The question recurring upon the final passage of the bill, the yeas and nays were ordered by Mr. Norton, and the vote stood thus:


No quorum voting, on motion of Mr. Nelson a call of the House was ordered.

[Mr. Duncan in the Chair.]

On motion Messrs. Craig and McCutchan were excused.

Mr. Mills moved to excuse Mr. Maxey. Lost.


Mr. Henderson moved to adjourn till 9 1-2 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Norton moved to adjourn till 4 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Norton moved to adjourn till 6 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Davis of B., moved to adjourn till 9 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Davis of B., moved to suspend call of House. Lost.

Mr. Haynes moved to adjourn till 9. 35a. o'clock to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. McClarty moved to adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Munson moved to adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow. Lost.

Mr. Franklin moved to adjourn till 10 o'clock to-morrow.— Carried.
On motion of Mr. Hubbard, the vote passing the bill for the relief of Ansel Cupp, et al., was reconsidered.

On motion of Harrison of V. Z., a reconsideration of the bill was postponed till 8 o'clock, P. M.

Mr. Speights presented the petition of Lewis Letney. Referred to committee on State Affairs.

Mr. Robinson presented the petition of Charlotte L. Sommers. Referred to committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. Duncan presented the petition of Elijah Burnett. Referred to committee on Public Debt.

Mr. Townes, chairman of committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, reported, recommending the passage of the bill authorizing the sale of Austin city lots, &c., with amendments by the committee. In section 2d, after the words "Secretary of State," insert "and for building a smoke house and other out-houses on the Public Grounds at the Governor's mansion."

Mr. Branch, chairman on Enrolled Bills, reported as follows:

To the Hon. M. D. K. Taylor,

Speaker of the House of Representatives:

The committee on Enrolled Bills have examined a bill for the relief of G. B. Brownrig.

A bill granting a pension to Joseph E. Fields.

A bill to amend the 11th section of the act of February 7th, 1853, entitled an act to incorporate the Galveston, Houston and Henderson Railroad Company, and find the same correctly enrolled, properly signed, and were presented to the Governor for his approval and signature on the 20th inst.

Mr. McKnight, one of the committee on Education, reported, recommending the passage of the Senate's bill to incorporate Prairie Lea Female Institute.

Mr. Henderson moved to recommit the bill to committee on Education. Lost.

Mr. Foscue, chairman of committee on Internal Improvement, reported, recommending the passage of the Senate's bill for the relief of the Washington County Railroad Company.

Mr. Davis of B., one of the committee on Education, reported, recommending the passage of the bill to relieve John H. Blackwell, from minority.

Mr. Hubbard, chairman of committee on Slaves and Slavery, reported, asking to be relieved from further consideration of the resolution instructing said committee to examine into the expediency of taxing each slave 2 cents, to create a fund to indemnify owners whose slaves have been executed. Also asked to be discharged from consideration of the act to repeal the act passed
24th January, 1852, providing for the compensation of masters for slaves executed in this State.


Mr. Buckley, chairman of committee on Judiciary, reported, recommending the passage of the bill donating land to W. A. S. Rondeau.

Mr. Dennis, chairman of committee on State Affairs, reported, recommending the passage of the bill to amend the act incorporating the city of Galveston.

On motion of Mr. Branch, the bill to endow Professorships in colleges, was taken up and made special order of the day at 11 o'clock, Tuesday next.

Mr. Hubert introduced a bill for the relief of Parrott W. McNeece. Read first time, and referred to committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. Lewis of M., introduced a bill to make certain acts penal, and to provide the punishment of the same. Read first time, and passed to second reading.

Mr. Dickson introduced a bill to authorize the issuance of a duplicate certificate for Leiper Willoughby's donation warrant. Read first time, and referred to committee on Private Land Claims.

Mr. Hubert offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Sergeant-at-arms shall not be sent after absentees unless he is well armed with a lance and a musket and bayonet; and that he is authorized to call on the Captain of the Quitman Rifles for assistance, if necessary. Laid over one day for consideration.

A message was received from the Governor.

A message was received from the Senate informing the House that the Senate had passed a bill to authorize the use of the U. States Bonds set apart to the University of Texas, to meet appropriations made for frontier protection. And had concurred in the House's amendment to the Senate's bill to prevent the sale of spirituous liquor near Starrville, in Smith county.

