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What he said then of the strength or importance of South Carolina alone, is tenfold more true of that unfortunate State to-day:

"South Carolina cannot become a nation. God makes nations, not man. You cannot extemporize a nation out of South Carolina. It is simply impossible; we have not the resources. We could exist by toleration, and what that tolerance would be, when we consider the present hostile spirit of the age to the institution of slavery, of which we would be looked upon as the peculiar exponent, all may readily imagine. I trust we may never have to look upon the painful and humiliating spectacle.

"From the weakness of our national government, a feeling of insecurity would arise, capital would take the alarm and leave us. But it may be said let capital go. To this I reply that capital is the life blood of a modern community, and in losing it you lose the vitality of the State.

"Secondly, separate nationality, with all its burdens, is no remedy. It is no redress for the past; it is no security for the future. It is only a magnificent sacrifice of the present, without in anywise gaining to the future. We are told, however, that it is resistance, and we must not submit to the late action of Congress. Now, I would like to know which one of these measures we resist by secession. It is not the prohibition of slave marts in the District of Columbia. It is not the purchase of the Texas territory. It is not the admission of California. Which aggression, then, do we resist by secession? These are all the recent accessions which we resist, now by secession. Secession, gallant as may be the spirit which prompts it, is only a new form of submission.

"For the various reasons I have stated, I object in as strong terms as I can, to the secession of South Carolina. Such is the intensity of my conviction upon this subject, that I would rather take place—of which I have no idea, for I cannot believe in the existence of such a stupendous madness—I shall consider the institution of slavery as doomed, and that the Great God in our behalf has made us the instrument of its destruction."

## W. W. BOYCE OF SOUTH CAROLINA ON SECESSION IN 1851.

It is generally conceded that the election of Mr. Lincoln is a pretext for, not the cause of the disunion movement. As a proof that it is a premeditate attempt to get power, that lies at the bottom of the present movement, and not a desire to obtain a redress of grievances, we quote a few words from an earnest appeal of W. W. Boyce, of South Carolina, addressed to citizens of that State, against secession, when before threatened in 1851. What he said then of the strength or importance of South Carolina alone, is tenfold more true of that unfortunate State to-day:

"South Carolina cannot become a nation. God makes nations, not man. You cannot extemporize a nation out of South Carolina. It is simply impossible; we have not the resources. We could exist by toleration, and what that tolerance would be, when we consider the present hostile spirit of the age to the institution of slavery, of which we would be looked upon as the peculiar exponent, all may readily imagine. I trust we may never have to look upon the painful and humiliating spectacle.

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## LORD PALMERSTON ON THE PRINCE'S AMERICAN TOUR.

In the course of a speech, delivered on the 15th by Lord Palmerston, before the Masters and Wardens of the Worshipful Company of Salters, in London, his Lordship said:

"You have alluded, Mr. Warden, to an event which has awakened the deepest interest in the minds of every Englishman. I mean the visit of the Prince of Wales to the North American continent. It was to be expected that when the Queen's hope of England visited the subjects of her Majesty in that quarter, a sentiment prompted by the hope of England visited the subjects of her Majesty in that quarter, a sentiment prompted by the hope of England would be received with that enthusiastic affection which becomes a loyal and attached people. Our anticipations have not been disappointed. The reception of the Prince has been worthy of the people who gave it, and honorable to the family of which he is so distinguished a member; and we hope that that visit will cement more closely those ties which, I trust, are long destined to bind together the people of the Queen's dominions and the mother country. [Hear, hear.] But we had not an equal right to expect that when his Royal Highness visited the United States he would be received with anything approaching to that good, conscientious, well-meaning and well-doing Christian men; but the distinctive idea of the North is civilization, while the distinctive institution of the South is barbarism; and by the Providence of God we are in the first, part of the right. The measure of civilization is always the condition of the people, and of the relative situation of the working people of the North and South I need not tell you.

