

I also quoted and commented on the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799, which from that period have formed the creed of the democratic party, as fully sustaining the resolutions I submitted.

I also read, on that occasion, the extracts from "Rawle on the Constitution of the United States," which I read to the Convention in the debate on the fourth article of this Bill of Rights.

During the intervening thirty years I have carefully read the debates in the Convention which framed the Constitution of the United States, and in the State Conventions which ratified it, and many other writings and speeches on both sides of the controverted questions, and I have watched the practical operation of the Federal Government, and I repeat, all have but confirmed the views I held on the occasion referred to, as to the only basis on which the Union of our fathers can be sustained.

Whether the prediction in the resolution "that the contrary doctrine would convert the government into a military despotism," has been fulfilled, or is in course of fulfillment, I submit upon existing and prospective condition of the country, and upon the admission of the President in his letter to Mr. Hodges, of Kentucky, and of the gentleman from Baltimore city, (Mr. Stirling,) in his speech the other day, that in conducting this war the President has been driven by military necessity to go outside of the Constitution and laws, in other words, to usurp powers not granted by the Constitution.

How this war is to terminate, God only knows! I would trust that the prediction that the end of such a civil war would be a military despotism, or a monarchy established over us, may fail of fulfillment, and that we may come out of this war with all our liberties preserved.

But I desire to read for the reflection of gentlemen here, a letter written by Gen. Scott just upon the eve of this outbreak, just at the very moment when the incoming President was to determine whether he would have war or peace, whether he would say to our wayward sisters of the South, "Depart in peace,"—or whether he would undertake to subjugate them by force. I will just read that letter, and then trespass no further upon the kindness of the Convention. This is what this first general of his age expressed as his opinion:

WASHINGTON, March 3, 1861.

"Dear Sir:—

"Hoping that in a day or two the new President will have happily passed through all personal dangers, and find himself installed an honored successor of the great WASHINGTON, with you as the chief of his Cabinet, I beg leave to repeat, in writing, what I have before said to you orally—this supplement to my printed "views" (dated

in October last,)—on the highly disordered condition of our (so late) happy and glorious Union. To meet the extraordinary exigencies of the times, it seems to me that I am guilty of no arrogance in limiting the President's field of selection to one of the four plans of procedure subjoined:

"I. Throw off the old and assume a new designation—the Union party. Adopt the conciliatory measures proposed by Mr. CARTERDEN, or the Peace Convention, and my life upon it, we shall have no new case of secession; but, on the contrary, an early return of many, if not of all the States which have already broken off from the Union. Without some equally benign measure, the remaining slaveholding States will probably join the Montgomery Confederacy in less than sixty days, when this city, being included in a foreign country, would require a permanent garrison of at least thirty-five thousand troops to protect the Government within it.

"II. Collect the duties on foreign goods outside the ports of which the Government has lost the command, or close such ports by Act of Congress and blockade them.

"III. Conquer the seceded States by invading armies. No doubt this might be done in two or three years by a young and able General—a WOLFE, a DESAIX, or a HOCHÉ—with three hundred thousand disciplined men, estimating a third for garrisons and the loss of a yet greater number by skirmishes, sieges, battles, and Southern fevers. The destruction of life and property on the other side would be frightful, however perfect the moral discipline of the invaders.

"The conquest completed at that enormous waste of human life to the North and Northwest—with an enormous public debt of at least \$250,000,000 added thereto, and *cui bono!* Fifteen devastated provinces! not to be brought into harmony with their conquerors, but to be held for generations by heavy garrisons, at an expense quadruple the net duties or taxes which it would be possible to extort from them, followed by a Protector or an Emperor.

"IV. Say to the seceded States:—'Wayward sisters, depart in peace.'

"In haste, I remain, very truly, yours,
"WINFIELD SCOTT.

"Hon Wm. H. SEWARD, &c., &c."

Thus it seems that the same conclusion that thirty years ago forced itself upon my mind as the result of a civil war, and an attempt to maintain this Union by arms, forced itself upon the mind of Gen. Scott upon the 3d of March, 1861, and he felt himself called upon to make it known to the incoming Secretary of State.

Thanking the Convention for their kind attention and indulgence, I take my seat.

Mr. ABBOTT. I move this Convention now take a recess until half-past four o'clock this