On motion of Mr. Henderson the rule was suspended; and the bill to prevent Judgments from becoming dormant was taken up, with report from committee recommending amendments.

Mr. Wadler offered the following as a substitute for the committee's amendments: "or unless the judgment be recorded in the office of the County Clerk of the county wherein the land is
situated." Rejected by the following vote, the yeas and nays being ordered on motion of Mr. Davis of H.:


**NAYS**—Messrs. Armstrong, Benevides, Bogart, Branch, Bryan, Buckley, Caddell, Camp, Crooks, Clark, Culberson, Cumby, Daniels, Davis of B., Dennis, Dickson, Dougherty, Duncan, Flewellen, Francis, Franklin, Hall, Harrison of V., Henderson, Hubbard, Kinney, Lewis of M., Lewter, Lynch, Mabry, Manly, Martin, Maverick, McKnight, Nelson, Parker, Perry, Redwine, Robinson, Shannon, Short, Speights, Townes, Walworth, Warfield, Whitfield and Wortham—47.

Mr. Crooks, chairman of committee on Engrossed Bills, reported correctly, engrossed the bill to incorporate the Texas and Mexican Railway Company.

Mr. Franklin proposed to amend the committee's amendment as follows: "Except from the date of issuing an execution when the original or subsequent lien was lost from the want of due diligence."

Mr. Mills moved to lay the amendment and amendment to the amendment on the table.

A division of the question was ordered, and the amendment to the amendment laid on the table.

The question recurring on laying the committee's amendment on the table,

Mr. Buckley ordered the yeas and nays, and the House refused to lay amendment on the table by the following vote:


**NAYS**—Messrs. Armstrong, Barclay, Benevides, Bogart, Branch, Bryan, Buckley, Camp, Crawford, Cumby, Daniels, Davis of B., Dennis, Dickson, Flewellen, Francis, Franklin, Fosse, Hall, Harrison of C., Henderson, Hubbard, Kinney, Lewis of M., Mabry, Martin, Maverick, Maxey, Middleton, Norton, Parker, Perry, Pirkey, Radigate, Ross, Short, Smith Speights and Whitfield.

And the amendment adopted.

Mr. Mabry proposed to amend by adding "Provided that this act shall not be construed to effect judgments already obtained."
Mr. Mills moved the previous question, which was seconded, and the main question ordered, which being the engrossment of the bill, the same was put, and the bill ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Dickson, the following message was taken from the Speaker's table and read:

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives:

The following resolutions and autograph letter I have received from the Governor of South Carolina, with a request therein, that I transmit the same to your honorable body:

RESOLUTIONS IN RELATION TO FEDERAL RELATIONS.

Whereas, The State of South Carolina, by the Ordinance of A. D. 1832, affirmed her right to secede from the confederacy whenever the occasion should arise, justifying her, in her judgment, in taking that step; and, in the resolution adopted by her convention, declared that she forbore the immediate exercise of that right, from considerations of expediency only:

And, Whereas, more than seven years have elapsed since that convention adjourned, and in the intervening time the assaults upon the institution of slavery, and upon the rights and equality of the Southern States, have unceasingly continued, with increasing violence, and in new and more alarming forms. Be it therefore

1st. Resolved, unanimously, That the State of South Carolina, still deferring to her Southern sisters, nevertheless announces to them that it is the deliberate judgment of this General Assembly that the slaveholding States should immediately meet together to concert measures for united action.

2d. Resolved, unanimously, That the foregoing preamble and resolutions be communicated by the Governor to all the slaveholding States, with the earnest request of this State that they will appoint deputies and adopt such measures as in their judgment will promote the said meeting.

3d. Resolved, unanimously, That a special Commissioner be appointed by his Excellency the Governor, to communicate the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the State of Virginia, and to express to the authorities of that State the cordial sympathies of the people of South Carolina with the people of Virginia, and their earnest desire to unite with them in measures of common defence.

4th. Resolved, unanimously, That the State of South Carolina owes it to her own citizens to protect them and their prop-
erty from every enemy, and, that for the purpose of military preparation for an emergency, the sum of one hundred thousand (100,000) be appropriated for military contingencies.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,


His Excellency, Samuel Houston:

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to enclose certain resolutions which passed unanimously both branches of the Legislature of South Carolina; in one of which is an earnest request that your State will appoint deputies and adopt such other measures as will promote a meeting of slaveholding States in convention. You will see by the preamble to the resolutions that South Carolina, as a sovereign, claims the right to secede whenever she may think it expedient to do so; but she much prefers concerted action, and is willing to follow any lead. Be pleased to submit the resolutions to your Legislature at the earliest moment.

