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BALTO

All communications about to addressed to the Publishers a VOL. I.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1861.

The South.

From the Richmond Examiner.

ADDRESS OF

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY TO THE PROPLE OF KENTUCKY:

By your representatives in the last Legislature you conferred on me the commission of Senator in the Congress of the United States. In March last, when my term of service began, the Union had been dissolved by the withdrawal of seven States, which the policy of coercion has since increased to twelve States. At that time a majority of the people of Kentuckyktill cherished the hope of a peaceful re-union. : attorwards, when the Covernment at Wast ... commenced that series of nsurpations which has now left nothing of the Federal Constitution, and resolved on a war of cure union and brotherhood, you determined to take no part in the war, but to protect your liberties by a position of armed neutrality. This decision was expressed by a large majority of the people at the election in May

I had opposed this policy before the election, but afterwards, in common with the great mass of those with whom I had acted, I acquiesced your expressed will, and have maintained it as the fixed attitude of Kentucky. In obedience, as suppose, to your wishes. I proceeded to Washington, and at the special session of Congress, in July, spoke and roted against the whole war policy of the President and Congress; demanding, in addition, for Kentucky, the right to refuse not men only, but money also to the war, for I would have blushed to meet you with the confession that of the battle-field, and the shame of waging war against your Southern brethren by hiring others to do the work you shrank from performing. During that memorable session, a very small body of Senators and Representatives, even beneath the shadow of a military despotism, resisted degree of dignity and firmness, they will willing-

ly submit to the judgment of the world. Their efforts were unavailing-yet they may prove valuable hereafter as another added to former examples of manly protest against the progress of tyranny.

surrender. I do not resign because I think I have misrep- | the neurpers. resented you. On the contrary, I believe that my votes and speeches in the Senate have expressed pardon me if I add a few words in reference to the lot-box I resign because there is no place left Constitution of the United States has been destroy- by a fear of military force, rather than by a perwhere a Southern Senator may sit in council with | ed, and by no act of Kentucky. The power she | verse design to violate the will of their constitumeaning and spirit of the Constitution.

the Southern Blates, and while there was a hope with the right to choose her own destiny. She tember sanctioning the cutrance of Gen. Anderthat the rupture might be healed, it might be as- | may join the North | She may join the South. She | son's forces, were accompanied by one declaring | sumed that the Union was not yet dissolved, and may poise herself on her own centre, and be neu- that no person should be touched in his life, libsuch was the position of Kentucky in declaring trail. In every form by which you could give di- erty or property on account of his political opin- neutral and mediate in the interests of peace her neutrality and offering her mediation between rect expression to your will, you declared for neu- ions. Yet, on the very day, I believe, that these when an opportunity should offer. This is the and Travellers, \$1. the contending parties. But time has now claps- traity. A large majority of the people, at the resolutions passed, the agents of the General Gov- recorded will of the State as expressed by the ed, and mighty events have occurred, which ban- May and August elections, voted for the neutrali- ernment seized the printing establishment of the people. But those who assume to represent you STATE OF MISSOURI. Price 25 cents. ish from the minds of all reasonable men all ex- ty and peace of Kentucky. The press, the public Louisville "Courser," the only offence of whose have violated that will. They have attempted to pectation of restoring the Union. Coercion has speakers, the candidates, with exceptions in favor proprietor was, that he criticised with freedom the burden you with enormous taxes to prosecute a been tried and has failed. The South has mus- of the Government at Washington so rare as not usurpations of the Government at Washington. war you abhor, and to sustain a government) tered in the field nearly as many combatants as to need mention, planted themselves on this posi- At the same time, and ever since, citizens of Ken- which has trampled under foot every safeguard of the North, and has been far more victorious. — tion. You voted for it, and you meant it. You tucky have been imprisoned or compelled to fly a Constitution which was the only bond of our and Lexington, have worked with a sanguinary nority acquiesced in good faith, and at home and there was no accusation but of holding opinions allowed that Government to cut you off from the

them. The constitutional compact which created Government has confirmed your original purpose. turned this State over to the possession of a Fed-ment, and they have seen, with complacency, and upheld the old Union is at an end. A large Look now at the condition of Kentucky, and see eral military force, or betrayed the people by these foreign soldiers seize, imprison and pursue and upneted the original and additional parties how your expectations had been realized—how throwing the State into the arms of Mr. Lincoln, hundred of your tellow-citizens—fugitives, with—for Ladies, Misses and Masters, and have withdrawn from it. So large a number that | these promises had been redeemed. under such circumstances no court has ever de- arms belonging to the whole people were illegally out an outery that would have pierced the without consulting you, and against your recordcided a contract to be binding between the remaining parties, or attempted to enforce its execution.