"In our immediate political dealings with the South, three courses are before us.—First: To go bodily over to Slavery—secondly, *Secession*—thirdly, *promise. Third*: To stand firm. The first proposition the speaker counted as impossible; with regard to the second, he observed that Satan, as we read of him, appears in two forms, a roaring lion and a sneaking serpent; but under both forms he is the same devil. Compromise is the serpent form of the devil, Slavery. If he promise the South mean only forbearance, and kindness, and conciliation, we are for compromise. We wish them well—we wish they should have all of this territory that has been ceded to them by compact, however much we may doubt the original wisdom of the bargain. We wish to perform to them every duty, and make every concession within the limits of truth and honor, but no more, though the heavens fall.

"The secret motives of the leaders of the Secessionists are a Southern Empire and the reopening of the slave trade; and no compromise whatever will content them. We could make no compromise short of our own manhood, and we would fully them. The speaker went on in further words to demonstrate that all attempts to compromise with the South would be unavailing, and that the only way for the North to behave it is to stand firm.—With reference to the secession of South Carolina, he said: "I recollect one night from my father's house. I wouldn't say my mischievous and wicked and sat out doors; but when night came on, and I saw the people inside eating their supper and enjoying themselves, I was glad enough to return, say my catechism, and get my supper. And South Carolina will come to get enough of Secession, and be glad enough to come back again. And the people of the North will be glad enough to welcome the prodigal back, though every article in it was Liberty."—He concluded with an eloquent assertion that the way of the North is to persevere in the way of equity and right; to make no compromises; but stand firm in the good cause of eternal justice.

## AN ENGLISH VIEW of the AMERICAN CRISIS.

*(From the London Times.)*

Beaten, so far as it appears at present, in the contest, the Democratic Party have recourse to the ordinary device of the party that finds itself the weaker in the Presidential contest—that is, to the hackneyed threat of breaking up the Union. They said the same thing three years ago, before the victory declared for them, and as their danger is at present so much greater, they repeat their threat with the more earnestness. We contess that our notions of fair play are much offended by such a threat. Those who enter into an election with the mental reservation that they will not submit to the result (which is to be favorable to themselves, are guilty of the same kind of unfairness as those who play at cards with the intention of receiving if they win, and refusing to pay if they lose. For ourselves, we confess that we have little faith in these demonstrations. "Threatened men live long," and the American Confederacy is blind together by cords far too strong to be severed by a little idle gasconade.

The threatened separation of the South from the North is like the threat of one of our own editors to declare itself independent. It is the threat of doing a great deal of mischief to themselves in order to do a very little mischief to us. If the six million inhabitants of the Southern boundaries, the South has a formidable army of domestic enemies, and if any one wishes to judge of the terror which those domestic enemies excite, let him refer to the frightful scenes which are perpetrated in the State of Texas, with a cruelty which nothing but the most abject fear can account for. There would be little wisdom in separating from the Free States, who are bound to assist in maintaining the Federal authority throughout the Union, in order the more effectually to isolate the white in case of a conflict with the black population. It can moreover hardly be doubted that the Northern Slave States, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri, would become firm, and join the Northern Confederation; so that the remaining States would find themselves deplorably weakened, and probably at the mercy of any powerful country that might choose to make war upon them, with the assistance of their slaves. Taxation would increase as security diminished, and the expenses of a Federal Government would have to be supported with resources already severely taxed by the expenses of local administration.—Such a confederacy would have in it none of the principles of increase, while the resources of the North and West would go on multiplying themselves by the same course of successful industry as heretofore.

