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VOL. I.

## BALTIMORE, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1861.

(becoment,) where Newsboy a will be supplied.

[From the Richmond Examiner.] ADDRESS OF

## TO THE PROPER OF KENTUCKY.

TO THE PROPLE OF KENTUCKY: By your representatives is the last Legislature you conferred on me the commission of Senator in when my term of strice began, the Union had been dissolved by the withdrawal of several States. which the policy of coercion has since increased to twelve States. At that time a majority of the people of Kentucky still cherished the hope of a peaceful re-union. Soon afterwards, when the Government at Washington commenced that series of usurpations which has now left nothing of the subjugation againt the withdrawing States t secure 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 in your expressed will, and have maintained it as the fixed attitude of Kentucky. In obedience, as I suppose, to your wishes. I proceeded to Washington, and at the special session of Congress, in July, spoke and voted 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 fluring that memorable session, a very small body of Senators and Representatives, even bedegree of dignaty and firmness, they will willing-

ly submit to the judgment of the world. prove valuable hereafter as another added to former examples of man't protest against the prove.

the military lines, mole and anarchy rule the most eminent, pursuit and exile of many of the imprison or exile the children of the men who most eminent and natriotic citizens of the Control of the provention. mer examples of manly protest against the prog-

ress of tyranny. in different parts of the State induced me to postpone the execution of my purpose; but the time has arrived to carry it into effect, and accordingly I now hereby return the trust into your bands.

And in this connection, since the Government at Washington has thrown a drag-net over the whole surface of society, to collect proof against individuals of connection with the Government of the Confederate States, and since a portion of the Northern press has charged that certain private i surrender.

I do not resign because I think I have misrepresented you. On the contrary, I believe that my lot-box. I resign because there is no place left the condition of our State and my own course. People. where a Southern Senator may sit in council with | The Constitution of the United States has been | the Senators of the North. In truth, there is no | destroyed, and by no act of Kentucky. The powlonger a Senate of the United States within the Jer she delegated in that instrument to the Fedemeaning and spirit of the Constitution.

is dissolved. For a time after the withdrawal of out her to sent is usurpation. In the wreck of th Southern States, and while there was a hope | the Federal system she exists an independent that the rupture might be healed, it might be as- | commonwealth, with the right to choose her own | sumed that the Union was not yet dissolved, and destiny. She may join the North. She may join ! such was the position of Kentucky in declaring the South. She may poise berself on her own her neutrality and offering her mediation between | centre, and be neutral. In every form by which the contending parties. But time has now claps- you could give direct expression to your will, ed, and mighty events have occurred, which ban- you declared for neutrality. A large majority of erty or property on account of his political opinish from the minds of all reasonable men all ex- the people, at the May and August elections, pectation of restoring the Union. Coercion has voted for the neutrality and peace of Ketnucky. been tried and has failed. The South has mus- The press, the public speakers, the candidates, tered in the field nearly as many combatants as | with exceptions in favor of the Government at t the North, and has been far more victorious .- | Washington so rare as not to need mention, plant-The fields of Manassus and Bethel, of Springfield | ed themselves on this position. You voted for it, and Lexington, have worked with a sanguinary and you meant it. You were promised it, and and the new

them. The constitutions compact which created reasonable to infer that every subsequent act of and upheld the old Union is at an end. A large outrage by the Washington Government has connumber of the original and additional parties firmed your original purpose. Look now at the recent proceedings in other States, would have seen, with complacency, these foreign have withdrawn from it. So large a number that | condition of Kentucky, and see how your expecits stipulations can no longer be executed, and tations had been realized-how these promises under such eireumstances no court has ever de- had been redeemed. cided a contract to be binding between the remaintwelve States have none; that all duties imposts, I the first violation. and excises shall be uniform throughout the Next, Federal military officers began to recrui United States, but now in more than one-third of soldiers and establish camps in our midst, and them none are or can be collected. Commerce Federal money was lavishly expended, in the cannot be regulated between the respective States. hope to demoralize and corrupt the people. A dent has become impossible

to appoint electors, and requires a majority of the lation. wields unlimited power.