and secretly introduced by order of the President | skies, the indignities and outrages which have | ed wishes to place you in active hostility to your | for Ladies and Juniors. Gentlemen's Class the Southern brethern, and to fix your political | same night. For particulars, call as above. The Constitution requires positively that each the false pretence that they needed them for pro- Fellow-citizens, you have to do now, not with dealing with the North. State shall have at least one representative in tection against their own fellow-citizens. This this fragment of a Legislature, with its freeson Congress, but now twelve States have none: that was the first violation. twelve States have none; that all duties, imposts soldiers and establish camps in our midst, and woeful neglect of every right of the Kentucky citi- body, other than one elected by your sovereign These Coals I can recommend.

has become impossible. to appoint electors, and requires a majority of the dition of tranquility and peace. No indications suppressed the freedom of speech and of the press. Northern invaders shall be sent back across the and the President, sustained by a great army, ment of ambition, was brought into play.

whelds unlimited power.

against searches and seizure without warrant or | Louisville of all parties, that just before that meet | rights. I would have been transported beyond soldier. law, the sanctity of the home, the trial by jury, | ing of the Legislature, a member of the Washing the State, to languish in some Jederal fortress, posed they had locked up in the Constitution have | maintained, that the Government preferred her in their distant and gloomy prison. been torn from it and buried beneath the beel of | tility to neutrality, and that Kentucky must tion, placed rigid boundaries around that Gov- the war. Your wishes, fellow-citizens, had been the Federal Government the power to destroy their Kentucky sympathizers.

cers are seized while in the discharge of their . Hi- and stood ready at any moment to with was cial duties, taken beyond the limits of their respective States and imprisoned in the forts of the Federal Government. A subservient Congress gislation do not contain laws so infamous as those enacted at the last ression. They sweep away every vestige of public and personal liberty, while gislature. A majority of them, instead of pro- Mr. Lince from North, and most of them forthey configure the property of a nation contain- tecting the rights and persons of the citizens, have nearly all ing ten millions of people. In the flouse of Rep- either voluntarily or under duress been engaged resentatives it was declared that the South should in sustaining the usurpations of the Federal Gov- do these t be reduced to "abject submission," or their insti- ernment, in passing bills of pains and penalties listed under I had purchased for you exemption from the perils tutions be overthrown. In the Senate it was said to terrify a spirited people into servitude, in dethat, if necessary the South should be depopulated | priving the Governor of his just constitutional and re-peopled from the North, and an eminent authority and in abdicating their share of the Senator expressed a desire that the President Government by formally inviting a Federal milishould be made a dictator. This was superfluous, | tary force to take possession of the State, well since they had already clothed him with dictato- knowing as they did that this military force rial powers. In the midst of these proceedings, | would supersede the State Government. Of that | the usurpations of the Executive, and with what no plea for the Constitution is listened to in the body nearly one-fourth have retired because of the North; here and there a few heroic voices are fee- military occupation of the State and the seizure. bly beard protesting against the progress of des- | imprisonment, pursuit and exile of many of the potism, but for the most part, beyond the military | most eminent and patriotic citizens of the State lines, mobs and anarchy rule the hour.

The great mass of the Northern people seem anxious to sunder every safeguard of freedom; On my return to Kentucky, at the close of the they eagerly offer to the Government what no Eulate special session of Congress, it was my purpose | ropean monarch would dare to demand. The immediately to resign the office of Senator. The President and his Generals are unable to pick up verbal and written remonstrances of many friends | the liberties of the people as rapidly as they are | number for a quorum, but are they free? For has arrived to carry it into effect, and accordingly | Constitution which, if respected, might have been And in this connection, since the Government | many generations. When the historian comes to at Washington has thrown a drag-net over the | investigate the cause of this result, he will record whole surface of society, to collect proof against | the fact that no department of the Federal Govindividuals of connection with the Government of ernment has ever exhibited a case of aggression the Consederate States, and since a portion of the by the Southern States upon their Northern assocorrespondence, recently seized at Philadelphia by | ignorance or disregard upon the part of the latter, the Federal authorities, will convict me of political | of the true principles of a confederacy, to longerimes, I deem it due to you and to myself to de. | continued and flagrant violations of the Constituclare that I have not done or said anything incon- | tion, to avarice, fanaticism and general corrupsistent with the relations I have borne to the State | tion. Against all these usurpations I projected and to the Federal Government, be which could and at the and at the and never and neve water, and never again will's files is bouncil with | hand, we know that these resolutions and laws restoration of the Union under the