For these and many other reasons, which it is quite unnecessary to expatiate upon, we profound that the men of the South, however loudly they may talk now, will be in no hurry after election to put their threats into execution. They will think it better to wait and see what kind of a man President Lincoln turns out to be before they commit themselves to a step so dangerous and so irretrievable. The experience of America as well as of England tells them that the occupant of office is often a very different person from the candidate. While a candidate he has only to satisfy his own party; when in office, he must seek to give reasonable satisfaction to both. Such, we are bound to say, has been the conduct of Mr. Buchanan. Before he was placed in the White House we had many things to except to against him. Since that time he has acted as it seems to us with fairness in domestic, and with moderation and courtesy in foreign transactions. It does not follow, because Mr. Lincoln is elected by persons opposed to Slavery, that he will therefore lend himself to any attack on the property or peculiar domestic institution of the South. His power is exceedingly limited, and if the effect of his Administration should be to place in the Supreme Court of the United States Judges a little less strenuous in their advocacy of Slavery, and to govern the Territories in a spirit a little less in accordance with the creed of the Border Ruffians of Kansas, such enforced moderation will be for the benefit of the South as well as the North, and tend to confirm much more than to loosen the stability of the Federal Union.

## THE STATE OF THE UNION.

### LAST ANNUAL MESSAGE OF JAMES BUCHANAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

**Read in Congress, Tuesday, Dec. 4, 1860.**

*Fellow Citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives:*

Throughout the year since our last meeting, the country has been enabled to prosecute in all its material interests. The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty smiles throughout the land. Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns. In short, the nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of great material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction? The long-continued and intemperate interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States, has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of his Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed. I have long foreseen and often forwarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the claim on the part of Congress of the territorial legislatures to exclude slavery from the Territories, nor from the efforts of different States to defeat the execution of the fugitive slave law. All or any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union, (as others have been,) in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy. The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a mother throughout the South retires at night in dread of what may befall herself and her children before the morning. Should this apprehension of domestic danger, whether real or imaginary, extend and intensify itself until it shall pervade the masses of the Southern people, then disunion will become inevitable. So far as Congress can, by the law of its nature, exert an influence in the heart of man by His Creator for the wisest purpose, and its political junction, however fraught with blessings and benefits in all other respects, it can not, and it ought not, to conceal—His province is not to make, but to execute the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that, during a period of more than sixty years, the only cases in which Congress has passed laws for executing the powers committed to it by the Constitution, which was confined to matters of local concern, the rights of the South in the Territories, by a majority of the Supreme Court, have been declared unconstitutional.

It was intended to be perpetual, and not to be annulled at the pleasure of any one of the contracting parties.—The old articles of confederation were entitled "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," and by the fifteenth article it is expressly declared that "the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the Union shall be perpetual." The preamble to the Constitution of the United States, having once referred to the articles of Confederation, recites that it was established "in order to form a more perfect union. And yet it is contended that this "more perfect union" does not include the essential attribute of perpetuity.

But that the Union was designed to be perpetual appears to be conclusive from the nature and extent of the powers conferred by the Constitution on the Federal Government. These powers embrace the very highest attributes of national sovereignty. They place both peace and war at its disposal. By the 1st Article, Congress has power to make war, and to make peace; to raise and support armies and navies, and to conclude treaties with foreign governments. It is invested with the power to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, subject to which last power the States retain the other high powers which have been conferred upon the Federal Government. In order to carry the enumerated powers into effect, Congress possesses the exclusive right to lay and collect duties on imports, and in common with the States to lay and collect all other taxes.

But the Constitution has not only conferred these high powers upon Congress, but it has adopted effectual means to restrain the States from interfering with their exercise. For that purpose it has in strong prohibitory language, expressly declared that "no State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts." Moreover, "without the consent of Congress, no state shall lay any duties of tonnage; keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace; enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay."

Such are the powers of this Union, and such are the express language in our own Declaration of Independence. But the distinction must ever be observed, that this is a revolution against an established Government, and not a voluntary secession from it by virtue of an inherent constitutional right. In short, let us look the danger fairly in the face! Secession is neither more nor less than revolution. It may or may not be a justifiable revolution, but still it is revolution.

What, in the meantime is the responsibility and true position of the Executive? He is bound by solemn oath before God and the country "to take care that the laws be faithfully executed," and from this obligation he cannot be absolved by any human power. But what if the performance of this duty, in the whole or in part, has been rendered impracticable by events over which he could have exercised no control?