

VIRGINIA FREE PRESS AND FAMILY JOURNAL.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE SENATE,

AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

Throughout the year since our last meeting, the country has been eminently prosperous in all its material interests.¹ The general health has been excellent, our harvests have been abundant, and plenty abounds throughout the land.² Our commerce and manufactures have been prosecuted with energy and industry, and have yielded fair and ample returns.³ In short, no nation in the tide of time has ever presented a spectacle of greater material prosperity than we have done until within a very recent period.

Why is it, then, that discontent now so extensively prevails, and the Union of the States, which is the source of all these blessings, is threatened with destruction?⁴ The long-contended and interminable interference of the Northern people with the question of slavery in the Southern States has at length produced its natural effects. The different sections of the Union are now arrayed against each other, and the time has arrived, so much dreaded by the Father of His Country, when hostile geographical parties have been formed.⁵ I have long foreseen and often forewarned my countrymen of the now impending danger. This does not proceed solely from the action of the Congress or territorial legislatures to exclude slaves from the Territories,⁶ from the efforts of different States to amend the fugitive slave law.⁷ All of any of these evils might have been endured by the South without danger to the Union, (as others have been,) in the hope that time and reflection might apply the remedy.⁸ The immediate peril arises not so much from these causes as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question through the North for the last quarter of a century, has at length produced its malign influence on the slaves, and inspired them with vague notions of freedom. Hence a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar.⁹ This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection.¹⁰ Many a matron throughout the South retired at night in dread of what may befall her and her children before the sun had risen.¹¹

The most palpable violations of constitutional rights which have yet been committed consist in the acts of different State legislatures, and the adoption of the fugitive slave law.¹² It ought to be remembered, however, that for these acts, neither Congress nor my President can justly be held responsible. Having been passed in violation of the Federal Constitution, they are therefore null and void. All the south, both State and national, before whom the question has arisen, have from the beginning abhorred the fugitive slave law to be unconstitutional.¹³ The single exception is that of a State court in Wisconsin; and this has not only been reversed by the proper appellate tribunal, but has met with such universal reprobation that there can be no danger from it as a precedent.¹⁴ The validity of this law has been established over and again by the Supreme Court of the United States.¹⁵ It was founded upon an express provision of the Constitution, requiring that fugitive slaves who escape from service into another State, or shall be "delivered up" to their masters. Without this provision it is a well-known historical fact that the Constitution itself could never have been adopted by the Convention.¹⁶ In one form or other under the acts of 1793 and 1850, both being substantially the same, the fugitive slave law has been the law of the land from the days of Washington until the present moment. Here then, a clear case is presented, in which it will be the duty of the next President, as it has been my own, to act with vigor in executing his supreme law against the confounding enactments of State legislatures. Should he fail in the performance of this high duty, he will incur the displeasure of the Confederacy and herself, and the infamy of being the author of the misery of nearly half the party to it habitually and hopelessly insecure. Sooner or later the bonds of such a Union must be severed. It is my conviction that this fatal period has not yet arrived; and my prayer to God is that He would preserve the Constitution and the Union throughout all generations.

But let us take warning in time, and remember the lesson it teaches. It should be demanded that, for five and twenty years, the agitation at the North against slavery in the South has been incessant. In 1855 pictorial handbills, and inflammatory appeals, were circulated extensively throughout the South, of a character to excite the passions of the slaves; and, in the language of General Jackson, "to stimulate them to insurrection, and produce all the horrors of a servile war."¹⁷ This agitation has ever since been continued by the public press, by the proceedings of State and county conventions, and by abolition sermons and lectures. The time of Congress has been occupied in violent speeches on this never-ending subject; and appears in pamphlet and other forms, endorsed by distinguished names, have been sent forth from this central point, and spread abroad over the nation.¹⁸

How easy would it be for the American people to settle the slavery question, forever, and to restore peace and harmony to this disunited country.¹⁹

They, and they alone, can do it.²⁰ All that is necessary to accomplish the object, and all for which the slave States have ever contended, is to be let alone, and permitted to manage their domestic institutions in their own way. As sovereign States, they, and they alone, are responsible before God and the world for the slavery existing among them. For this, the people of the North are not more responsible, and have no more right to interfere, than with similar institutions in Russia or Brazil. Upon their good sense and patriotic forbearance I confess I still greatly rely. Without their aid, it is beyond the power of any President, no matter what may be his political principles, to restore peace and harmony to the States. Weakly limited and restrained as is his power, under our Constitution and laws, he alone can accomplish but little, for good or for evil, on such a momentous question.

And this brings me to observe that the election of any one of our fellow-citizens to the office of President does not of itself afford just cause for dissolving the Union. This is more especially true if his election has been effected by a mere plurality, and not a majority, of the people, and has resulted from transient and temporary causes, which may probably never again occur. In order to justify a resort to revolutionary resistance, the Federal Government must be guilty of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise²¹ of powers not granted by the Constitution.

The hard-earned election of Mr. Lincoln has been held in strict accordance with its express provisions. How, then, can the people justly call for a dissolution of the Union? In this transaction our thirty-three States may resolve themselves into as many parts, jarring and hostile republics, each one retiring from the Union, without responsibility, whenever and wherever it may please. The people of the South, that is to say, the chief executive officer of the Government.

His position is not to make, but to execute, the laws; and it is a remarkable fact in our history, that notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the anti-slavery party, he will not attempt any violation of a clear constitutional right.²² After all, he is no more than the chief executive officer of the Government.

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