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WEDNESDAY MORNING, APRIL 6, 1864.

Speech of Hon. J. K. Moorhead, Delivered in the House of Representatives, March 21, 1864.

Mr. Moorhead said:

Mr. Chairman: My colleague from the 21st district [Mr. Dawson] has made considerably the ablest speech on the other side of the House, and has stated with great frankness and clearness the grounds of his opposition to the war. Although it was well answered by my colleague from the 19th district, [Mr. Schofield,] I feel it incumbent upon me to give it some attention, as one districts adjoin, have like interests and feelings, and as special efforts have been made, by the circulation of his speech, to affect the political sentiment of Western Pennsylvania. We both live at the head of the great channels of trade formed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and their tributaries, down which the coal, lumber, and agricultural products, and the manufactures of glass, steel, iron, copper, wood, &c., of our people, were accustomed before the rebellion to float safely and without let or hindrance, to the inhabitants of the Southern States, and on through the Gulf to foreign markets. Valuable as the Federal Union is to the people of other States, it is beyond all price to Pennsylvania, and especially to his constituents and mine, who, while they love their country, are proud of their States, and justly so. Their history, for a long series of years, has been one of honorable and glorious achievements, and they are ready to die rather than see their national flag dishonored at home or abroad, and will not permit the destruction of their Government by aristocratic slaveholders, who first and speak of north ern people—Democrats as well as Republicans—with more scorn, than they feel for their slaves on their plantations. The blow of the traitors who made this war, fell first and heaviest on our constituencies, the Chairman, he says, is right in saying that the doctrines he announces, are the very same which brought on the war, and if not condemned by the people, would make the southern rebels our masters forever.

My colleague began his speech by reminding us in glowing terms of the happy and prosperous state of the country "about eight years since," when he left these halls. He left two years *before* Mr. Buchanan became President. What was its condition when Mr. Buchanan handed the Government to Mr. Lincoln? Why is my colleague silent as to the pregnant fact, that when Mr. Buchanan retired, the gloom of that awful period was such that its more remembrances comes like an evil shadow over the heart of every patriot?

It has been suggested he has been in a deep sleep during the eight years he was absent from political life. His speech furnishes strong evidence of it. Let me then inform him what he should know, and what many of his constituents do know, that not merely are we now "in the midst of a revolution," but the country was in the midst of a revolution when Mr. Buchanan retired, and has been on the brink of a revolution at different times for thirty years.

Jackson suppressed treason in 1832 Jeff. Davis and his fellow conspirators made some signs of beginning a revolution, under old Zach. Taylor in 1850, when California was admitted as a free State, but the hero of Buena Vista established it by announcing that he would hang the first man found who dared to lift a hand against the Union, and Jeff Davis well knew he would do it. They prepared for it, while Pierce lived in the White House, and Davis governed the country. They possessed while Buchanan was President, and Floyd concentrated the army, until between the 4th of November, 1860, the day Lincoln was elected, and the 4th of March, 1861, the day he was inaugurated, every southern fort except Pickens and Sumter, every navy yard and arsenal, and nearly all the munitions of war, and the custom-houses, and public moneys in the south-eastern States, and much in the north, and all the property of the Federal Government in every seceding State were seized by its slaveholding traitors, without a blow being struck 65 to thirty days before Buchanan's term expired, eight slaveholding States had openly rebelled against the Government, cast off allegiance to it, and forbidden its authority, hauled down its flag, captured its coin, arms, forts, ships, munitions of war, assembled a congress at Montgomery, Ala., adopted a constitution, elected a President, proclaimed a raise armies, and organized a confederacy as foreign and hostile government, all under the Democratic doctrine which my colleague is so anxious to restore, and to adopt by Democratic leaders. What did Mr. Buchanan do to prevent these great crimes? Nothing! What did the Democratic party propose to do? Nothing! What did they resisted everything that looked like protecting the public property, and preserving the nation's honor.

Sir, so widespread was treason, so faithless the President, that all hope was exhausted except the single one that his term would expire before all was lost. Thank God! Abraham Lincoln became President before the cause of the Union was totally ruined, and then the work of rescue began.