And now, fellow-citizens, I am sure you will your deliberate will as attested through the bal- condition of our State and my own course. The at Frankfort, or a majority of them, are actuated the Senators of the North. In truth, there is no delegated in that instrument to the Federal Gov- ents, and degrade the State to the condition to longer a Senate of the United States within the erument had rested to her, and any exercise of which it is attempted to bring down Missouri and power over her by that Government without her Maryland. If anything were wanting to strength-The United States no longer exists. The Union | consent is usurpation | In the wreck of the federal | en this view, it will be found in attendant events. | is dissolved. For a time after the withdrawal of system, she exists an independent commonwealth, The resolutions they adopted on the 8th of Sep-The fields of Manassus and Bethel, of Springfield were promised it, and you expected it. The mi- from their homes and families, against whom political connection with it, while they have line the division between the old order of things abroad this was recognized as the fixed position of either untriendly to Mr. Lincoln's Government or only avenues of trade which would enable you to the State. It was taken at the beginning of hos- friendly to neutrality. It is impossible to sup- pay these taxes. They have invited a military It is the right of Kentucky and her peculiar tilities, and it is but reasonable to infer that every pose that a free Kentucky Legislature, in view of force of that Government to take possession of the duty to recognize these great facts and to act on subsequent act of outrage by the Washington recent proceedings in other States, would have State, and practically supersede the State Govern-

and excises shall be uniform throughout the Federal money was lavishly expended, in the zen; but you have to deal with a power which voice for that purpose, has the right, in this great United States, but now in more than one-third of hope to demoralize and corrupt the people. A respects neither Constitution nor laws, and which, them none are or can be collected. Commerce studied system of deception was practised as long if successful, will reduce you to the condition of ture. The people, although taken by surprise, cannot be regulated between the respective States. as possible on the people. For a time it was de- prostrate and bleeding Maryland. Gen. Ander-) Uniform rules of naturalization and bankruptcy | nied that they were Federal camps, and it was son, the military dictator of Kentucky, announces | cannot be adopted. Post-offices and post-roads. said that they were merely voluntary assemblies in one of his proclamations that he will arrest no in nearly half the States have been given up, and of Kentuckians for their own protection and that one who does not act, write or speak in opposition by those who have plunged the State into her in the state of the state in th a preference is given to the ports of one State over of the State. These monstrous falseboods have to Mr. Lincoln's Government. It would have present unhappy condition, is the strongest proof

latter to elect; but more than one-third of the existed anywhere of internal disorder. But now They seize people by military force upon mere sus-States refuse to appoint, and hence no election the people, becoming alarmed at these proofs of a picion, and in que upon them oaths unknown to troops from abroad, and the people of Kentucky, can be made in the people. If the election goes | purpose to force Kentucky into the war, began to | the laws. Other citizens they imprison without | to the House of Representatives, the Constitution asemble in great mass-meetings and to demand warrant, and carry from out of the State, so that requires that it hast two-thirds of the States shall | loudly the promised neutrality | The Washington | the writ of habeas common reach them. be represented in that body. The Constitution Government, however, and its abettors in Ken- Every day foreign armed bands are making. For those who, denied by the Legislature the can no longer be asset to the for it requires three- tucky, supposing their schemes to be ripe for exe- seizures among the people. Hundreds of citizens, protection due to the humblest citizen, have been fourths of the States to certain and more than one- cution, now resolved to have what they called old and young, venerable magistrates, whose delivered over to the tender mercies of foreign third of the States have with Irawn from the Con- "active loyalty." About this time the Legislature lives have been distinguished by the love of the mercentries, and hunted like partridges on the federacy. All the safeguards provided for by the met, and the drama there moved rapidly on. The people, have been compelled to fly from their mountains, what remains but imprisonment, exile States in the instrument, still farther to secure | camps were avowed to be Federal camps. The | homes and families to escape imprisonment or resistance? As one of them, I intend to resist. public and personal liberty, have been destroyed. guns which had been clandestinely and illegally and exile at the hands of Northern and German I will avoid conflict with Kentuckians, except in The three departments of the Februl Governe introduced, now called out to maintain "active soldiers, under the orders of Mr. Lincoln and his necessary self-datence, but I will unite with my ment, which were carefully separated and their loyalty." Federal officers began to swarm among subordinates. While yet holding an important fellow-citizens to resist the invaders who have

