Springfield, O. Jan. 12/60

Hon. S. A. Douglas

Dear Sir—I sincerely congratulate you on the recovery of health. I also congratulate you on the results of the selection of delegates from this State. I did not mistake when I wrote to you some time since, that nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine, of my heart Democrats in Ohio were for you. For them, of course, I am not a delegate but an officer holder under the present Administration! I wrote to remain in office during Buchanan’s regime. Since, I would be obliged to you (and in asking the favor I avail myself of your offer) if you would appoint Mr. S. S. Cox to speak to the Postmaster General to transmit King into the President in my behalf. Mr. Cox knows me well and knows my position. Yet he has influence with the Department. Remember me to Charley Ballou or little Cornell. Yours, 4/83 age.
Wm J Boggs
Springfield, Ohio

Jan'11
Wishes you to speak to Dr Codd in his behalf
P.O. Chamberlain
P.O. Rushville
Iowa

Jan 24

Seeking Dred Scott decision and Nebraska Bill.

P.O. Rushville
Ontario Co., N.Y.
Jan 12, '60

Hon. S. A. Douglas.

Dear Sir:

Send me a copy of the Dred Scott Decision and the Kansas & Nebraska Bill.

And oblige a warm supporter of your popular sovereignty friends, and also your nominee and editor to the next President.

S. O. Chamberlain
Postmaster
HUMBOLDT, KANSAS, January 12th, 1860

Hon. Stephen A. Douglas,

Dear Sir:

I take the liberty to address you for several reasons 1st, Your Broughton in the state you represent 2nd our Delegate is a black Republican consequently I cannot ask favors of him on a visit to Mr. D. Heard you speak in Benton last summer I also heard you speak in Marion Phs some years since on the Oregon question now I wish to solicit your influence for the removal of the 3rd Scott Land office to Humboldt 3rd Scott is situated only 5 miles from the Mo line Humboldt is situated on the Bank of the Neosho River about 40 miles from the Mo line and 11 from the Leoniston District and will better accommodate the settlers of the District than any other place and it is the only place in the District that has the necessary accommodations you have done more than any other man in the U. S. for Kansas, and I am sure you are able to do more and I think I am authorized
appreciate your effort this House is principally settled by your acquaintance paid all if you can take the interest Recommend this place to the Hodson are your influence fast for place and I will Recommend you to Towne you your very respectfully

[Signature]

[Date]

[Address]
Mr. Goldes
Lanc
Ogle Co.
Jan'y 12. Ill.
for 1858.

Hon. J. A. Douglas

SIR, allow your servant,
confiding in your kindness
To trouble your Honor
by asking a favor.
Please forward a copy of
The Agricultural and
Mechanical Patent Office
Report of 1858 and
oblige your
humble servant

William Goldes
St. Vincent's O. Asylum,
(Detroit. Jan. 12th, 1860)

Hon. S. H. Douglas,

Your character as a humane, affable, and benevolent man has often prompted me to write to you in order to solicit aid for our poor Orphans. Up to this present, I have not had the courage to address you, being an entire stranger. But, seeing no possible means of raising support for our Orphans, in any other way, I have at last come to the conclusion to follow the advice of my friends, and write for help beyond the limits of our State. All that can be done for us here, has been done, and we have no recourse but to appeal to all who have the means and the will.
and as to provide for one eighth
from orphan children, who have
now to care for them if we abandon
them.

Few words suffice for the
wise, therefore I will not intrude
on your precious time longer than to
say, should you ever visit our
city, we should be most happy
to have you visit one poor relief
that you may see the good work
you will have contributed to
sustain.

With sentiments esteem'd...
I am with respect,

[Signature]

Mary Lucinda Sage
Sister M. L. Hayes
Detroit
Jan'y 11. 1857
Mich.
Aching and for Orphan
as June.
J.F. Harney
Louisville, Ky

Jan'y 22

Introducing J. G. Turner

December, 1857

To Ham & Co.ung

Permit me to introduce to your the above Mr.
J. G. Turner of Galloway
Tenn. He is an excellent
man and a fast friend
of yours, any attention
to him will be appreciated
most by yourself.

J. F. Harney
C. B. Heard
Washington

June 12
Desiring whole controversy with Black.

June 12, 60
Hon. Senator Douglas

A friend of mine has written to me desiring the latest reply of Mr. Gent. Black to Douglas of their dispute, rejoining in "Fanfleter form". Can you furnish, hortons, all of the controversy. The Gent. is a conservator of all such matters, in bound volumes, and desire them for that purpose.