With great respect and consideration,

I am, truly yours,

WM. H. GIST.

This is done in accordance with the spirit of courtesy which should actuate the Executive of one State in his intercourse with that of another. At the same time, I deem it due to myself, as well as to your honorable body, to enter my unqualified protest against, and dissent from, the principles enunciated in the resolutions.

The reasons assigned seem to me insufficient to justify the measures recommended, unsupported as they are by facts to establish their soundness. They appear to be the affirmation of the Ordinance adopted by South Carolina in 1852, well known to be based upon the adoption by Congress of the compromise measures of 1850. These measures were endorsed by the people of Texas through their popular vote at the ballot-box; and as no recent incentive to action on the part of South Carolina appears, other than that, "the assaults upon the institution of slavery and upon the rights and equality of the Southern States, have unceasingly continued." The Executive is led to believe that these measures, so emphatically endorsed by the people of Texas, were one, if not the chief of the "assaults" enumerated.
Were there no constitutional objections to the course suggested by the resolutions, I cannot perceive any advantage that could result to the slaveholding States, or any one of them in seceding from the Union. The same evils, the same assaults complained of now, would still exist, while no constitution would guarantee our rights, uniting the strength of a Federal Government, able and willing to maintain them; but an insuperable objection arises in my mind. The course suggested has no constitutional sanction, and is at war with every principle affecting the happiness and prosperity of the people of each individual State, as well as the people in their national capacity.

For years past the doctrines of nullification, secession and disunion, have found advocates in Southern States as well as Northern. These ultra theories have, at different periods, raged with more or less violence, and there have not been wanting persons to fan the flame of discord and magnify imaginary evils into startling realities. Confounding the language of individuals with the acts of government itself, they who desire disunion at the South, are not satisfied with the Constitution fairly and honestly interpreted by the highest court in the country, and the laws faithfully and impartially administered by the Federal Government, (even to the exercise of its powers) to protect the rights of property and guarantee the same, are ready to seek relief from abolitionism in disunion.

It is not to be supposed that the people of the South regard the institution of slavery as possessing so little moral strength, as to be injured by the “assaults” made upon it by a factional element of northern population, who so long as they stay at home do us no harm, and but excite a pity for their ignorance and contempt for their ravings. So long as a government exists ready and willing to maintain the constitution and to guard every citizen in the enjoyment of his individual rights, the States and the citizens of the States may rest secure. Ungenerous and uncharitable as are the “assaults” made by a class at the North upon the peculiar institutions of the South, they would exist from like passions and like feelings under any government, and it is to the constitution alone, and the Union possessing strength under it, that we are indebted for the preservation of those separate rights which we see fit to exercise; no matter to what extent these passions may go, the Federal arm is to be stretched forth as a barrier against all attempts to impair them.

It is to be presumed that the raid upon Harper’s Ferry, by Brown and his miserable associates, has been one of the causes which have induced these resolutions by the Legislature of South
In my opinion, the circumstances attending that act, have furnished abundant proofs of the utility of our present system of government, in the fact that the Federal powers have given an evidence of their regard for the constitutional rights of the States, and stood ready to defend them. It has besides, called forth the utterance of the mighty masses of the people, too long held in check by sectional appeals from selfish demagogues, and the South has the assurance of their fraternal feelings. The fanatical outrage was rebuked and the offenders punished. Is it for this that the southern States are called upon to dissolve the fraternal ties of the Union, and to abandon all the benefits they enjoy under its aegis, and enter upon expedients in violation of the constitution and all the safeguards of liberty, under which we have existed as a nation for nearly a century? In the history of nations, no people ever enjoyed so much national character and glory or individual happiness as do to-day the people of the United States. All this is owing to our free constitution. It is alone by the Union of all States, acting harmoniously together, in their spheres under the constitution, that our present enviable position has been achieved. Without a Union these results never would have been consummated, and the States would have been subject to continued distractions and petty wars. Whenever we cease to venerate the constitution as the only means of securing free government, no hope remains for the advocates of regulated liberty.

