

Answer. Mainly, I would say, in their internal, social polity, and their apprehension from the general consolidating tendencies of the doctrines and principles of that political party which had recently succeeded in the choice of a President and Vice President of the United States. It was the serious apprehension that if the republican organization, as then constituted, should succeed to power, it would lead ultimately to a virtual subversion of the Constitution of the United States, and all its essential guarantees of public liberty. I think that was the sincere, honest conviction in the minds of our people. Those who opposed secession, did not apprehend that any such results would necessarily follow the election which had taken place; they still thought that all their rights might be maintained in the Union, and under the constitution, especially as there were majorities in both Houses who agreed with them on constitutional questions."

In the further examination of Mr. Stephens as to "the considerations or opinions which led him to identify himself with the rebellion, so far as to accept the office of Vice President of the Confederate States," he said, "I believe thoroughly in the reserved sovereignty of the several States of the Union, under the compact or constitution of 1787," and proceeded to give his reasons for following the fortunes of his State.

In reply to the question, "Have your opinions undergone any change?" &c., Mr. Stephens said, "My convictions on the original abstract question have undergone no change, but I accept the issues of the war and the result as a practical settlement of the question. The sword was appealed to, to decide the question, and by the decision of the sword I am willing to abide."

There are some historical facts connected with "the original abstract question," which ought to be considered in connection with the question of punishment of those who held the obnoxious opinions. And first, that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the absolute sovereignty of the several States was universally conceded.

The constitution was framed by delegates of only twelve of the thirteen States of the confederation. By the terms of the constitution, the ratification of nine States was sufficient for the establishment of the constitution between the States so ratifying the same. Eleven States ratified the constitution, elected a Congress, President and Vice President; and on the 30th of April, 1789, "President Washington was sworn into office, and the Government then went into full operation in all its departments." North Carolina had refused to ratify the constitution without previous amendments and declaration of rights; and Rhode Island had declined to call a convention to consider the question of ratification. Thus the present Union, under the constitution, consisted originally of eleven States. North Carolina became a member of this