Very respectfully,
C. B. Heard
H. of R.
Horse Pasture
Henry County, Virginia

January 12th, 1860

Dear Sir,

Take the liberty of addressing you in that free and familiar style which a constituent would want to do with his representative, and I claim I have the honor to be represented in part by you. The Boozarn goy upon Virginia has caused great and powerful convulsions in our country. The public mind is boiling like a great cal-trown; and when it shall cease no eye can now discern I am truly sorry the country is deprived of your wise counsel by ill health. But I congratulate the country upon your speedy recovery as I learn from late dispatches.
But I sincerely hope before this reaches you the Democrats and Americans may have united and formed all for the troubled water. But to my object in writing, I am a Cincinnati by birth and education. This county is one of the wealthiest in the State, there are some of the largest slave owners in this and the adjoining counties in the United States, we have a citizen here who owns 2000 slaves. I asked him the other day if he would support you for President, and he said he cheerfully would, if you were the nominee of the Charleston Convention. I might then have turned around to some one who would do or say anything to promote Wise, that Iowa had owned a negro for many years and his reply would be he was afraid to trust you. I have the honor of being the first man to raise your name for President. I have succeeded in getting a good many subscribers here to the Cincinnati Enquirer and am still using my best efforts for it, and when ever I can get a man to read it I am sure of a Douglas man. Though I have met with strong opposition here lately in the friends of H.A. Wise, since Brown's raid, which has elevated Wise for above Hunter. But my object in writing is simply to inform you that you have warm and strong friends here who will use every effort in their power to aid your nomination at Charleston. I have no object in mind or ends to accomplish but the protection of the Union from the hands of the Black Republican Party. I speak plainly you are the only man in the union that can defeat the candidate of the Republican Party. And is a winner between Wise & Hunter. Wise has the preponderance. Wise cannot get the Charleston nominations, and admitting...
he could, he cannot carry a sufficient number of the north and western states to elect him. I tell my people in no way must they choose between you as a Democrat and defender of southern institutions or a Black Hearted Republican. I have calmly and dispassionately viewed the workings of parties and men, and I am firmly convinced you are the most available and, in fact, the only Democrat that can be elected. How Thos. B. Roccock thinks precisely as I do about it, and I hope it will be convenient for him to attend our state convention on the 16th of Feb. If I am not prevented by sickness, I shall be there and give my voice for Douglas. I will also visit Washington. I shall attempt also to go to Charleston if the Wise party are not too strong for me. I expressed you have friends here who will work and work from principle and not for pay. I carried this county for itching, and I hope to carry it for Douglas.

With highest respect your friend,

Sam'l F. Mullins

Horse Pastor, Henry County, Virginia
Rochester, Minnesota Jan 12th 1860

Judge Douglas

Sir,
I do not know that your time or health will allow you to give attention to matters of such easy disposal so as to allow me to write about your county Democrats in our city. With the absence of Republicans, the removal of an Honorable high-minded and efficient Postmaster, who though a Douglas Democrat, attended to the business of his office with but little attention. The office has been removed from the Democratic group to a Republican one, and the Deputy Postmaster, who attends almost exclusively to the office is a Republican, die in the post.

I will also mention that the correspondence for change of office was sound on both sides. Mr. Rice and P. H. Deputy.

Great general disposition with the Democrats exists on account of what they consider the outrageous assessment. Your truly,

[Signature]

Formally of Minnesota, Pts.
F. A. Olds
Rochester
Jan. 12, Minn
In relation to their first office.
Hancock, Maryland
12th January 1866

Dear S. A. Daughters,

I have seen in newspapers notices of the proceedings of a Democratic State convention held a few days since in the State of Illinois.

I should like very much to see the full proceedings of that convention, and it would be under obligations to you if you have a newspaper giving that state containing what you know to be a full and correct statement of the proceedings you would send it to me.

My address, David E. Price, Hancock, Washington County, Maryland.

Yours sincerely,
David E. Price

The receipt of any public documents from you would be esteemed as a favor.
J. B. Price
Hannover
Jan'y 11. Md.
Raking early Persimmons
Liberty Plate
convention.
Indianapolis,
Thursday Evening, May 12th, 1860

My dear Judge,

In our Convention from its organization up to the present moment—every question touching your interest directly or indirectly has been carried in your favor—Instructions to its delegates at the Charleston Convention to cast their vote for you and as a unit—was carried passed by an overwhelming majority as we have already telegraphed you by wire. The Convention is my own and my enthusiastic—it is intuited Douglas and the State if possible men be. Robinson and Willard and a few others disputed any such of ground but acknowledged openly in Convention that no man could mistake the Convention and public sentiment. They tried their hand on Is. Lane, but it was received with great disfavor—Blancham withdrew and Hendrick has been nominated. Bright has been receiving almost with Centurion. There is great rejoicing at the result of the instructions—

Huntington is a delegate—
Every thing has been done in the
most orderly and business like
manner. The new yard of my
mansion as almost certain
and I hope to God it may be
so. I have heard
At an Map Field

Grateley

Mrs. S. A. Douglas
Mrs. S. Biddle
Washington
Ezra Read
Indianapolis
June 12
Indianapolis
Henderson, Ky, Jan'y 13th.

Honor A. Douglas:

I am, with
your kindness, to send
you your reply to Judge Black.

I had the one published in
The State Union, but have
mistaken it. Being what
is turned in this place,
a Douglas man, I have
occasion frequently to refer
to that reply.

Your reply,

J. B. Bailey
Indianapolis: Friday 2
Morning Jan. 12th 60

Mr. S. A. Douglas:

Dear Sir:

Well, we have met the enemy and they are ours, but it required much exertion, management, nerve and pluck. I have not slept eight hours in five days and cannot now write the particulars because of exhaustion. I only write to you as to the character of the delegation to Charleston. The delegates at large are all reliable. In 1st District Smith Savitt is an enthusiastic Douglas man. Smith Miller is administration but by management might be controlled.
In 2nd District, Rowan and Wolfe are entirely reliable. The same is true of Drumming (a talented & influential man) and Harrington of 3rd District. In 4th District, Bemisclaffer is a warm supporter of yours — an original anti-Leconte man — and is a capital political manager whilst Bently whose modesty and action are O.K. and is right in principle might possibly be tampered with. In 5th District, Develin and Fryburgers belong to Robinson. The former threatens to disobey instructions. In 6th District, Talbot is a violent administration's man but as one who is a politician only for the money that can be made by it, is in the market.
Gerry, the other delegate was in East Congress and voted for Lecomptus. 

The 7th Dist. is reliable with Dr. Reed and H.K. Wilson—the latter is a man of wealth and enthusiastic. In 8th Dist. Maj. Elston is straight enough Douglas, whilst Stockton an administration man is pledged in writing, the same way, and is a man of strict integrity and will keep his word. In 9th Dist. both Hathaway and Hall are unyielding friends, the latter having fought chiefly in his own town.