The exemption of persons from arrest without ment of ambition was brought into play. body brought before a judge to determine the le- large portions of the State, and the conspiracy prisonment and exile. If it is asked why I did birthright and mine, which is more precious than body brought before a judge to determine the le- large portions of the State, and the conspiracy prisonment and exile. If it is asked why I did birthright and mine, which is more precious than body brought before a judge to determine the le- large portions of the State, and the conspiracy prisonment and exile.

Levilly of his imprisonment, the security provided stood fully revealed, while the people, whose only not meet the arrest and seek a trial, my answer if, domestic case, or property, or life, I exchange, tion, placed rigid boundaries around that Gov- tility to neutrality, and that Kentucky must be in their distant and gloomy prison. ernment, and expressly reserved to themselves all | compelled to support the Federal Government in | The case of the gentleman just mentioned is an creator. The atrocious doctrine is announced by their Kentucky sympathizers.

islation do not contain laws so infamous as those a power which has effased every vestige of the could not have been free! enacted at the last session. They sweep away | Constitution, would be to how in the dust and | I would speak of these things with the simple every vestige of public and personal liberty, while | surrender to a simple despotism. they confiscate the property of a nation contain. It is not necessary to say much about the Leg- is difficult to restrain the expression of a just ining ten millions of people. In the House of Rep. islature. A majority of them, instead of pro- dignation while we smart under such enormities. resentatives it was declared that the South should I tecting the rights and persons of the citizens, have I Mr. Lincoln has thousands of soldiers on our soil. he reduced to "abject submission." or their in- either voluntarily or under durees heen engaged nearly all from the North, and most of them forsaid that, if necessary, the South should be de-Ternment, in passing bills of pains and penalties | do these things. But few Kentuckians have enagainst your Southern brethren by hiring others populated and re-peopled from the North, and an to terrify a spirited people into servitude, in de- listed under his standard, for we are not yet aceminent Senator expressed a desire that the Presi- priving the Governor of his just constitutional customed to his peculiar form of liberty. to do the work you shrank from performing, dent should be made a Dictator. This was an authority and in abdicating their share of the I will not pursue the disgraceful subject. Has perfluous, since they had already clothed him with | Government by formally inviting a Federal mill- | Kentucky passed out of the control of her own dictatorial powers. In the midst of these pro- tary force to take possession of the State, well people? Shall hirelings of the pen, recently im- COLUMBIAN (MARINE) neath the shadow of a military despotism, resisted ceedings, no plea for the Constitution is listened knowing as they did that this military force ported from the North, sitting in grand security the usurimitions of the Executive, and with what to in the North; here and there a few heroic would supersede the State Government. Of that at the Capitol, force public opinion to approve voices are feebly heard protesting against the pro- body nearly one-fourth have retired because of the | these usurpations, and point out victims? Shall grees of despotism, but for the most part, beyond | military occupation of the State and the seizure, | Mr. Lincoln, through his German mercenaries.

On my return to Kentucky, at the close of the they eagerly offer to the Government what no Euimmediately to resign the office of Senator. The Decider and the control of the senator of the s removemently to resign the omice of ment of the State induced me to mustin different parts of the State induced me to mustin different parts of the State induced me to mustamazement this sudden and total overthrow of a | the Federal Government takes military possession ernment has ever exhibited a case of aggression when thirty-eight members of the Legislature of the Federal authorities, will convict me of political | Igu)rance or disregard upon the part of the latter, the will of the military Government. We can but by the Congress also, and with the approval ty, at a cost of more than One Hundred Thousand clare that I have not done or said anything incom- tion to assistant violations of the Constitue of their action will have not done or said anything incomand to the Federal Government, or which could tion. Against all these usurpations I protested have the strongest reason to believe that, side and so many on the other—one party fightand to the Federal Government, or which could in your name, in the presence of their authors, if not in accordance with the will of the ing for subjugation, the other in self-defence and Pass and Ford, is marked down. and at the seat of their powers. I protested in Government at Washington, they would meet for independence. Whatever may be the future

| ral Government had vested to her, and any exer-The United States no longer exists. The Union | cise of power over her by that Government with-

First, by the aid of some citizens of the State. ing parties, or attempted to entorce its execution. arms belonging to the whole people were illegally The Constitution requires positively that each and secretly introduced by order of the President State shall have at least one representative in and distributed to one class of our people upon Congress, but now twelve States have none; that | the false pretence that they needed them for proteceach State shall have two Senators, but now I tion against their own fellow-citizens. This was