My colleague, in a speech of twenty-eight pages, says not a word to encourage or cheer brave, loyal patriots. And yet, strange as it may seem, he shows no sympathy with those of his neighbors whose blood has enriched every battle field in defense of their country, and whose bones are before Richmond and Charleston, at Antietam, Gettysburg, Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and whose heroic deeds have protected his home and mine from threatened invasion by his late political friends. Nor has he any charges to make against anybody except of "madness and folly" against the people, and traitors against the Government, the Quakers and Abolitionists. The rebellion is tenderly cautioned, as an "*ill judged effort*"—no crime in it.—no blood on the rebels' hands; only a mistake in judgment, a bad guess as to time and result. Why I should think my colleague has allowed his good feelings to find expression in his speech; but it was made to aid in restoring the Democratic rule, its errors and fallacies should be pointed out.

My colleague sees no prospect of the end. He says "nearly three years of civil war have now discharged their relentless fury upon our unhappy country, and we are yet apparently as far from any satisfactory adjustment of our differences as when we first flew to arms." Sir, I broadly deny this extraordinary statement. It is the policy of the rebels, and those who sympathize with them to undervalue the results already accomplished, and to dishearten the public feeling of the North. Jeff. Davis says the South cannot be conquered, and my colleague deliberately says his eyes to the astonishing results already attained. The rebellion is in its last agonies; its armies and navies have been crushed, several States are returning to their allegiance, and on every hand there is the evidence of the Union and the increasing weakness of the rebellion. My colleague should see this; but there is none so blind as he who will not see. His doctrine as to the true character of the government is a specimen brick of the genuine Calhoun mould. He finds no difficulty in a divided allegiance," and he "holds *that* allegiance to the State, both proceeding from the same source—the people of the several States." This doctrine has deluded multitudes into treason, has undermined the Federal Government, brought on this war, and sacrificed the lives of thousands of our people. General Jackson in his day denounced it, and warned the country against it; and even Mr. Buchanan, in his last annual message, declared it "to be inconsistent with the history as well as the character of the Federal Constitution." It means that we have no national Government; that under the Constitution there is no Union; but only a knot of States that may be tied or untied at pleasure; that there is no such thing as a citizen of the United States and, no national flag to shatter him.

But, Mr. Chairman, the most cruel feature of my colleague's speech is that which, openly proclaiming his approval of Mr. Buchanan's course, *implicitly* censures that of the great old patriot whom he and I, once and again, but vainly, labored to make President of the United States—General Lewis Cass; whose patriotism and statesmanship revolted at the trickling policy of Mr. Buchanan, and, who, when his proposition to garrison the southern forts and maintain possession of the public property was refused, promptly tendered his resignation and withdrew from the Cabinet. If Mr. Buchanan's policy was wise, General Cass's was unwise. If Mr. Buchanan was faithful in his high position as one districts adjoin, have like interests and feelings, and as special efforts have been made, by the circulation of his speech, to affect the political sentiment of Western Pennsylvania. We both live at the head of the great channels of trade formed by the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and their tributaries, down which the coal, lumber, and agricultural products, and the manufactures of glass, steel, iron, copper, wood, &c., of our people, were accustomed before the rebellion to float safely and without let or hindrance, to the inhabitants of the Southern States, and on through the Gulf to foreign markets. Valuable as the Federal Union is to the people of other States, it is beyond all price to Pennsylvania, and especially to his constituents and mine, who, while they love their country, are proud of their States, and justly so. Their history, for a long series of years, has been one of honorable and glorious achievements, and they are ready to die rather than see their national flag dishonored at home or abroad, and will not permit the destruction of their Government by aristocratic slaveholders, who first and speak of northern people—Democrats as well as Republicans—with more scorn, than they feel for their slaves on their plantations. The blow of the traitors who made this war, fell first and heaviest on our constituencies, the Chairman, he says, is right in saying that the doctrines he announces, are the very same which brought on the war, and if not condemned by the people, would make the southern rebels our masters forever.

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