In 10th we made a compromise—got a firm friend and gave them Mr. Hoagland who will abide the instructions. In 11th both an administration leaves is my master's successor, a mail agent. They have been instructed.
Austin H. Brown
Indianapolis

Jan 18, 1860

The delegates to Charleston from Indiana.

by the district delegation which appointed them, but I have not much faith they will abide by it—unless the nomination is almost a certainty. Lefferts is a brother of the California politician and is a complete trickster.

As you are now bored with letters I will conclude this, by assuring you that if any fact be elicited here before the 23rd April, you shall be apprised of it promptly.

Yours truly,

Austin H. Brown
Warrensburg, Mo.
Jan 15th, 1860

S. C. Douglas
My dear Sir:

I am much gratified to see that you are again able to hold your seat in the U.S. Senate, and I am also gratified to know that Mrs. Douglas is fast recovering her health - the American people are all interested in you, and the pride of the great American West have been daily offered up for your speedy recovery, and that your life might be spent for many long years, and that your amicable lady and little called should be blessed with
with health, and long life, to show with yourself the distinguished honor, that the people have in reserve for you, and to comfort you in your declining years.

I permit me to return you my thanks for your past favors, and ask of you a favor in the way of procuring for me a book that I cannot get in this county. I refer to "Mr. Cleghorn's Book for Politicians." If it will get the book for me and send it to me, I will send 

My address, I will be under unlimited obligations to you, besides remitting to you the price of the book.

Any thing that I can do for you or your friends, I will do most cheerfully, and I think the day is near at hand when we shall know the pleasure of fighting you as our standard bearer. The people of this state are in favor of you for President and would give you a much larger vote than any other man in the Union, but we have some politicians too. Here, who would do anything to defeat you, but I think their efforts will be all in vain.

I am Very Respectfully, Your Obt. Servt.

James D. Eads.
Jan. 8. 1863
Warrensburgh, Mo.

Wishes a copy of Cheever's "Hand Book for Politicians"

[Handwritten text continues on the page]
Montgomery, Jan 15th/60

Dear Sir,

I write you from Mobile, our County Committee met with great success, we have repeated at Here on a larger scale in a former spirit. The Court House Delegation came up to claim their seat. The contest was referred to a Court on Credentials, and the Albert men at the Board. Whether backed properly or not it may stand against you & I. They reported against the Democratic delegation upon a single technical point, i.e. that the call for the joint meeting being regular in
a Democratic paper if the Register
the character of the meeting
was determind by the call
of the Cent. It was merc to
think of it. & as, the
ail. I was there before the
Cent. & that the call
was made by the
"Antient party of Illinois"
who umpired the meeting,
I was both me achin,
until the Speaker had
withdrawn in a body.

The secret was that I
in Douglas men, was of
the Dawk Delegation & the
"Mariner" meeting adopted
anti-大纲m the Democrats
resolution.

I took the floor to
defend my right. I
said, with all this force
of carriages, I could

Command what was necessary to
show the atrocities injurious
of this report.

After long and hot debate
the vote came & the
Committee admitted me to
my side by 295 to 150—a
clear majority & 140 votes—
I was sure could endurement
that a man might be a
Democrat, was it not care
to be a Democrat—It was
a strong rebuke to the
Cent.

The next step was to
appoint the Cent. on
platform—The struggle was
between allowing the President
to appoint in the aggregate
Delegation—the party had
just had a cent.

Presidentially appointed
Committee, & by 130 much
I decided to take the house for her.

The Cent. in Matson is at next to-day I will report tonight after the war close.

I think we have a conservative majority if I hope for a good time to our deliberations. The administration came here in a defiant & victorious spirit & gain enemies to more bitter to the bitter end. They have already turned their time. Our side is firm & determined to save the party & country by moderation & excluding all further crimes.

To-day I introduced the model resolutions which cover the Jule Issues.
have been refused to the
Court onPlatform without
debate. But I find line
of the Constitution to
prohibit their speaking with
a Speech.

The Chairman of the Court,
on Credentials in a Speech
against me on account of
my Douglas admitted
that I had provoked a
principle of danger, offset
with my knowing Doctor,
when the public mind
I replied I only wanted
a little more time to
complete the revolution in
favor of truth & justice.
I am cordially dejected
by these violent men,
but they respect me.
character, the justice to my mother, I fear my explanation.

To-night came in the big fight on the resolutions.

I did not deem it expedient to make a struggle for a place in the Convention. I shall pursue the same course in reference to the delegate to Charleston.

I thought it the best way to secure Convention action by the Convention. The make of prejudice has been brothered but not settled yet in it. If you can be made to act

Also, you will yet be noted by a large majority—but you must not lose for her and at Charleston.

The white delegation is composed of ten—7 out of the 10 are Douglas men. James and Percy Parker being of the minority. Yet, to show you how strong is the Convention of prejudice. The Convention believes I am the only Douglas man on it—the truth being concealed—ed, lest the name of our delegate to induce con-

servative action may be compromised if a knowledge of the fact.

I had a letter from Banks to-day—no time to reply now.

Yours truly,

J. G. Cragin.
J. Preston
Montgomery
June 13. Ala
Ala. politics

[Handwritten text]

[Handwritten text]

[Handwritten text]
Columbus June 23, 1837

Hon. S. A. Douglas

City Inf.

I am at the favorable expression by our State Committee with reference to yourself. I hope from their indication as well as this, you are now fully satisfied that your political services, backed as they may be by the entire weight of the Federal party, can no longer prevent our friends from indicating, through their local Committee, as they may do by the action of the President, with the aid of our friends and friends.叻

There are many things incumbent on the national authorities, by the Convention intended, only to accomplish to an extent the done which our people have prepared for your execution. Their large majority wished to see as much weakened as possible, in giving expression of our content which, if it had been given by the President, would have for more sitting and presently to an exercise them in three resolutions which you can doubt how far unpleasant.

