infuriated opponents; him who will yet enable us to triumph over the enemies of the South—the Black Republicans—who are arrayed against us. Louisiana casts her entire vote for Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. Vociferous cheers and applause.

question of internal organization in a manner It should be remembered that the law of the United States imposes a fine of \$30 on persons refusing to answer the questions of