The Crisis—Its Causes, and the Way to Meet It.

SPEECH OF HON. I. N. MORRIS, OF ILLINOIS,

In the House of Representatives, January 16, 1861.

CONTINUED FROM YESTERDAY.

Mr. MORRIS, of Illinois: It is surprising, Mr. Chairman, how suddenly docile the President has become. When he sent us the Lecompton Constitution with a special message, he was as ferocious as a tiger; now he is as mild as an infant. The first thing observable in his language is, that it is not correct. He tells us that a copy of the Lecompton Constitution was transmitted to him with a request that "he would lay it before Congress; and he could not refuse to do it without violating his clearest and strongest convictions of duty." Who transmitted the Constitution to him? Who made the request he refers to of *him*? Not the Convention who framed it, as he seeks to make us believe; for the body directed their president, Mr. Calhoun, to present it to Congress, not to Mr. Buchanan. It made no request of him to interfere in any way with it. How, then, did he get a copy of it? He got it from John Calhoun, who violated his instructions and duty in giving it to him; and no one familiar with the facts can doubt there was connivance between them. Having obtained it in this manner, he thrust it upon us with all the arrogance of a dictator, while now he endeavors to create the impression that he was only performing a public duty "by request." And then again, he had nothing to do with the "fraud." "If," says he, "fraud existed in all these proceedings"—alluding to the Constitution and the proceedings of the Convention—"it was not for the President, but Congress, to investigate the question of fraud, and what ought to be its consequences." Why did he not give us that advice when he sent us the Constitution? and why has he kept back and over we should have received it without regard to the fraud? All that the anti-Lecompton members wanted was to have those "frauds" investigated; but in that the Administration defeated them. None labored more zealously than did the President himself to prevent all investigation. And now he tells us it was our business to look into these "frauds." Verily, things have changed! Why did he not send us a copy of the Constitution of Oregon and of Minnesota, accompanying each with a special message instructing us in our duty in regard to them? He could have obtained such copies in the same way he got a copy of the Lecompton Constitution—by fraudulent connivance. It was no concern of his, forsooth, whether that instrument ever came before Congress. Its presentation was not within the range or scope of his constitutional duties; and the act was itself a usurpation of authority, and the manner in which it was done an insult to the nation. But hear him again: "It does not," he says, "comport with my present purpose to interfere in the proceedings of Congress upon the the Lecompton Constitution." Very much fear, sir, the time will never arrive when it will "*comport*" with his *purpose to do so*. The dark and bloody pages of that iniquity he will leave for others to write. Threats, money, and patronage were freely used to control the action of Congress. There is not recorded in the history of the world a more fearful legislative struggle. Power, holding in its hands the bribes of office and the blandishments of wealth, stood on the one side, and justice and liberty and right on the other.

Abandoning the principles on which he was elected, tearing into fragments the very platform on which he stood, he scrupled at no means, and paused at no obstacle in the accomplishment of his wicked design. It is useless to deny the fact that his Kansas policy is the cause of our present troubles. Had he conformed to the instructions he gave to Governor Walker, there would have been no Republican party to-day. Abraham Lincoln would not now be President elect of the United States. But he chose to abandon them, and to cast his bosom friend on the sacrificial altar, without one symptom of feeling or regret. Two small meetings were held—one, I think, in Georgia, and the other in Alabama, (*I speak from recollection*)—denouncing Governor Walker for failing to give sufficient protection to slave property in the Territory. Mr. Buchanan took alarm, equivocated at first, and then wrote to the Governor of the extremists of the South. The country—no, not even the South, only a handful of fire-eaters asked him to do it. The Democratic party everywhere, all over the States, was solemnly and religiously pledged to the doctrine of non-intervention, both in the States and Territories. No one understood it the better than the President, and no one had more emphatically committed himself to the public to sustain that pledge. It was believed on all hands that we had at last found a common ground where all could meet and shake hands in harmonious agreement on the slavery question. Leaving the matter to be controlled by the people was but sustaining the great doctrine of popular sovereignty, and doing equal justice to all: and so it would be regarded at this day, if Mr. Buchanan had not attempted the folly of making slave States where there are no negroes, and nationalizing the institution of slavery.