Judicine Verrant, the right of a citizen to have his stood fully revealed, while the people, whose on- that I would have welcomed an arrest to be fol- domestic ease, or property, or life, I exchange, body brought before a judge to determine the le- | ly error had been their generous credulity, stood | lowed by a judge and jury; but you well know | with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the

them-ret the creature has set itself above the The pretended reason for the military occupa- lature, Speaker of the House, P. spressertative ! creator. The atrocious doctrine is announced by I tion of the State, founded on the occupation of Congress from the Ashiand District, and Governthe President and acted upon that the States de- Columbus by Confederate troops, is uncanded and or of the State, you have known, trusted and rive their power from the Federal Covernment, false. For besides the fact that the invasion of honored him, during a public service of a quarand may be suppressed on any pretence of milita- Kentucky was a foregone conclusion at Washing- Azer of a century. ry necessity. The gallant little State of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affility, his amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affiliation | amichle of Mary- | ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms | affiliation | amich | amic land has been utterly abolished. Missouri is en- in our midst to invade Tennessee, it is notorious lift. Yet this indictment, without gaged in a heroic struggle to preserve her exist that General Grant lest Cairo to seize Paducah wakrant, without Accusation, but by the order of tence and to throw . If the horrors of martial law | before the occupation of Columbus, while in taking | President Lines ... was reized at midnight, in his proclaimed by a subordinate military commander. | the latter place the Confederate troops anticipated own, house, at i in the midst of, his family, was Everywhere the civil has given way to the mill- the Federal troops by less than an hour. For led through the streets of Louisville, as I am intary power. The fortrews of the country of further proof of the insincerity of the false clamor form the bands crossed and pinioned besubjugation against the withdrawing States to te- filled with victims seized without warrant of Br. shoul the invasion from Tennessee, the Confeder for the State and district

The legislators of States, and other public 66. that he occupied Columbus purely in self-delle simultaneously with the Federal forces. To say that the Washington Government had a right to invade the State, is to say that you had no right ? ratifies the usurpations of the President, and pro- | to be neutral, and to submit to the invasion from | ceeds to complete the destruction of the Constitu- a power which has effected every vestige of the tion litstory will declare that the annals of le- Constitution, would be to bow in the dust and L.

surrender to a simple despotism. It is not necessary to say much about the Leby that military force. The voice of these members can no longer be heard in the councils of the furnishing the month tucky remains the Ken-State, nor their votes be taken. The Legislature is thus, to say the least of it, a mutilated depart-

ment of the State Government. It is true that that there remains a sufficient the expectations of the people.

It is more charitable to believe that the members ! to be used for Southern subjugation, or consented out a crime-over the plains and mountains of First, by the aid of some citizens of the State, to the suppression of the press, or suffered, with-

bills and tax bills, with its woeful subscrytency to the members at Frankfort, they have exceeded U Next, Federal military officers began to recruit every demand of the Federal despotism, and its their authority. No legislative assembly or other those of another. Even the election of a President | since been freely exposed. This was the second | completed the idea if he had added, or think in op- of their condition that but for the presence of these | position to it. Look at the condition of our State | soldiers, the action of the members at Frankfort | The Constitution is mandatory on all the States | Previous to those events the State was in a con- under the rule of our new protectors. They have would be repudiated by the people. When the

boundaries defined, have been merged into one, us. Every appliance of corruption, every allure- political trust, confided by Kentucky, I was com- driven us from our homes. To this course we pelled to leave my home and family, or suffer im- are impelled by the highest sense of duty, and the Presently a Federal army was in possession of prisonment and exile. If it is asked why I did irresistible instincts of manhood. To defend your The issumption of persons from arrest with mt . large portions of the State, and the conspiracy not meet the arrest and seek a trial, my answer is. | birthright and mine, which is more precious than A

gality of his imprisonment, the security provided | thoroughly betrayed. It is known to citizens all that I could not have secured these constitutional | Senate of the United States, for the musket of a

The case of the gentleman Just mentlooed i ernment, and expressly reserved to themselves all spurned and you have been thrown into this vor- occur in England, it would be eighted. () would pure motives. powers not delegated. They did not delegate to tex by the Government at Washington, aided by overturn the British Empire. Te is \$. Itizen and native of Kentucky. As a mo. or for the legis-

and ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment. rate commander secondered to rour authorities acres for prisoner in a fortress in New York W, a thousand miles away. Do you think any free legislature assembled in Keptstky a)co the days (Charles Scott and Fac Shelby, il bow, wout have permitted such ishonor the State No! Fellow- Tens, the A slature could not be to how tire

louid speak of these things with the simple Abity which their magnitude demands, yet it Rault to restrain the expression of a just inmbon n while we smart under such enormities. dignation of has thousands of soldiers on our soil, demploys as his instruments to ! But few Kentuckians bare enandard, for we are not yet acculiar form of liberty.