States refuse to appoint, and hence no election dition of tranquility and peace. No indications under the rule of our new protectors. They have Northern invaders shall be sent back across the can be made by the people. If the election goes existed anywhere of internal disorder. But now suppressed the freedom of speech and of the press. Ohio river—when the State shall be relieved of all to the House of Representatives, the Constitution | the people, becoming alarmed at these proofs of a requires that at least two-thirds of the States shall | purpose to force Kentucky into the war, began to be represented in that body. The Constitution assemble in great mass meetings and to demand can no longer be amended; for it requires three- loudly the promised neutrality. The Washington warrant, and carry them out of the State, so that or to retire from the State. fourths of the States to concur, and more than one- Government, however, and its abettors in Ken- the writ of habous corpus cannot reach them.

thrown at their feet. The world will view with ber for a quorum, but are they free? For when Constitution which, if respected, might have been of a State its Legislature must conform to the will the boast and safeguard of the United States for of the military chief or be suppressed, as we have many generations. When the historian comes to | recently seen in the case of Missouri, whose State investigate the cause of this result, he will record | Government was dispersed and martial law prothe fact that no department of the Federal Gov. claimed; and still later, in the case of Maryland. by the Southern States upon their Northern asso- | that State were seized and imprisoned on the mere clates, and he will trace the dismemberment to the suspicion of intending to legislate at variance with been accomplished, not by the President alone, of the true principles of a confederacy, to long. not, therefore, know that the public resolutions, of the Northern States and people. They have Dellars and Trenty Years' Time. tion, to avarice, fanaticism and general corrup. declarations of their active will, because we struggle between so many millions on the one Tain, and never again will I meet in council with the fate of the Legislatures of Missouri and Mary- relations of the two confederacies, the idea of the Island, are shown-and the Bars and Shoals, Fort, resolutions and laws are in conflict with their

at Frankfort, or a majority of them, are actuated ; ents, and degrade the State to the condition which it is attempted to bring down Missouri and Maryland. If anything were wanting to strength- men that the last hope of constitutional liberty en this view, it will be in attendant events. Hes in the early recognition of these great truths The resolutions they adopted on the 8th of September sanctioning the entrance of Gen. Andersons's forces, were accompanied by one declaring that no person should be touched in his life, libresolutions passed, the agents of the General Gov- But those who assume to represent you have vioernment seized the printing establishment of the Louisville "Courier," the only offence of whose I proprietor was, that he criticised with freedom the h usurpations of the Government at Washington. the division between the old order of things you expected it. The minority acquiesced in good tucky have been imprisoned or compelled to fly connection with it, while they have allowed that taith, and at home and abroad this was recogniz- from their homes and families, against whom Government to cut you off from the only avenues It is the right of Kentucky and her peculiar ed as the fixed position of the State. It was taduty to recognize these great facts and to act on ken at the beginning of hostilities, and it is but either unfriendly to Mr. Lincoln's Government or taxes. They have invited a military force of that friendly to neutrality. It is impossible to sup- government to take possession of the State, and pose that free Kentucky Legislature, in view of practically supersede the State Government, and 117 turned this State over to the possession of a Fede- | soldiers seize, imprison, and pursue hundreds of ral military force, or betrayed the people by your fellow citizens—fugitives, without a crime for Ladies, Misses and Masters, and throwing the State into the arms of Mr. Lincoln, | -over the plains and mountains of Kentucky. | for Gentlemen. to the suppression of the press, or suffered, with- ing you, and against your recorded wishes, to been inflicted upon the people by Federal soldiers. | the North.