Were the southern States to yield to the suggestions of South Carolina, and passing over the intermediate stages of trouble, a southern confederacy should be established, could South Carolina offer any guarantee for its duration? If she were to secede from the present Union, could one be formed with a constitution of more obligatory force than the one which has been formed by our fathers, in which the patriots and sages of South Carolina bore a conspicuous part? Sever the present Union—tear into fragments the constitution—stifle the progress of the free institutions which both have sustained, and what atonement is to be offered to liberty for the act? From whence is to come the elements of "a more perfect Union" than the one formed by the men of the revolution? Where is the patriotism, the equality, the republicanism to frame a better constitution? That which South Carolina became a party to in 1788, has to this period proved equal to all the demands made upon it by the wants of a great people and the expansive energies of a progressive age.—Neither in peace nor in war has it ever been found inadequate to any emergency. It has in turn extended the protection which
union alone can give. The States have received the benefits of this Union. Is it left to them to abandon it at their pleasure—
to desert the Union which has cherished them, and without which they would have been exposed to all the misfortunes incident to their weak condition?

The Union was intended to be a perpetuity. In accepting the conditions imposed prior to becoming a part of the confederacy, the States became a part of a nation. What they conceded comprises the powers of the Federal Government, but over that which they did not concede their sovereignty is as perfect as is that of the Union in its appropriate sphere. They gave all that was necessary to secure strength and permanence to the Union—they retained all that was necessary to secure the welfare of the State.

Texas cannot be in doubt as to this question. In entering the Union, it is not difficult to determine what was surrendered by an Independent Republic. We surrendered the very power, the want of which originated the Federal Union—the right to regulate commerce with foreign nations. As an evidence of it we transferred our custom houses, as we did our forts and arsenals, along with the power to declare war. We surrendered our national flag. In becoming a State of the Union, Texas agreed “not to enter into any treaty, alliance or confederacy, and not, without the consent of Congress, to keep troops or ships of war, enter into any agreement or compact with any other State or foreign power.” All these rights belonged to Texas as a nation. She ceased to possess them as a State; nor did Texas, in terms or by implication, reserve the power or stipulate for the exercise of the right to secede from those obligations, without the consent of the other parties to the agreement acting through their common agent, the Federal Government. The Constitution of the United States does thus provide for its own destruction. An inherent revolutionary right, to be exercised when the great purposes of the Union have failed, remains; but nothing else.

 Might not South Carolina, if a new confederacy were formed, at any time allege that an infraction of the new Constitution, or some deviation from its principles had taken place? In such an event, according to the principles now laid down by her, she would then exercise the same power which she now assumes. Grant her assumption of the right of secession, and it must be adopted as a general principle. Massachusetts may then nullify the fugitive slave law by virtue of her right as a sovereign State, and when asked to obey the Constitution, which she would thus violate, quietly go out of the Union.
It has been remarked by a statesman of South Carolina, when commenting upon the alleged aggressions of the North upon the South, that "many of the evils of which we complain were of our own making."

If we have suffered from our own bad policy in the Union—from giving the control of our affairs to men who have not calculated well as to results, (the Union has enabled us to retrieve many of the false steps,) and at no time, since the history of our government, have so many of the safeguards of law been thrown around our peculiar institution. It is for us to sustain it and every other right we possess in the Union. Sustained by the Federal arm and the Judiciary, we may rely upon the maintenance of these rights, which we know we possess. Whenever these are taken from us, the Constitution has lost its power. There will be no Union to secede from, for in the death of the Constitution, the Union likewise perishes; and then comes civil war, and the struggle for the uppermost.

If the present Union, from which we are asked to secede, does not possess in itself all the conservative elements for its maintenance, it does seem to me that all political wisdom and binding force must be set at naught by the measures proposed.

So long as a single State reserves to herself the right of judging for the entire South as to the wrongs inflicted, and the mode of redress, it is difficult to determine to what extent the theory would be carried.

Texas is a border State. Indians ravage a portion of her frontier. Mexico renders insecure her entire Western boundary. Her slaves are liable to escape, and no fugitive slave law is pledged for their recovery. Virginia, Missouri and Kentucky are border States, and exposed to abolition emissaries. Have they asked for disunion as a remedy against the assaults of abolitionism? Let dissolution come, and the terrible consequences will fall upon those first, and with a double force. South Carolina, from her central position, the sea upon one side, and a cordon of slave States between her and danger, has had but little reason for apprehension. Those who suffer most at the hands of the North seem still disposed to bear on for the sake of the Union. When they can bear no longer they can judge for themselves, and should their remonstrances fail to call the enemies of the Constitution back to duty, and the Federal Government cease to protect them, the pathway of revolution is open to them.