Having made up his mind to surrender himself up to the extremists of the South, he could not go far. A Union Constitution "redolent with blood and fraud" must be thrust down the throats of an unwilling people. The timid Northern Democrat was driven from his position, and an effort made to force a general retreat, and convert the whole Government into a slavery-propagating machine; to establish the heretical doctrine that slavery is spread by the Constitution wherever it operates instead of being dependent on municipal regulations, and subject to the control of the people in each locality. Knowing this, and well understanding the temper of Mr. Buchanan, and that he was a mere epitome of timidity, not to say cowardice, the secessionists and nullifiers saw it was their time to strike. Mr. Yancey came forth, and Alabama changed front on the subject. That gentleman, an agitator on principle and in practice, had tried, in 1850, to dissolve the Union in consequence of the passage of the Compromise measures, but failed. His wild and reckless schemes of disunion fell before the unerring fire of the great Clay. Now, however, was his chance to consummate his long-settled purpose to break up the Government. South Carolina had been restless and dissatisfied since the year 1832, at which time her own gifted and patriotic son, the great and immortal Calhoun, had put out the fires of civil war within her limits, and quelled her turbulent temper. Now was her time. Now was also the auspicious opportunity for every restless spirit to make his move on the chess-board of personal and political ambition. Advantage was taken of the slavery question to inflame the public mind of the South in favor of a separate Confederacy. All this, however, would have produced no serious consequences had Mr. Buchanan remained true to his pledges and his honor, and faithful to the principles of his party and the obligations of his oath. Had he done this, the fell spirit of rebellion would long since have been crushed out, and all would have been well with us to-day. But, as I have said, he gave way, and treason reared its hydra head. Step by step has the mutiny been progressing, until States have armed themselves against the General Government, and the bloody flag of disunion is flouted in our faces without the slightest effort to correct the wrong. Great God! what does it mean? Can we be dreamers, after all this? Can we not be inspired by the recollections of the past or the hopes of the future? Where is our patriotism? Where is our reverence for the banner that is the emblem of our nationality? Alas, sir, I fear that, as that flag is now drooping and dishonored, each stripe will prove to be the winding-sheet of a State. What a sad memento, what motives of transcendant interest, are to stay the hand that would do violence to its sacred folds!

"Dissolve the Union! Who would part
The chain that binds us heart to heart?
Each link was forged by sainted sires,
And cemented by their blood fires;
And cool'st—oh! where so rich a flood!—
In Warren's and in Sumter's blood.

"Dissolve the Union! Be like France,
When Terror reared her bloody lance,
And mad as Demons Destruction's child,
And women, in her passions wild,
Danced in the life blood of her queen,
Before the dreadful guillotine!

"Dissolve the Union! Roll away
The spangled star of glo y's day;
Blot out the history of the brave
And consecrate each patriot's grave,
And then, above the wreck of years,
Quaff an eternity of tears!

"Dissolve the Union! Can it be
That they who speak such words are free?
Great God! did any die to save
Such sordid creatures from the grave,
When, breast to breast and hand to hand,
Our patriot fathers faced the land?

"Dissolve the Union! Ho! Forbear!
The sword of Damocles is there;
Cut but a hair, and earth shall know
A darker, deadlier tide of woe
Than history's crimson tide has old
Since Nero's car in blood was rolled.

"Dissolve the Union! Speak, ye hills!
Ye everlasting mountains, cry!
Shriek out, ye storms and mingling rills!
And ocean, roar in agony!
Dead heroes, leap from glory's sod,
And shield the manor of your blood!"

Mr. Chairman, the Administration lending itself as a voluntary auxiliary to the Disunionists, they became emboldened by success, and undertook to capture the Democratic party and to baptize it in the blood of revolution. Failing to control its platform at Charleston, or its movements at Baltimore, they soliloquized thus:

"Why, we in this weak piping time of peace
Have no delight to pass away the time,
Unless to spit our shadows in the sun.
And descant on our own deformity—
And, therefore, since we cannot prove lovers
To entertain these fair, well-spoken days,
We are determined to prove agitators,
And hate the idle pleasures of these days."