third of the States have withdrawn from the Con- tucky, supposing their schemes to be ripe for exe- Every day foreign armed bands are making protection due to the humblest citizen, have been federacy. All the safeguards provided for by the cution, now resolved to have what they called seizures among the people. Hundreds of citizens, delivered over to the tender mercies of foreign States in the instrument, still further to secure "active loyalty." About this time the Legislature old and young, venerable magistrates, whose mercenaries, and hunted like partridges on the public and personal liberty, have been destroyed, met and the drama there moved rapidly on. The lives have been distinguished by the love of the mountains, what remains but imprisonment, exile The three departments of the Federal Govern- camps were aroused to be Federal camps. The people, have been compelled to fly from their or resistance? As one of them, I intend to resist. ment, which were carefully separated and their guns which had been clandestinely and illegally homes and families to escape imprisonment and I will avoid conflict with Kentuckians, except in boundaries defined, have been merged into one. introduced, now called out to maintain factive exile at the hands of Northern and German sol- necessary self-defence, but I will unite with my and the President, sustained by a great army, loyalty." Federal officers began to swarm among diers, under the orders of Mr. Lincoln and his fellow-citizens to resist the invaders who have us. Every appliance of corruption, every allure- subordinates. While yet holding an important driven us from our homes. To this course we are political trust, confided by Kentucky, I was com- impelled by the highest sense of duty, and the TO THE PUBLIC. judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant | Presently a Federal army was in possession of | judicial warrant | Presently a Federal army was in possession | judicial warrant | Presently a Federal army was in possession | judicial warrant | Presently a Federal army was in possession | judicial warrant | judicial warrant

against searches and seizure without warrant or error had been their generous credulity, stood | that I would have welcomed an arrest to be fol- with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the law, the sanctity of the home, the trial by jury, thoroughly betrayed. It is known to citizens of lowed by a judge and jury; but you well know | Senate of the United States, for the musket of a the freedom of speech and of the press-these and | Louisville of all parties, that just before that meet- | that I could not have secured these constitutional | soldier. every other precious right which our fathers sup- ling of the Legislature, a member of the Washing- rights. I would have been transported beyond. This letter is written at the first moment since posed they had locked up in the Constitution have ton Cabinet said to a prominent citizen of Ken- the State, to languish in some Federal fortress my expulsion from home that I place my feet upon been torn from it and buried beneath the beel of tucky that the position of the State should not be during the pleasure of the oppressor. Witness the soil of Kentucky. I have not been able to see military power. The State made the Constitu- maintained; that the Government preferred hos- the fate of Morebead and his Kentucky associates or communicate with my friend and colleague,

powers not delegated. They did not delegate to | the war. Your wishes, fellow-citizens, had been | example of many others, and it meets every ele- | know-that his conduct will be controlled by the Federal Government the power to destroy spurned, and you have been thrown into this vor-ment in a definition of despotism. If it should pure motives, them—vet the creature has set itself above the tex by the Government at Washington, aided by occur in England, it would be righted, or it would [ overturn the British Empire. He is a citizen and the Congress of the Unit d States. In March last, the President and acted upon that the States de- The pretended reason for the military occupa- native of Kentucky. As a member of the Legisrive their power from the Federal Government, I tion of the State, founded on the occupation of lature, Speaker of the House, Representative in and may be suppressed on any pretence of milita- Columbus by Confederate troops, is uncandid and | Congress from the Ashland district, and Goverry necessity. The gallant little State of Mary- false. For besides the fact that the invasion of nor of the State, you have known, trusted and land has been utterly abolished. Missouri is en- Kentucky was a foregone conclusion at Washing- | honored him, during a public service of a quarter gaged in a beroic struggle to preserve her exis- ton, and that camps of soldiers were under arms of a century. He is eminent for his ability, his tence and to throw off the horrors of martial law in our midst to invade Tennessee, it is notorious amiable character and his blametess life. Yet this proclaimed by a subordinate military commander. I that General Grant left Cairo to seize Paducah | man, without indictment, without warrant, with-Everywhere the civil has given way to the mili- | before the occupation of Columbus, while in taking | out accusation, but by the order of President Lin- | Federal Constitution, and resolved on a war of tary power. The fortresses of the country are the latter place the Confederate troops anticipated colo, was seized at midnight, in his own house, filled with victims seized without warrant of law, the Federal troops by less than an hour. For and in the midst of his family, was led through and ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment. [further proof of the insincerity of the false clamor | the streets of Louisville, as I am informed, with The legislators of States, and other public offi- about the invasion from Tennessee, the Confede- his hands crossed and pinion d before him. was cers are seized while in the discharge of their offi. rate commander announced to your authorities carried out of the State and district and now lies cial duties, taken beyond the limits of their re- that he occupied Columbus purely in self-defence, a prisoner in a fortress in New York harbor, a spective States, and imprisoned in the forts of the and stood ready at any moment to withdraw thousand miles away. Do you think that any Federal Government. A subservient Congress simultaneously with the Federal forces. To my free Legislature assembled in Kentucky since the ratifies the usurpations of the President, and pro- that the Washington Government had a right to days of Charles Scott and Isaac Shelby, until now. ceeds to complete the destruction of the Constitu- invade the State, is to say that you had no right | would have permitted such a spectacle to dishonor tion History will declare that the annals of leg. to be neutral, and to submit to the invasion from the State? No! Fellow-citizens, the Legislature | The Neptune Insurance Company,