To guide us in our present difficulties, it is a safe rule to borrow experience from the sages and patriots of the past. Be-
ginning with the father of our country, and great apostle of human liberty, George Washington, I am happy to find that my opinions on this subject have the sanction of all those illustrious names which we and future generations will cherish so long as liberty is a thing possessed or hoped for. In his farewell address he says:

"The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence—the support of your tranquility at home and your peace abroad, of your safety, of your posterity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken—many artifices employed to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed—it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your National Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it, accustoming yourself to think and speak of it as the palladium of your political safety and prosperity—watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety—discomfiting whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate one portion of our country from the rest, or to enslave the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."

It must be recollected that these sage admonitions were given to a people, and to the sacred cause of liberty, to which a long life of arduous toil and unwavering devotion had been given. Temporary excitement, fanaticism, ambition and the passions which actuate demagogues, afforded no promptings to his fatherly teachings. They were those of a mind which felt that it was leaving a rich heritage of freedom to posterity, to whom was confided the worthy task of promoting and preserving human freedom and happiness.

Next among the patriot statesmen who devoted their lives to the achievement of our independence as a nation, is to be mentioned the venerable name of Thos. Jefferson. In relation to the subject of secession and disunion, we find the following expression of his patriotic feelings. In June, 1789, at a time when conflicting elements seemed, in the estimation of many, to promote disunion, he wrote:
"In every free and deliberating society, there must, from the nature of man, be opposite parties, and violent discussions and discords; and one of these, for the most part, must prevail over the other for a longer or a shorter time. Perhaps this party division is necessary to induce each to watch and debate in the proceedings of the other. But if, on a temporary superiority of the one party, the other is to resort to a secession of the Union, no federal government can ever exist. If, to rid ourselves of this present rule of Massachusetts and Connecticut, we break the Union, will the evil stop there? Suppose the New England States, alone, cut off, will our nature be changed? Are we not men still, to the South of that, and with all the passions of men? Immediately we shall see a Pennsylvania and a Virginia party in the residuary confederacy, and the public mind will be distracted with the same party spirit. What a game, too, will the one party have in their hands, by eternally threatening the other, that unless they do so and so, they will join their Northern neighbors. If we reduce our Union to Virginia and North Carolina, immediately the conflict will be established between the representatives of these two States, and they will end by breaking into their simple limits."

And again, after a lapse of nearly twenty years, when the Hartford Convention announced the doctrine of nullification and secession as an ultimate remedy, which we are to-day called upon to endorse, he wrote to the honored Lafayette, who, from his home in France, began to look with doubt upon the success and perpetuity of the Union which his blood had been spilt to establish:

"The cement of this Union is in the heart-blood of every American. I do not believe there is on earth a government established on so firm a basis. Let them in any State, even in Massachusetts itself, raise the standard of separation, and its citizens will rise in mass and do justice themselves on their own indemnities."

The particular attitude of Massachusetts, at that period, called forth these determined expressions from this great champion of American freedom. They are equally applicable to our present condition. The Legislature of South Carolina may have as much mistaken the character of the masses of South Carolina, as did the Hartford Convention the character of the masses of Massachusetts. The Hartford Convention became a by-word and a reproach. The sons of the men of Lexington and Bunker Hill stamped it with infamy. The people of South Carolina are descendants of those who felt all the throes incident to
the revolution. Her gallant heroes are among the historic names to be revered and cherished. Their generations will not forget the cost of liberty, or the blessings of the Union which it created.

At the time these expressions were used by Jefferson, he had retired, and his fame had elevated him far above party politics and partisan feelings. He thought and spoke as one friend would to another, who had passed through the severe ordeal for the attainment of human freedom. He had, in truth, filled the measure of his country's glory. Such feelings well deserve a place in every true American heart. His teachings surely, can not be lost upon the present enlightened generation; nor do we find that other sages and patriots are silent upon these topics. In the writings of Mr. Madison, we find that after all of the arduous toils of a statesman and patriot, when treating upon the subject of the Union and the relative rights and powers of the States, he lends his great light to guide posterity in the pathway of regulated government. Being one of the authors of the Constitution, his exposition comes to us with double force. In a letter to Joseph C. Cabell, written September 16th, 1821, he says:

"I know not whence the idea could proceed that I concurred in the doctrine that although a State could not nullify a law of the Union it had a right to secede from the Union. Both spring from the same poisonous root."