Be assured that while you mean faithful, to you.
...position of principle of which I have no least doubt, you have been tried in your fine - you will have the very pity support of the Indian... Allow me to conclude to express my gratification at the conduct of your return, & I hope that you may be successful in the... Country.

[Signature]

[Name]
N. J. Hann
Columbus
Jan 13, Ind
Indiana politics
Barnbridge, 0
Jan 13th 1860

Hon S. A. Douglas Wis.

Dear Sir,

For many years after my removal from Ills to this place I was favored through your kindness with various public attentions. It including the speeches of your self of which I still cherish a great full remembrance.

Within the last year I seem to have dropped been omitted from your list. If convenient with your feelings I should very much like to be remembered.

Yours truly,

A.T. Hettie
Jan. 13, 1860

Charleston S. C.

Jan. 13.


Dear Sir,

While standing in Mayor Thompson's office, No. 3 Bro., Banking Office, Wall Street, yesterday, I noticed that if I could afford the expenses I would attend the Charleston Convention to be held next April for the purpose of nominating a candidate for our next President. I remember also that I was for Stephen A. Douglas, believing him to be the only man in the Democratic ranks who could be elected. Our mutual friend R. W. Saffan, Jr., hearing my remark, came forth, and said, 'What will be the expense?' I answered some forty to fifty dollars, he replied you must go, and I will pay half the expense.' I immediately responded, I will go, Providence permitting. Consequently, I stand pledged to attend the said Convention, although I hardly feel able to bear any of the expenses as I am at present in no regular business and my means quite limited. I have just returned from a tour through Canada, Michigan, Indiana,
and your own adopted state Illinois, and find in my travels a cry for the "Little Giant" the "man" we can elect him and no one else. I went into St. Louis, Mo. I found the same sentiment prevailing. If you can be nominated and believe this can be secured by an extra effort than the desired object is accomplished. I find in my travels that the old line Whigs are becoming almost a man, Douglas Democrat. They say give us Douglas and they will support him, and I say to you that not a stone shall be left unturned on my part to secure that object. I am an action and was at the convention which gave James Buchanan the nomination. If I cannot see the goal I can carry the load, I said to Hon. H. K. Murphy now minister to Hague, that no other man could be elected but James Buchanan if he got the nomination he was sure, this I told Mr. A. between Dunkirk & Erie, having in view your nomination in the future. I find Mr. W. Kathune among your warmest friends of a worthy man of much influence. I have

relatives in New Hampshire your native state, whose influence I can get. and who are Democrats. They are the Broads of Walpole & Newmarket. Mr. Hill of Bellows Falls, C. T. editor & proprietor of Bellows Falls Gazette, I think I can get him to raise the standard for "Douglas," the candidate for the west Presidency. I shall make the effort at any rate that soon. This paper has a good circulation among the Yankees as well as the mechanics I understand. A proper effort at the time in the right way and New Hampshire may have placed another of her sons in the Presidential chair.

I hope to see at the helm of state the original of that beautiful statue, in Springfield Ill. by the great artist. I recall those of Chicago for my friend, Mr. Matheson. No suitable effort shall be witheld on my part to secure this consummation. Any suggestion on your part that may be made (and upon the square) shall be kept as a gem in my heart.

Yours truly. I ever esteem with kind

Brooklyn, N.Y. Jan. 13, 1860

Frank

M. A. Hildreth
Rockford, Ill. 13th Nov. 1860

Hon. S. A. Douglas,
New York.

Our enemies are so subtle
we never see a public document
we have in vain searched for
a copy of Record of Kansas
comitee report. Believing it
would subservice the interests of
the democracy in the future one
of these assertions of our
political enemies, I have
taken the liberty to make the
request of you.

C. C. Hope
LETTER OF GEN. ALMANZON HUSTON,
(OF TEXAS,)

In Reply to General Wool’s Letter,

Dated at Troy, New York, December 31, 1860, addressed to a
friend in Washington, and published in the New
York Herald, and other papers.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 5, 1861.

SIR: I notice a letter dated at Troy, New York, December 31, 1860, headed,
"A Letter from General Wool," in order, I suppose, to draw special notice. I,
therefore, beg leave to notice a few of the charges and specifications in said
letter.

The first charge is, that South Carolina, after thirty years of constant and
unceasing efforts by her leaders to induce her to secede, has declared herself
out of the Union; and that this is done without the slightest wrong or injustice
done her people on the part of the government of the United States. He speci-
fies that before she can get out of their jurisdiction or control, a reconstruc-
tion of the Constitution must be had, or civil war ensue. In the latter case, he says
it would require no prophet to foretell the result. He says that Major Anderson,
being the commander of the harbor at Charleston, had a right to occupy Fort
Sumter. He says that apprehensions are entertained that Major Anderson will
be required to abandon Fort Sumter, and re-occupy Fort Moultrie; but, he says,
surely the President would not surrender the citadel of the harbor of Charleston
to rebels. He then says, if it should be surrounded, which I do not apprehend,
"The smothered indignation of the Free States would be aroused beyond con-
control, and in twenty days two hundred thousand men would be in readiness to
take vengeance on all who would betray the Union into the hands of its enemy." He
likewise charges that all this is only because the freemen of the North had
seen proper to vote for and elect a President whom they considered the best
qualified to fill that office. He then says, that "Those who sow the wind, must
reap the whirlwind." He then specifies, that the South Carolinians could not
have noticed that we live in an age of progress, and that we are making rapid
strides towards freedom. Here he brings in the hero of the nineteenth century
—Garibaldi—as though he expected to send him through the South to free and
give liberty to our slaves! Then he cites the illustrious Franklin, who said:
"Where liberty dwells, there is my country."