But a little while ago a distinguished Senator asked, from his place in the Senate, for a Texan Brutus to remove, as "a hoary-headed traitor," Governor Houston, the cotemporary of Jackson, the hero of Texan independence, the enlightened statesman, and the pure patriot. The reason assigned for the necessity of such an act was his refusal to call together the Legislature of his State to enable them to declare in favor of disunion. There has fallen under the ban of the Secessionists one who has come down to us from a former generation, and who has worshipped at the same shrine with Washington and Jefferson, and Madison and Jackson, and Clay, because, forsooth, he would not bow his proud head to the mandates of the enemies of his country.

That is not all. I have said there was a settled and deliberate purpose to destroy the Democratic party, to afford an excuse for destroying the Union itself. As long as that party could keep its lines closed up, and its columns unbroken, all was well. In the recent National Convention at Charleston, it maintained its ancient principles and faith, and at Baltimore nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President, and H. V. Johnson for Vice President. No one ever complained that either of these nominations was not fairly made, and no one ever doubted that the Union would be safe if that ticket was elected. It was this very fact that stirred to its sources the spirit of disunion, which wanted no obstacle in its way. It had done all the mischief it could *do* at Charleston, and responded at Baltimore, stimulated with the bloody design of tearing down the proud and glorious structure of American liberty and independence. A ticket was formed embodying its views; and the result is known. The Southern people are alone responsible for the defeat of the Democratic party, and should not now complain of the election of the Republican candidate. They knew very well what the result would be, and sought to effect it. I intend to hold them up to the full measure of their accountability. The Northern Democrats implored them to haul down their rebellious flag, and run up the stars and stripes. They told them that unless there was unanimity of action there was no hope. They spurned our entreaties, rejected our counsel, and rushed madly on, regardless of consequences, proclaiming that Lincoln and Hamlin would be elected, and that that event would be sufficient cause for the dismemberment of the Confederacy. That was the great object to be attained. They now bring the mangled corpse of the Union, pierced by their own daggers, and cast it down before us; and though its bleeding and gaping wounds, "poor, poor dumb mouths," are so eloquent for liberty, they say to us, bury thine own dead; it is naught to us.

Dead? Yes, dead! The Union dead? Stricken down by parricidal hands!

"O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
Whilst bloody treason flourished over us."

But a few days ago a Southern Senator laid it out upon its bier in the Senate Chamber, and delivered its funeral oration. He was not

"To its virtues very kind,
And to its faults a little blind;"

but, with a flourish of trumpets and exultation, announced its demise. Hear him:

"I am thus recapitulating the necessity for our action, to show that we are not acting upon impulse. Senators, some of them, have spoken of the excitement of the South. I tell you the excitement has passed off, the fever has subsided, and the patient has collapsed so far as this Union is concerned, the cold sweat of death is upon it. Your Union is now dead; your Government is now dead. It is to-day but lying in state, surrounded, it is true, by pomp and ceremony. They are Senators, but the mournful ceremonies, pomps, and pageants, which are seen around the mighty dead. The spirit has departed; and it has gone back to those who gave it—the sovereign States of this Union."

Washington! thou whose living presence has hallowed the scenes and the city in whose midst we are; thou whose living voice did speak so wisely from thy hearthstone, which this vast temple overshadows, do not the silvery ripples on yon river (Potomac), as they murmur past Mount Vernon, tell thee of our *need and dangers*? Canst thou not burst the bonds that enshrine thy sacred dust, and come forth? Canst thou not once more let thy blessing rest upon that Union thou didst so much to form? Speak once more to the inflamed passions of your countrymen, and enthrone reason on the public mind. Speak! Hark! his voice is coming back to us from the tomb. Listen to his words:

"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 tranquillity at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; 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; accustom yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing 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 any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

"For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICAN, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of common counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

"But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here everything must prompt you to finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the Union of the whole.

"In offering to you, my countrymen these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may spread some doubts too hastily entertained the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated."

Washington! thy words, thy patriotism, thy wisdom, are held in derision by those who have become wise in their own conceit, beyond their day and generation. Thy admonitions are disregarded, and thy counsel scoffed at; and if living, it is not certain thou wouldst not be held to be a traitor.