In his letter to Mr. N. P. Trist, written December 23, 1832, he says:

"If one State can, at will, withdraw from the others, the others can, at will, withdraw from her, and turn her volentem, volentem out of the Union."

And in writing to Andrew Stevenson, February 4, 1833, he says:

"I have received your communication of the 29th ultimo, and have read it with much pleasure. It represents the doctrines of nullification and secession in lights that must confound, if failing to convince their patrons. We have done well in reseeing the proceedings of Virginia in 1798-99, from the many misconstructions and misapplications of them. Of late, attempts are observed to shelter the heresy of secession under the case of expatriation, from which it essentially differs. The expatriation party moves only his person and his movable property, and does not inconvenience those whom he leaves. A seceding State mutilates the domain, and disturbs the whole system from which it separates itself. Pushed to the extent in which the right is
sometimes asserted, it might break into fragments every single community."

These views clearly show that this great expounder of the Constitution did not recognize the right of a single State to break the harmony of the nation, and destroy its unity by ascending at its pleasure. Nor was he less earnest in his desire to perpetuate the Union and guard against the heresy, by which it might be endangered. In one of his celebrated State papers, written in September, 1829, he thus pictures in language at once solemn and truthful, the consequences of Disunion:

"In all the views that may be taken in questions between the State governments and general government, the awful consequences of a final rupture and dissolution of the Union should never be lost sight of. Such a prospect must be detested—must be shuddered at by every friend of his country, to liberty, to the happiness of man. For in the event of a dissolution of the Union, an impossibility of ever renewing, is brought home to every mind by the difficulties encountered in establishing it. The propensity of all communities to divide when not pressed into a unity by external dangers is a truth well understood. There is no instance of a people inhabiting even a small island, if remote from foreign danger, and sometimes in spite of that pressure, who are not divided into alien, rival, hostile tribes. The happy union of these States is a wonder, the constitution a miracle, their example the hope of liberty throughout the world. Wo to the ambition that would meditate the destruction of either."

Who that has a heart that throbs for freedom can disregard the wisdom and admonition of patriots, whose lives have been devoted to the service of their country, and who, turning away from the appeals of wealth, have felt rich in the enjoyment of the boon of free government and the possession of an humble competency.

After leaving the sages who participated in the formation of our Union, we find that the distinguished patriots of latter days, likewise offer their testimony to the value of the Union, and against the doctrine of secession. Andrew Jackson, the President of the masses, the man to whose bravery in battle and whose firmness in council, the country owes much for its present prosperous condition, was called upon to meet this question under circumstances the most embarrassing. His giant will encompass it all, and a grateful people now revere him for the act. The position assumed by South Carolina in her ordinance of November 24th, 1832, called forth his proclamation of the 10th of December following. The following extract will suffice:
"The constitution of the United States then forms a government, not a league, and whether it be formed by compact between the States or in any other manner, its character is the same. It is a government in which all the people are represented, which operates directly upon the people individually, not upon the States—they retained all the power they did not grant. But each State having expressly parted with so many powers as to constitute, jointly with the other States a single nation, cannot from that period possess any right to secede, because secession does not break a league but destroys the unity of a nation; and an injury to that unity is not only a breach which would result in the contravention of a compact, but it is an offence against the whole Union. To say that any State may at pleasure secede from the Union, is to say that the United States are not a nation; because, it would be a sedition to contend that any part of a nation might dissolve its connection with the other parts, to their injury or ruin, without morally committing any offensive secession, like any other revolutionary act, may be morally justified by the extremity of oppression; but to call it a constitutional right, is confounding the meaning of terms, and can only be done through gross error, or to deceive those who are willing to assert a right but would pause before they make a revolution, or incur the penalties consequent on a failure."

Again, in his message of Jan., 1832, after fully discussing the issues forced upon the country, he adds:

"The right of a people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of other States, from their most solemn obligations and to hazard the liberties and happiness of the millions composing this Union, can not be acknowledged. Such authority is believed to be utterly repugnant to the principles upon which the general government is constituted, and to the object which it is expressly formed to attain."