Where did Franklin live—where was his country? This principle is too
strongly implanted in the heart and mind of every man in the Free States to be
surrendered, because South Carolina desires it in order to extend the area of
slavery.
Then, after citing all Christianized Europe, and the civilized world, he asks: "Would the separation of the South from the North give greater security to slavery than it now has under the Constitution of the Union?" However much individuals might condemn slavery, he says the Free States are prepared to sustain and defend it as guaranteed by the Constitution. In conclusion, he says: "I would avoid the bloody and desolating example of the Mexican States," and says "he is now and forever in favor of the Union of the States, individually as well as collectively.

I will here state what has led me (not being a politician) to endeavor to answer some of the points in this letter. In the first place, I see it charged that South Carolina has taken this step without just cause or provocation, and in the next place I see that while South Carolina is pursuing a just and honorable course by sending her authorized commissioners to treat and endeavor to arrange the matter in a amicable and peaceable manner, this letter characterizes them as rebels! And here I would ask, has South Carolina been the first under this government to secede?

As early as 1795, at the third session of Congress under the Constitution of the United States, the members of the Eastern States seceded from Congress, and refused to do business with the Southern States, for no other reason than that the Southern members were able to control the vote for the location of the seat of government, and place it on the Potomac instead of at Philadelphia; and they held out for a long time under great excitement throughout the country. Finally, through Washington, Hamilton, and Jefferson, a compromise was effected; and I see by Washington's Farewell Address to the People of the United States, September 17, 1796—six years after this secession—that he says: "In contemplating the causes which may distract our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern. And further on in his address, in speaking of the government, he says: "It is indeed little else than a name, when a government is too feeble to withstand the enterprise of a faction, to enforce each member of the society within the limits prescribed by laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of persons and property."

Now, I would here ask, Has the government been able, or at least has it secured to all the people of these United States their just rights under the Constitution to their persons and property? And when General Washington says that South Carolina has seceded for no other cause than that they had voted for their own choice of a President, I must beg leave to suggest that that is not the cause.

I would here beg leave to say to General Wool and the faction at the North, that we, too, live in an age of progress and reform, and at this day and hour all the conservative influence of the whole United States can acknowledge its executors in its Northern States have done a great wrong to the Southern States by the passage of obnoxious laws, violative of the Constitution of the Union and against the vital interest of the South. Governor Morgan, of the State of New York, in his late message to the Legislature of that State, after enumerating some of the causes that gave rise to the grievances at the South, recommends the repeal of the one which he admits is aleged against his State, being the law in favor of fugitives from service; and he admits that in the case of Trigg, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, the Court decided that all State laws, even though subordinate to the federal enactments, and favorable to the extradition of fugitives, were inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States, and therefore void. He says: "I would respectfully invite all those States which have upon their statutes books any laws of this character, conflicting with the federal Constitution, to repeal them at the earliest opportunity—not upon condition that a more equitable fugitive slave law be passed, nor upon any other conditions, but relying for the proper modification of this enactment upon the justice and wisdom of the federal authorities." He advises the Free States to fulfill their obligations to the Constitution of the United States, tacitly acknowledging that they have not heretofore done so. The Governor of the Keystone State has made the same recommendation to the State of Pennsylvania, and I say that the late Governor of Maine was the first who first proclaimed the doctrine of "Let the Union slide!"—has, in his valiant and nocturnal to the Legislature of that State, recommended the repeal of all of those obnoxious laws.

Is not this action by the executives of the largest and most prosperous States in the Union sufficient to have shown General Wool that South Carolina had some other cause than the voting for their choice of a President? When I speak of South Carolina, I speak of the South, and the whole South; and when I speak of the South, I speak of South Carolina as the cause of the whole South. If the evidence of the great impulse now throughout the Northern States to purge their statute books of all unconstitutional laws and to place themselves right upon their record before the world, is not satisfactory proof that the South has not cause of complaint, let them glance their eyes and the operations at the South under the influences of Northern fanaticism, aided by these obnoxious liberty laws. Let them first follow the emigration of the Emigrant Aid Societies of Massachusetts, who with Sharpe's rifles in hand, prevent the South from having an equal right in the territory of the United States—the Territory of Kansas. Then to the borders of Missouri, where by the "under-ground" railroad, held by Northern capital and under Northern influence, hundreds of negroes have been taken and clandestinely carried through the States of Illinois and Michigan to Canada. Then follow me on to the borders of Texas, where the man of God in sheep's clothing and the wolf in his heart, has advanced upon that frontier with the Bible in one hand and the torch concealed in the other, and his saddle-bags filled with inflammatory documents, and poisons of the deadliest kind to place in the hands of the domestic, with directions to poison the waters of the wells, in order to kill as well the defenseless women and children as those they would fear the more to encounter. Then pass on to some of our once flourishing towns and villages, and there gather from the ashes that now remains the record of their once prosperity, and as you pass on into the heart of the country, you see the snare arising from the fires kindled through and by the same agency, which was organized and set on foot at the North for the purpose of destroying and laying waste one of the finest countries on the face of the earth, and for the ostensible purpose of making it the home of bigotry and fanaticism. Continue on through the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi, and count the hundreds of cotton-gins that have been burned; in the same influence—by men openly and friendly received by the citizens of that country, and taken in and placed into high positions in society, as teachers in their schools and academies, and, like the serpent, when they have become warmed and refreshed, have turned and stung their benefactors. Then pass on through the entire South, and hear the tales of the wrongs which hundreds of the citizens have received at the hands of the Northern States, and in your advance towards South Carolina, pass by Harper's Ferry, and contemplate the John Brown raid. Continue on to Charleston, Virginia, and there view the gallow upon which he and others who had been led into this business by Northern fanaticism expiated their crimes. Pass from thence to Charleston, South Carolina: from here take the first vessel to Boston, Massachusetts. When she lands at that port, you will,
perhaps, discover one or more of the domestics of South Carolina escaping from some dark hole in the vessel. Take him under your especial care, and convey him through the Free States of the North—creating as much sympathy as possible, and making all the collections of money you can under the weight of that sympathy (pocketing the proceeds to remunerate you for your philanthropy)—until you land him safely on the Canadian shore. Here, then, go among the black settlements of that Province, and view the thousands of wretched beings that have been stolen from their protectors and owners, and the Southern laws placed in that position through the instrumentality of Northern fanaticism, aided by those unconstitutional State laws. While they are the most wretched beings upon the face of the earth—their children being brought up in idleness, and groveling in filth and ashes, and upon the point of starvation—their brethren and countrymen in the South are well fed, well clothed, and well cared for, as well in sickness as in health, and they are at this day the happiest people on the face of this God’s earth.