Mr. Chairman, the late Presidential election furnishes a useful lesson, and many facts of deep significance. I have examined a table prepared by Colonel Forney, of the Philadelphia *Press*, who is always very accurate in his calculations, and I shall draw upon it largely, to show the popular vote of the different States, and the result. The figures are his; their application will be my own. Leaving out New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, where there was a fusion, which I utterly abhorred, Mr. Douglas received in the free States, 715,175 votes; Mr. Breckinridge, 107,722; Mr. Bell, 73,073; and Mr. Lincoln, 1,769,751. Giving to Judge Douglas and Mr. Breckinridge their fair proportion of votes in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, the former received in all the free States, 1,188,805; and the latter, 192,722 votes. In the slave States Mr. Breckinridge received 592,175, and Judge Douglas, 165,618 votes. Add the votes given to Mr. Breckinridge in the free and slave States together, and he received in all, 784,897: add the vote given in both classes of States for Judge Douglas, and he received 1,354,423. Take the popular vote given for Mr. Breckinridge from the one given to Judge Douglas, and the result shows that he received 550,520 more votes than Mr. Breckinridge—nearly double the number. Take the vote given to Mr. Breckinridge in the free States, 107,722, and the vote given to Judge Douglas in the slave States, 165,618, and compare them with each other, and with the vastly greater number of votes given in the free States, and what a lesson do they teach! Judge Douglas received 57,896 more votes in the slave than Mr. Breckinridge did in the free States, notwithstanding the disparity of votes between them. Mr. Lincoln received 26,772 votes in the slave States, which, if added to the number he received in the free States, makes his aggregate vote 1,796,480. Mr. Bell received in the slave States 502 723 votes, which, added to his vote in the free States, makes the aggregate 575,801. Adding the entire votes given for Mr. Lincoln, Judge Douglas, and Mr. Bell together, they amount to 3,746,704; and if there is taken therefrom the aggregate vote given to Mr. Breckinridge, namely, 781,897, it leaves a majority of 2,964,807 against secession; allowing all who supported Mr. Breckinridge to be Secessionists, when probably not more than half of them are. Yet, Mr. Chairman, in the face of these overwhelming truths, some of the Cotton States are now virtually out of the Union, as far as their acts can place them out.

The leading State in this movement is South Carolina—the State that bred a Marion, a Sumter, and a Pickens. She has been making a Scotland is driving other States under her deadfall. The ostensible reason for their action is, that the people of the North interfere with their peculiar institution of slavery, and that some of the Northern States have passed personal liberty bills. I could understand these complaints if they came from Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, these being border States; but they are utterly incomprehensible coming from South Carolina and other Cotton States. I will venture the assertion, Mr Chairman, that the people of Illinois have had more horses stolen from them in the last year than South Carolina has lost negroes in the last fifty years; and yet they do not threaten to take their State out of the Union in consequence of it. Nor do border slave States desire to go out, though they may, and probably will in the end, go. The personal-liberty bills are all wrong, and ought to be, and I hope will be, repealed; but it is idle to say that those laws, some of which have been in operation for years, cause the action of the seceding States. They are determined to be satisfied with nothing but withdrawal. The Secessionists hate the Union and want to shake it off. A distinguished Kentuckian well said, that if they had elected Mr Breckinridge they had determined to demand the reopening of the African slave-trade, require the repeal of the Compromise of 1850 abolishing the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and the passage of a law by Congress protecting slavery in the Territories. These demands they knew could never be complied with; and having been refused, they were then to serve as a pretext *for going out of the Union. What they will gain* by going, I do not propose to inquire; what they will lose, they will find out soon enough for themselves. They say they must; and go they will. They refuse to listen to any proposition for adjustment or compromise; and none will satisfy them. A strange and unaccountable hallucination has possessed them, or "there is a method in their madness." The teachings of Mr. Calhoun are now bearing their legitimate fruits. His whole life was directed to the destruction of the Union; and those taught in his school have at last effected his great design. Nullification blossomed in 1832 and ripened in 1860. The Cotton States are intoxicated with the idea that cotton is king, when, in fact, it *does not equal* in value the hay crop of the North, and falls so infinitely below the value of the hay and grain crop together, and the value of our pork and beef, that a tabular comparison is useless. The Senator from whom I have quoted before, and who but repeats the views of all the Secessionists, says upon this subject:

"Then, sir, for the third or fourth time—and I trust that I may be permitted to go on—I say that cotton is king, and that King Cotton holds the sceptre not only over these thirty-three States, but over the island of Great Britain and over continental Europe, and that there is no crowned head upon this continent, and upon the continent that does not bend the knee in fealty, and acknowledge allegiance to that monarch. There are five million people in Great Britain who live upon cotton. You may make a short crop of grain, and it will never affect them; but you may drain their granaries to bursting—you may drain them until the corn actually is flying the shingles from the roof of their barns—and, exhaust the supply of cotton for one week, and all England is starving. Not a man would be left to tell the story, when the famine. They do not burst open barns and divide the corn. In their frenzy they burn and destroy.

"You may suppose that numbers constitute the strength of Governments in this day. I tell you that it is not blood, it is the military chest—it is the almighty dollar. When you have lost your market, when your operatives are turned out, when your capitalists are broken, will you go to direct taxation? When you cease to have exports will you not cease to have imports? Burn down a factory that yields ten, fifteen, twenty, twenty five thousand dollars a year to its owner, and he goes to the wall. Dismiss the operatives, put the machinery idle, and what is he as thoroughly broken as if his factory were burnt; for the time, he is bankrupt. These are matters for your consideration."

Mr. Chairman, there never was a greater delusion than that "cotton is king." You might blot out of existence all the Cotton States to-day, and the world would move on without hardly feeling the shock. We in this country could, in two years, raise a flax crop which would more than equal in value the cotton crop. And what is more, our wives and daughters could spin and weave it, and, with wool, could make fabrics preferable to those made of cotton. The fact is, they never liked cotton much anyhow, and always protested against their husbands and sons dressing up in cotton! They could and would do more than this, sir; they could and would drive with their distaffs every enemy from the country.

But, to be more serious, the cotton worshippers prove too much by their position. It can, on their hypothesis, be proven that the negro is king. "Cotton is king," they tell us. The negro is cotton; therefore, the negro is king. Some Athenian ruler, I believe it was, proved in this way that his son governed the world. But it is folly—madness—to talk about cotton being king. We can do without cotton; but the people of the Cotton States cannot do without our breadstuffs and meats. They cannot live, sir, without them. If there is any "king" in this country, it is "King Agriculture." It is the farmer, sir, who is honestly fulfilling the commands of Deity—living "by the sweat of his brow," and not upon servile labor. Those boastings and comparisons are, however, distasteful to me, and I turn away from them with pleasure.

All parts of our country can be of mutual advantage to each other; and it is chimerical for the people of the Cotton States to suppose that they can starve the operatives of the North, and bring England and continental Europe to their feet. They have no such an idea. It is a boast. They do, however, hope to trade, free of duty, with all ports of the world. This is one great object of Secession; another is, to be left with unrestricted liberty to reopen the African slave trade, and supply their plantations with slave labor from the coast of Africa, at a less cost than they can supply them from Virginia and the other States. Within two years, if they have an independent government of their own, cargo after cargo of slaves will be discharged in every Southern port; and that inhuman and horrible traffic will be carried on to an extent hitherto unknown, unless it is prevented, as I hope it may be, by the vessels of foreign nations and our own. Secession is a question, not of religion, politics, or humanity, but of dollars and cents. Now, the negro is looked *to as only a money-making machine*.

Gentlemen tell us on this floor that they did not come here to excuse slavery as their fathers excused it; that they are governed in regard to it by no sickly sentimentality; that they will not treat it as purely a political matter, and upon the ground that it had been forced upon us by the British government. They are too wise to regard it as Henry *Clay or other eminent Southern statesmen said it* ought to be regarded. They have travelled by all the old landmarks set up by the framers and cotemporaneous expounders of the Constitution, and now have all sails set, and all hands on board to pass into new seas, and to found a new government alone on the basis of negro slavery and cotton, instead of upon the rights of man! They tell us, as plain as actions can speak, that they cannot live in peace with a Democracy, and must set up a hovel hold for themselves. The President said to them by his policy, "depart in peace, and take your portion of goods." I will not, sir, lift the veil that separates the future from the present. But he must be a poor reader of human events who cannot behold the end. Howell Cobb, of Georgia, described it well in 1851, when he was gallantly resisting secession, instead of preaching treason, as he is now. In a publication which he made at that time, he said:

"But if a collision of arms between the States composing our glorious Confederacy should ever come, it requires no prophet to predict the result. *The Union would fall beneath the weight of revolution and blood, and fall, I fear, to rise no more.*"

The President, who has been, until within a few days, the special organ and coadjutor of the Secessionists, in his late message draws a gloomy picture of Southern society now, and foreshadows the future in what will be all its terrible reality. Hear his words:

"The immediate peril arises, not so much from these causes, as from the fact that the incessant and violent agitation of the slavery question throughout 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. This feeling of peace at home has given place to apprehensions of servile insurrection. Many a husband going out the S. upon retires at night in dread of what may be *fall herself and her children before the morning.*"

I might go on, Mr Chairman, and multiply these quotations; but I forbear to do so. Let disunion be consummated, and some of us will live to see the dark pall of death settle upon the "Cotton States." I wish the direful calamity could be averted, and pray it may be; but it will come as inevitably as destiny itself. When they venture into the Red sea, like Pharaoh and his hosts, they will be overthrown; and, instead of reaching the promised land, flowing with milk and honey, will only find bitter waters and stinging serpents.

I live, sir, in the heart of the valley of the Upper Mississippi, and on the banks of that mighty river which rises in the far latitude of the north, and moves on with slow and silent grandeur to the sea, bearing upon its placid bosom our surplus productions. I love the Democratic masses here the Union, and are conservative, and love the rights of all as they respect. But I tell the South, especially the inhabitants of the Lower Mississippi, that we already have, in its upper valley, ten million people, and that we never can, and we never will, *consent to allow any foreign Power*—and they will be foreign when they leave us—to control the navigation and control of the mouth of that great highway of commerce. We do not vint to boast; we do not intend to threaten: but we do *mean to protect ourselves*. Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to Mr Livingston, when the latter was minister to France, upon that country repurchasing the Louisiana territory, in 1802, from Spain, instructed him to say to the French Government that it was impossible that it should never be allowed to occupy the mouth of the Mississippi. All trouble, however, of the ownership and occupancy by France was fortunately obviated by the purchase of the territory from Napoleon I, in 1803. Woe of the upper valley view the matter just as Mr. Jefferson did; and will permit none others but ourselves to exercise ownership over that gateway to the oceans. The enemy that shall attempt to keep it from us will find an army opposing him far more numerous than any that ever besieged imperial Rome, and blood will flow like water. This will be one of the results of disunion. Civil war between the North and the South will be another; and soon the whole land will be convulsed with discord and deadly strife, and clothed in the habiliments of woe. He who imagines that these States can live in peace and good neighborhood with each other when divided, is insane. If we cannot live together as we are, how shall we live in peace in separate governments, with our hatreds and differences institutions, when only imaginary lines, or narrow streams, divide us? It is worse than delusion to suppose that we can. The thing never will and never will, be allowed but one nationality in what are now the limits of the United States. The contest will probably have been but fairly begun as we shall pass from the stage of life; and, instead *of leaving to our children the priceless inheritance* of the free and successful Government that our fathers left to us, we will have entailed upon them the horrors of intestine feuds and the curses of desolating wars, produced by vain endeavors to bring our Government back to its original form and purity. Oh, sir, that this cup could be turned from us! My whole heart sickens when I reflect what bitter dregs our posterity will have to drink; and I gladly turn away from the contemplation of such a melancholy subject.

Mr. Chairman, in 1832 General Jackson believed himself clothed with sufficient authority, as the Chief Executive, to suppress the hostile movement in South Carolina. Before the people there went half as far as they have gone now, he directed General Scott to be prepared to act at a moment's notice, and rendezvous with a force in the vicinity of Charleston; and he had, also, by proclamation, warned the nullifiers to return to their allegiance to the General Government, or he would be compelled to bring down its arm in chastisement upon them. How different is it with Mr. Buchanan! He informs us that he has no power to act; and if he had, that it would not be his proper to exercise it! He can send an army to Kansas, wherever there is trouble there; but he has no army to send against South Carolina, not even to protect our forts. Oh, no!