This great man of the people has been gathered to his fathers. Over his grave at the Hermitage, let the American nation declare in his own emphatic language: "THE UNION—IT MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."

These are not all the mighty names which can be arrayed in behalf of the Union, and against the doctrines of secession. When did the ardent and enlightened mind of Henry Clay, when his attention was drawn to the subject of the Union, fail to offer his tribute to its worth, or decline to render the most searching rebuke to those who dared for one moment to depreciate its value. Nor am I disposed to close this message, without
citing another illustrious name, who without regard to party, boldly planted his foot on the platform of the constitution and the Union—a man who faced all the fury of the fanatical passions of his own section in behalf of the compromising measures of 1850, which guaranteed the equality of the South under the constitution. I allude to Daniel Webster. He was a man whose heart was great enough to embrace the whole Union, and whose intellect could span the globe.

The sentiment which he leaves on record, I repeat:

"Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable."

With such teachings and such lights from those of the past and of modern times, can Texas forget her duty to herself? These were the men who formed the first structure of perfect liberty and self-government in the world. We have the exposition of the principles upon which this sublime structure of self-government was based. Are we to cast them all away? Are we to quit our haven of safety, in which we are secure, happy and prosperous, and risk our all upon the uncertainty of an untried experiment, which seems only to open the door to revolution and anarchy? Could we for a moment entertain such a maddened thought, we need only extend our imaginations across the Rio Grande, and there exemplified to a small extent, behold the effects of secession and disunion. A disregard for a constitutional government has involved Mexico in all the horrors of civil war, with robbery, murder, rapine, unrestrained. There, it is simply civil war, brother armed against brother, partisan against partisan, but to us, it would be all these, added to the combined efforts of the powers of tyranny to crush out liberty.

A responsibility rests upon us, because our advantages, arising from self-government, and a more perfect freedom than they ever enjoyed, render us the more accountable.

I need not call the attention of the Legislature to a period so recent as the annexation of Texas to the American Union. The feeling that prevailed in the community in anticipation of that event, the ardent desire for its consummation in almost every heart in Texas, can testify to the sincerity of our people, when they took upon themselves the duties of citizens of the United States. A generation has not half passed, since the great object was accomplished; and are we to be seduced already into any measures, fraught with principles, that would involve us in the inconsistency of impairing the integrity of our formation, and that, too, when it would involve us, in my humble opinion, in the crime of raising our hand against the Constitution and the
Union, which have sheltered and defended us, and which we are solemnly bound to support and maintain?

The good sense of the nation cannot overlook the fact, that we are one people and one kindred; that our productions, occupations and interests are not more diversified in one section of the Union than another. If the vain hope of a Southern confederacy would be realized upon the basis of all the Slave States there would soon be found enough diversity of northern and southern interests, in both sections to accomplish another division all the more eagerly sought, because of a recent precedent.

Indeed, if peaceable separation were possible, no confederacy could be formed upon any other principle, than that of leaving domestic institutions, where the constitution of the United States now leaves them—to the States individually, and not to a central government.

I have been no indifferent spectator of the agitations which have distracted our councils and caused many patriots to despair of the Republic. But I am yet hopeful and have an abiding confidence in the masses of the people. I cannot believe that they will suffer scheming, designing and misguided politicians, to endanger the palladium of our liberties. The world is interested in the experiment of this government. There is no new continent on the earth wherein to rear such another fabric. It is impossible that ours can be broken, without becoming fragmentary, chaotic and anarchical. I know of no confederacy with other States, which could hold out greater inducements or stronger bonds of fraternity than were extended to us in 1844. The people of Texas are satisfied with the Constitution and the Union as they are. They are even willing to enlarge it by further wise, peaceful and honorable acquisitions. If there is a morbid and dangerous sentiment abroad in the land, let us endeavor to allay it, by teaching and cultivating a more fraternal feeling.

I would therefore recommend the adoption of resolutions dissenting from the assertion of the abstract right of secession, and refusing to send deputies, for any present existing cause, and urging upon the people of all the States, north and south, the necessity of cultivating brotherly feeling, observing justice and attending to their own affairs.

SAM HOUSTON.

Mr. Norton moved that the message be made the special order of the day for Saturday next, and that 1000 copies be printed for use of the House.
Mr. Culberson offered the following as a substitute for the motion:

Resolved, That 1,500 copies of the special message of the Governor be printed for the use of this House.