Now, after reviewing these causes, no sane man will say that South Carolina has no other subject of complaint than that the freemen of the North had voted for the man for President that they considered the best qualified to fill that office.

Perhaps the reader, by this time, may be anxious to learn my politics. If so, I beg leave to refer him to the most venerable President of these once United States. I had the honor of calling on him on the 1st day of January, 1861, in passing on from room to room, at length found myself in his venerable presence. As he stood there, surrounded by a body of people, he looked more like a saint than a living being. His hair was as white as snow, his face looking pale and careworn, and he appeared to be in a deep study, and to be absorbed in deep meditation, while the people passed by him in dead silence taking his hand and giving it a slight shake, and many were passing him without even taking his hand. At my proper time I advanced and gave him my hand and announced my name and State, and said to him: “Sir, I hope you may be able to save this Union without the shedding of blood.” He made an appropriate response, which satisfied me that that was his purpose.

From the Daily Globe of January 4, 1838, we understand the meaning of the President to be, that we live under two distinct, separate, independent, and limited governments: one the State governments, respectively, and the other the general government. Each of these governments has its powers, which, without usurpation, on the one side or the other, can never come in conflict. If the general government attempts to exercise no powers other than those which are plainly delegated, and the State none which are not clearly reserved, there can be never be any conflict between them. To one the people owe allegiance to the extent of the power delegated to it, and to the other to the extent of the powers reserved to it.

Many are led into error by the theory that there can be but one government over the same people. Thus misled, they have considered the State and general government only as different parts of the same government. There is an absurdity in the existence of two unlimited governments over the same people, but not so of limited governments. The people of the several States have first taken from their State governments, by restrictions in their constitutions, certain powers which are vested in no other government but reserved to themselves. Thus were their governments limited. They then took from those governments another set of powers which they vested in the general government, created to be their depository. Thus were the State governments further limited, but the vesting of these powers in another set of agents created another limited government.

These two governments embracing different powers, and having different objects to accomplish, and as independent of each other as if they embraced different territories, cannot, within the limits of its powers, there can be no conflict between them, any more than between two nations, each of which remains within its own borders. But when the general government marches over into the powers of the States, or the States invade those of the general government, then comes heart-burnings, discontent, contentions and perhaps civil war.

Has the right of the State governments of the Southern States, collectively or individually, been respected or protected by the general government of the Union? Has not the government of the several Northern States more or less, for the last quarter of a century, been committing depredations upon the Southern States, and against the Constitution of the Union, without any effort on the part of the general government to coerce them? Then have not the Southern States a right just to fall back upon their reserved State rights, and upon the Constitution of the United States, which they have never violated, and to obtain under it such a government as will place them in the security of their persons and property? I contend that they have. When we see them driven to that point by a quarter of a century’s oppression, by over half the States of the Union, in robbing them of their dearest rights; and when there can no longer be security granted them for their persons and property; and when the general government fails to protect them, and the lives of their wives and children are no longer safe in the Union, it becomes their bounden duty under the Constitution to remodel such a government as will give them that security. When South Carolina had through her people in convention assembled to deliberate upon that great and just measure, and when, after due deliberation, had declared herself no longer a member of this Union; and when in a peaceful manner she had set forth to the world her just reasons for her course; and when she had taken every precaution to endeavor to accomplish all this in a respectful and peaceful manner by sending her legally authorized agents to the seat of the general government, in order to treat with and endeavor to bring about an amicable separation, or to secure her rights and the rights of the South under the general government, and after assurances had been exchanged that all should remain as it was at that time, and that no hostile movements should be made in the harbor of Charleston on either side until an effort was made, and what is the next act in the great drama? After the President had informed the commissioners, or after they had arrived at the seat of government, the astounding news is flashed through upon the wings of electricity that Major Anderson had abandoned Fort Moultrie, and taken up his position at Fort Sumter; and that before doing so he had spiked the cannon left at Fort Moultrie, and had burned the carriages in order to prevent their being easily remounted.

Now, will any sane military man attempt to say this was not an act of hostility on the part of the general government towards South Carolina, besides being a great breach of faith in a military as well as in a civil point of view? It appears very evident from Secretary Floyd’s letter to the President and Cabinet—saying that “he could not, with honor to himself, consent to remain longer in the Cabinet unless Major Anderson should be directed to re-occupy Fort Moultrie”—all the efforts that can be made on the part of the government to cover up and to screen Major Anderson from a breach of military faith and honor, cannot accomplish that end among military men, the opinion of General Scott to the contrary notwithstanding.