· the disgraceful subject. Has out of the control of ber own ·lings of the pen, recently im-] cth, sitting in grand security ? e public opinion to approve! and point out victims? Shall he children of the men who? of the Commonwealth, and / laid the foundatity ple to exhaust themselves in CASH CAPITAL PAID UP..... compel our noble to the destroy their own free- ABERTS NOVEMBER 301, 1800... dom? Never, while The thousands of her galtucky of old-never, which the perve to make the lant sons have the will de their rifles!

State sing to the music of Inited States, which The Constitution of the conally awear every in different parts of the State induced me to post- thrown at their ket. The world will view with when the Federal Government takes military these invaders unconstitut tionally seize to suppone the execution of my purpose, but the time amazement this sudden and total overthrow of a possession of a State its Legislature must conform citizen whom they uncomstict hed. It is as much to the will of the military chief or be suppressed, port, has been wholly should kin the twilight of I now hereby return the trust into your hands. | the boast and safeguard of the United States for as we have recently seen in the case of Missouri, forgotten as if it lay away betated show that whose State Government was dispersed and mar- history. The facts I have entire reserved by it to tial law proclaimed; and still later, in the case of the very rights most careful been most con-Maryland, when thirty-eight members of the Leg- States and to individuals, ha destruction has islature were seized and imprisoned on the mere spicuously violated. And this resident alone, DEBLISHED by order of the Legislature of that suspicion of intending to legislate at variance with been accomplished, not by the h the approval | State, from actual surveys made of each coun-Northern press has charged that certain private charge than trace the dismemberment to the therefore, know that the public resolutions, or of the Northern States and people pustitutional Deliges and Toesty Years' Time. pretended laws of the the two bodies, are the dec- deliberately made the contest a chon the -larations of their active will, because we have the struggle between so many millions tharty aght strongest reason to believe that, if not in government and so many on the others and fends and River, and the names of them; every dance with the will of the Government's argistation. Whatever may for inapplication. Whatever may for inapplication.

are in conflict with their public pledge, and with tion is wholly visionary and delperate in the Battery and Buongable. North should conquer the Bouth, (which it will perceive to be impossible after a few hundred mil- laid down from official authority. lione more shall be expended and a few hundred thousand lives lost,) the character of the Government would be radically changed. It would pro- for use of Army Ufficers and Travellers, \$1; mountbably not take the form even of a mixed govern- ed on Linen, on rollers and varnished, \$2.50. l ment, but would soon end in a military despotism. It must soon become apparent to all thoughtful FIFTEEN SOUTHERN STATES, showing the lies in the early recognition of these great truths | informati n in the Departments at Washington in -in an honorable peace and friendly intercourse. regard t be last Coast Surveys was used in per-

You declared your purpose not to engage in the war to subdue the South, and that you would be ! Kentudy. In a word, they have attempted, for Gentlemen.

Whatever may be the condition or motives of COAL AT \$4 AND \$5 PER TON. revolution to determine finally your political fu- COAL for Steam purposes. and almost unarmed, have risen to vindicate their wishes, and expel the Northern invaders. The eagerness with which their aid has been invoked by a fair election, shall determine their destiny, it will be the clear duty of every citizen to acquiesce ;

or to retire from the State.

The letter is wiffited at the first moment since the freedom of speech and of the press—these and ton cabinet, said to a prominent citizen of Ken during the pleasure of the oppressor. Witness my expelsion from home that I place my feet upon every other precious right which our fathers sup- tucky that the position of the State should not be the fate of Morehend and his Kentucky associates should for the State should not be the fate of Morehend and his Kentucky associates should for the State should not be the fate of Morehend and his Kentucky associates should for the State should not be the fate of Morehend and his Kentucky associates should for the State should not be the fate of Morehend and his Kentucky associates should not be the fate of Morehend and his kentu or communicate with my friend and colleague, Gov. Powell, nor do I know what course he will military power. The States made the Constitu- | compelled to support the Federal Government in example of many others, and it meets every the think it proper to take. But this you and I ment in a definition of despotism. If it should know—that his conduct will be controlled by Your fellow-citizen,

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