Mr. Mills moved to adjourn till 7 o'clock, P. M.

On motion of Mr. Mabry the yeas and nays were ordered, and the House adjourned by the following vote:


7 o'clock, P. M.

House met pursuant to adjournment—roll called—quorum present.

Mr. Hartley, by permission, offered the following resolution:

Resolved by the House of Representatives, That no member hereafter be permitted to speak more than five minutes at one time, unless by leave of four-fifths of the House.

On motion of Mr. Duncan, the rule was suspended, for immediate action to be taken on the resolution.

Mr. Buckley proposed to amend by striking out "five," and inserting "ten."

On motion of Mr. Franklin a call of the House was ordered.


Mr. Mills moved to suspend call. Lost.

Mr. Fossum, chairman of committee on Internal Improvements, reported, recommending the passage of the Senate's bill to amend the act amendatory of and supplemental to the act to encourage the improvement of navigation of the rivers, &c., &c., with amendments by committee.

Amend by adding "and shall not be so construed as to authorize the appropriation of the subscription of private individuals to any other work than that to which they had appropriated."
The bill for the relief of Mrs. Wm. Gamble, late widow of Jno. Carroll, pending when the House adjourned last night, was taken up, read third time, and passed.

Mr. Franklin called up the bill to amend the act incorporating the city of Galveston, which was read second time.

Mr. Townes moved to indefinitely postpone the bill.

The yeas and nays were ordered, on motion of Mr. Townes; and the House refused to postpone the bill by the following vote:


And the bill ordered to be engrossed.

On motion of Mr. Franklin, the rule was suspended, read 3d time, and passed.

The hour having arrived, the special order, to-wit: the motion to reconsider the vote, passing the bill for the relief of Ansell Cupp, et al., was stated to the House.

Mr. Harrison of V. Z., moved to suspend the call. Lost.

On motion of Mr. Nelson, the bill was indefinitely postponed.

Mr. McCutchan called up the bill for the relief of G. W. King, which was read third time.

Mr. Short proposed to amend by striking out $1280 and inserting $100.

On motion of Mr. Short the yeas and nays were ordered on the adoption of the amendment, and the House rejected the amendment by the following vote:

**YEAS—Messrs. Speaker, Barclay, Baxter, Billingsley, Bogart, Buckley, Craig, Crooks, Dale, Dennis, Dougherty, Francis, Foscoe, Harrison of V. Z., Mabry, Maxey, Mills, Nelson, Owens, Parker, Pirkey, Redwine, Ross, Shelton, Short, Stewart, Wieder, Warfield, Whitmore and Wrode—30.**

**NAYS—Messrs. Benevides, Branch, Bryan, Camp, Crawford, Clark, Culberson, Cumby, Daniels, Davis of B., Davis of H.,

Mr. Hartly moved to suspend call of the House. Lost.

And the bill passed.

On motion the House adjourned till 10 o'clock, A. M., Monday.

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HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Monday, January 23d, 1860.

House met pursuant to adjournment—roll called—quorum present—journal of Saturday read and adopted.

Mr. Norton, one of the committee on Roads, Bridges and Ferries, reported, recommend the passage of the bill to permit J. L. Brown to construct a bridge across the Sabine river.

Mr. Walworth, one of the committee on Private Land Claims, reported, recommending the passage of the bill for the relief of John Smith.

Mr. Parker, one of the committee on Private Land Claims, reported, recommending the passage of the bill for the relief of Wm. P. Tindall.

Also, reported a bill granting land to W. O. Burnham and recommended its passage. Bill read first time.

Also, recommended the passage of the bill for the relief of Leiper Willoughby.

Also, reported, recommending the passage of the bill validating unconditional certificate No. 576, issued to S. Pangburn, successor of C. L. Wood.

The committee on Enrolled Bills reported as follows:

To the Hon. M. D. K. TAYLOR, Speaker of the House of Representatives:

The committee on Enrolled Bills have examined the following bills, to-wit:

An act for the relief of Stephen Kelly; and

An act to incorporate the Factor's Cotton Press Company.

A bill to amend the first, fifth, seventh, thirteenth and seventeenth sections of an act entitled an act to incorporate the Houston, Trinity and Tyler Railroad Company.

A bill to be entitled an act to incorporate the Starville Union Academy.