Are we not Major Anderson required in good faith to re-occupy Fort Moultrie, and to quiet all apprehensions on the part of the aggrieved and the weaker party? Under the circumstances, would it not have been magnanimous to have done so? Surely it would. But about this time we see it announced
in the public points that General Scott approves of the course taken by Major Anderson, accompanied by the declaration that if Major Anderson was required to recapture Fort Moultrie, he (General Scott) would resign his commission. Here is a broad threat thrown out by the highest military officer of the government, that if she attempts to redeem her pledged faith, and to compel an officer of the army to respect the civil as well as the military laws of the country, he will lay down his commission.

Next in order you see the second highest military chieftain in command come out with a letter to his friend in Washington. Speaking of Fort Sumter, he says, "If, however, it should be surrendered to South Carolina, the threatened indignation of the Free States would be aroused beyond control, and in twenty days two hundred thousand men would be in readiness to take vengeance on all who would betray the Union into the hands of its enemies. Now who was this threat intended for? Surely, for the President and the government of the United States, who, it was said, was about to make good their pledge with South Carolina, and restore Major Anderson to the command of Fort Moultrie. When I contemplate these actions on the part of the highest military chieftains of our country, and take into consideration the age and infirmity of the President, I do not wonder so much that I found him in the condition I did on the 1st day of January.

Had there been no interference on the part of the military of the country, I doubt not but the President, aided by a conservative Cabinet, would have been able to conduct this matter with honor to themselves and with credit to the government, without the shedding of the first drop of American blood, and to have restored the Union, and placed it upon a much firmer basis than it had ever been seen. But taking the present course, they have severed the wind, and must reap the whirlwind," according to the language of General Wool. How magnanimous it would have been for this great government, the greatest and freest in the world, to have soothed the commissioners of South Carolina, if Major Anderson did not, perhaps, properly understand the wishes of the President and Cabinet, in relation to the occupancy of the forts in the harbor of Charleston, and a proper explanation will be made to him, and he will return to Fort Moultrie, and we will in the meantime endeavor to bring about an amicable understanding, and try and save this Union." How magnanimous, I say, it would have been! There could not certainly have been any disgrace to this great and true government in that course.

But the die is now cast, and, there no longer remains any hope of a compromise. The wind is already sown, and the whirlwinds are fast gathering, while the President elect is resting on his ears, (he is said to be a boodman!) and when every eye is turned upon him and his party leaders, imploring him to speak and give comfort to the country, they remain in silence, pledged to each other to carry out the "irrepressible conflict" between the North and South.

Under this state of things, the South are advancing on steadily in their progress of self defense. Had Major Anderson thought it more convenient for him to have occupied Fort Sumter than Fort Moultrie, and had he made no secret of his movement in changing his position, but passed from one Fort to the other in open day, and not have spiked the cannon and burned the carriages of the guns in order to cripple the Fort, his conduct might be more excusable; but the moment he spiked the first gun in that Fort under the then existing circumstances, he committed a hostile act against the authorities of South Carolina, and against the pledged faith of his government. When I see military officers, of a high standing order in a government like this, undertake to dictate to the civil authorities, I tremble for the safety of my country; and I embrace this opportunity to say that if military operations are brought to bear upon the questions now agitating this country, and one battle is fought upon American soil, and between American citizens, this country will never again be united under one and the same government. I beg leave further to say, that coercion on the part of the general government against a State government, with a military armed force, would be worse than madness; and further, that this government will and must be remodeled, and that upon the Constitution of the Union pure and undefiled as it came from the hands of our fathers. The South asks for no better Constitution, and only asks for it to be carried out according to its letter and spirit.

When that great military chieftain of this country talks about the "muttered indignation of the people of the Free States," what may he think of the indignation of the people of the Southern States after thirty years' oppression by the North? Should the threatened two hundred thousand men—composed of the fiery elements of Fanaticism, Abolitionism, and Bigotry—though they should be commanded by the man who in their unbounded freedom they have seen fit to elect as their President and leader, and with William H. Seward as their adjutant general, and Horace Greeley as their camp-sullyman, and the Right Reverend Henry Ward Beecher as their chaplain, and though they be armed with daggers to the teeth, and may screw up their courage sufficient to invade our country and set their feet upon Southern soil—we will meet them! and there shall not one return to tell the tale.

But, if an army of five hundred thousand men, (instead of the two hundred thousand threatened,) composed of the honest yeomanry of the Northern and Western States, and commanded by the "Garibaldi of America," should advance towards us, we would meet them at the borders in open column, with a sturdy servant of South Carolina bearing aloft a flag as pure and white as the driven snow, not only as a flag of truce but as an emblem of peace. With our right hand we would present to them the Constitution of these once United States, having kept it pure and undefiled as it came from the hands of the fathers; and with our left we would present them the great Book of knowledge, inspiration, light, and life. Having loosed the seal of that great Book, we would read to them the sixth chapter of Paul's first epistle to Timothy. We would then lay aside the Book, and spread upon it the parchment containing the Constitution of the Union; and we would negotiate with the representatives of the army in the formation of a government and Union upon that Constitution which would guarantee "equal laws and equal rights," and bind these States in a ten-fold firmer bond of love and Union than ever heretofore existed between them, and a government that would last through all ages.

Most respectfully, &c.,

A. HUSTON.

TO GENERAL WOOL.
Washington, May 13th, 1851

I have thought something of this nature might be of use for their use in order to check Military Occupation as well as the maintenance of Convict until a suitable care have been put into place.

If this document meets your approval it would not be work from one to write its transmission in the Nation for the Nation itself. Help to have towards humbug. This is now it's to get out of here. Judge.
New York, January 3, 1861

Although a young man familiars with political questions from an early age, I received the doctrine and principles of the Democratic Party as infallible. Among others, there is one I supposed to be of undoubted purity, taught and inculcated on the mark and file as orthodox by the representatives of the party of the South, as well as other sections of our country. Namely, that Congress had no power to legislate for the territories that that clause in the Constitution relating to the power of Congress to make all needful rules and regulations for the territories had reference only in the sense that any man would have in the regulating and guarding his own private property. Such is the doctrine I had supposed to be one of the pillars on which our party stood. Following this principle the Senate include that when Congress disposes of its territorial property, it certainly loses all control over such portions as are devoted away.
A country where there is no law.