solemnity which their magnitude demands, yet it

lant sons have the will and the nerve to make the

The Constitution of the United States, which these invaders unconstitutionally swear every citizen whom they unconstitutionally seize to support, has been wholly abolished. It is as much forgotten as if it lay away back in the twilight of history. The facts I have enumerated show that the very rights most carefully reserved by it to States and to individuals, have been most conspicuously violated. And this destruction has land. On the other hand, we know that these | restoration of the Union under the old Constitu- | Battery and Stronghold. tion is wholly visionary and delusive. If the your deliberate will as attested through the bal- pardon me if I add a few words in reference to It is more charitable to believe that the members | millions more shall be expended and a few hundred | thousand lives lost, ) the character of the Governby a fear of military force, rather than by a per- | ment would be radically changed. It would proverse design to violate the will of their constitu- | hably not take the form even of a mixed government, but would soon end in a military despotism It must soon become apparent to all thoughtful

-in an honorable peace and friendly intercourse. You declared your purpose not to engage in the war to subdue the South, and that you would be neutral and mediate in the interests of peace when ! an opportunity should offer. This is the recorded will of the State as expressed by the people. STATE OF MISSOURI. Price 25 cents. lated that will. They have attempted to burden trampled under foot every safeguard of a Consti- retail price. At the same time and ever since, citizens of Ken- tution which was the only bond of our political to be used for Southern subjugation, or consented In a word, they have attempted, without consultout an outery that would have pierced the place you in active hostility to your Southern for skies, the indignities and outrages which have brethren, and to fix your political destiny with

Fellow-citizens, you have to do now, not with | Whatever may be the condition or motives of | this fragment of a Legislature, with its treason | the members at Frankfort, they have exceeded | bills and tax bills, with its woeful subserviency to | their authority. No legislative assembly or other | These Coals I can recommend. every demand of the Federal despotism, and its body, other than one elected by your sovereign woeful neglect of every right of the Kentucky citi- | voice for that purpose, has the right, in this great | zen; but you have to deal with a power which revolution to determine finally your political fu-Uniform rules of naturalization and bankruptcy studied system of deception was practiced as long respects neither Constitution nor laws, and which, ture. The people, although taken by surprise, cannot be adopted. Post-offices and post-roads, as possible on the people. For a time it was dein nearly balf the States have been given up, and nied that they were Federal camps, and it was prostrate and bleeding Maryland. Gen. Ander- wishes, and expel the Northern invaders. The a preference is given to the ports of one State over said that they were mere voluntary assemblies son, the military dictator of Kentucky, announces eagerness with which their aid has been invoked those of another. Even the election of a Presi- of Kentuckians for their own protection and that in one of his proclamations that he will arrest no by those who have plunged the State into her of the State. These monstrous falsehoods have one who does not act, write or speak in opposition present unhappy condition, is the strongest proof The Constitution is mandatory on all the States since been freely exposed. This is the second vio- to Mr. Lincoln's Government. It would have of their condition that but for the presence of these completed the idea if he had added, or think in op- soldiers, the action of the members at Frankfort latter to elect; but more than one-third of the Previous to those events the State was in a con- position to it. Look at the condition of our State would be repudiated by the people. When the They seize people by military force upon mere sus- | troops from abroad, and the people of Kentucky, picion, and impose upon them ouths unknown to by a fair election, shall determine their destiny, the laws. Other citizens, they imprison without tit will be the clear duty of every citizen to acquiesce

For those who, denied by the Legislature the

Gov. Powell, nor do I know what course be will think it proper to take. But this you and I Your fellow-citizen.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE. Bowling Green, Ky., Oct. 8, 1861.

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