The first question that claims their attention is the organisation of a government and in which the property may be protected. I claim they have the sole constitutional right to form such government. The Constitution is founded on the power of legislation to certain purposes by the national tribunal among them all the same power given to Congress to 'Make necessary rules and regulations for the government of the people living under the Constitution.' Such power being wanting, I claim for the people that power under the Constitution, as well as the amendment and which says, 'The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.'

I claim the privileges of the common law and the bills arrived at one of the grand surveys by

James C. W. Ancill

Well written, signed by

11th May 18__
Jno. C. McIntire's
M. S.
Jan'y 11
Asking gretion
New York. Jan'y 17th

Mr. Stephen H. Douglas

Yr. will much oblige one of yr. many friends if you will send China paper autograph a few lines of which will permit me to return a - will be much appreciated. Please address

Jack H. Marvin
Box 161
New York
Fairland
Shelby County
Indiana

My Dear Sir,

I now have the pleasure of saying to you that our State Convention has
adopted our Labor, and that my most Sanguine expectation have been fully met; your Labor invaded
We have placed resolutions in Indiana,
for your as the choice of the Indiana Democracy.

at Charleston as our Candidate for the Presidency

for the Great Conflict of 1860—

I have not words at this time
to express to you my Congratulations, at the
accomplishments of this much desired very

Happily Result. With the hope that the same

Sleepe may attend our Labor at Charleston

I remain, dear Sir,

Ever gratefully and faithfully yours,

[Signature]

Washington City

[Signature]
I. Odell

Jan 13. Ind

Speeches
Washington, June 3rd

Senator Douglas,

Dear Sir,

You will

confer a great favor

on me by sending

me a copy each of the

Smithsonian Report and

the Patent Office Report. I oblige you

most humbly in the

support of

A.M. Price

Grand Je tour

Ogle Co.

Illinois
Newton, N. J. Jan 19, 1860

Dear Sir,

I dislike to trouble you with letters in the midst of your multiplied engagments, and yet I cannot avoid communicating some intelligence in a letter from a prominent N.Y. City politician, intimate with the Tammany leaders. He communicates a dispatch from Frankfort Ky giving the result of their convention, described as being unanimous & enthusiastic for Guthrie, and urging one very strongly to aid in carrying N.Y. for Guthrie. In the course of his letter he says: "the first great step towards the nomination of Mr. Guthrie has thus been successfully taken. Judge Douglas is out of the question. Conservative men of all parties have put Guthrie in the man. I am sure that he has the New York delegation."

I communicate this on an account of the last sentence: he alludes of course to the Tammany, or Anti-McClellan delegation.

I have reason to believe that he is very
intimate with the leaders of that delegation, it is likely as any one to know their inside views, whether he is dealing frankly, or not, I cannot say.

The intelligence from the N.W. is very cheering. Did the Ohio & Ind. Convention appoint all the delegates, or only those for the State at large?

Before the Convention meets it will become clear to all impartial men that if you do not nominate a Republican, I will be elected, and this convention well bring to your support, the army of office-holders and no-office men, and overcome that resistance which this administration a year or a year and a half by labors to produce in the minds of the masses of the party, especially through the press, when the South sees clearly the alternative of a Republican or yourself, they will not hesitate long except the Democrats submit to have their own plans, such as a Know-Nothing elected.

With you for our candidate. I will guarantee 2,000 majority in this county, with no outside pecuniary aid, being as much as it pays since, or 200 more than to Buchanan, and large gains in our other Democratic Co.

But while I shall do everything in my power for your nomination, if nominations for your election, will not vote for any one standing on the feet of the Free Soil platform. I mean will aid in making our Government instrument for the extinction of slavery. It should be prevented. I may feel constrained to join an active aid to the Reform nominee if they leave the Wheaton Provision out of their platform. I have feeling a conviction in this new idea started by the South so strong that I will soon surrender the same at the bidding of any Convention.

I was strongly opposed to the repeal of the alien Conspiracy Act (not that I depart from the principles of popular sovereignty as advocated by you, but most cordially endorse it as the only way to secure results to the Country,) but I believe it an independent opinion of the question, and I am far to ask acknowledgment that, keeping very intimate with Senator Thomson, a sharing many of his opinions & prejudices, I had, from the time of its repeal up to Dec. 1867, become strongly prejudiced against
yourself, but the events of the last two years have brought a complete revolution in my opinions & feelings. They have demonstrated that from beginning to end you was guided only by devotion to principle, and not, as I was at one time induced to believe, by a desire to conciliate the South. I judge others by myself, & judging thus conclude that with you for our nominee we can carry every Free State except Maine, N. H. Mass. R. I. Vermont, & Michigan, with an even chance for Illinois, N. H. & Michigan, & your prospects in the Free States would be increased if some of the abolitionists should bolt & nominate another candidate; at all events you would receive such a large vote in the Free States as that we could easily do without the vote of annexes of the Slave States. The reason why I do not fear the election of a Repul. Speaker is that it would pretty aid in convincing our politicians that they must nominate you, or have a Repul. Party.

I expect my friends Thomas J. the Carter of this place will be in Washington next week on his return from a trip South. He is a lawyer of ability, very high character, one of my strongest backers in our anti-Secompson fight & a warm friend of yours. I presume he will of course call on you, & I mention it that you may know something about him. With great respect, Your obt. Serv.

[Signature]

Martin Ryman