It is well known that a military company was called out in Charleston with the ostensible object of protecting the United States arsenal from mob violence; but with the real intention of preventing Colonel Gardiner from removing ammunition therefrom to Fort Moultrie, of which he was then the commandant, and had avowed his determination to maintain it. Days after the transfer Colonel Gardiner was ordered to Texas, and, as is too painfully evident, at the instance of the South Carolina secessionists. Major Anderson, who is a Southern man by birth and education, was put in his place. These facts showed that the General Government dared not remove a single cartridge from that arsenal to the fort, nor dared the President send a single additional soldier to the fort, though pressed to do so. Major Anderson, however, quailed not; but proved himself a true national patriot, and declared his intention to fight under the stars and stripes to the last extremity. For holding this language, he was taken from the coastwise ship of state, and fled in dismay. Dishonor remained as long as there was a hope for treason, or seemed to be a dollar left to pass through their hands, or they had a prospect of *rasping off a few more* spoonfuls from the dry bones of the Treasury.

But why did the President refuse to comply with Major Anderson's requisition? Because commotions meetings had been given that any act on the part of the General Government to relieve Fort Moultrie would be regarded by South Carolina as an act of war. This proves that that State already had its grasp upon the throat of the General Government, while the poor trembling victim, represented by Mr. Buchanan, with protruding tongue, eyes straining from their sockets, with cold sweat on his brow, "crooked hinges of the knee," outstretched and imploring arms, and with attempted vocal utterance, implored for forbearance and mercy, as a consideration for past services, and as a last boon from those he has so faithfully supported, but who, in this emergency, have deserted him, until he could give up the Government to his successor, not caring what became of it thereafter. Why, Mr Chairman, the whole country is amazed that the President is not at once arrested for treason. At last, frightened at the *stain of blood upon his hands*, and haunted by the grim visage of war's rough front, he came out, in mock solemnity, with a proclamation, appointing a day of fasting and prayer to Almighty God for the preservation of the Union, and that day fixed after the time a portion of the South Carolina State had agreed on to go out of it. and South Carolina had gone, and after all the mischief would have been done! That he has betrayed his country we learn *from* the declaration of Hon. Mr Miles, late a member of this House, and now a member of the South Carolina Seceding Convention. On the 19th of the present month, he said in the Convention, *in alluding to Forts Moultrie and Sumter*:

"In a conversation, and subsequently in a written *communication to the President, I know this to have* been said: 'if you send a solitary soldier to these forts, the instant the intelligence reaches our people, and we will take care that it does reach us before it can reach the forts—they will be taken; because such a course is necessary to our safety and self-preservation.'"

Thus does it appear that the hoary-headed betrayer was, in advance, in secret conclave with the *enemies of the Union, listening to their suggestions*; and, as time has shown, afterwards following their advice. But there is an abundance of accumulative evidence. A wife, in speaking of her wife, of one of the officers at Fort Moultrie so well describes it all, that I ask the Clerk to read the thrilling letter.

The Clerk read as follows:

FORT MOULTRIE, December 11, 1860.

DEAR ——: I feel too important. I can hardly stand the way in which this well little garrison are treated by the head of the Government. Troops and proper accommodation are positively refused, and yet the commander has orders to hold and defend the fort. We are ever such a *sacrifice*—an intentional one—known? The Secretary has sent several officers at different times, to inspect here, as if that helped us. It is a mere sham, to *make believe he will do something*. In this mean time a crisis is very near. I am too far from Charleston the first of the week. I will not go further, if I can help it.

Within a few days we hear—and from so many sources that we cannot doubt it—that the Charlestonians are erecting two batteries, one just opposite us, and a little village—Mount Pleasant—and another on this end of the island; and that they are the commencement to interfere while they are getting ready to *fight us by-and-by*. "Fit" this week quite fort I suppose President Buchanan and Secretary Floyd intend to commence Confederation to be cemented with the blood of this brave little garrison.

Their names shall be handed down to the end of time. When the last man is sacrificed, then I presume they will think of sending troops. The soldiers here deserve all credit, though they know not but what an unequal number is coming to massacre them, yet they are in good spirits, and will fight desperately. Our officers say they he never saw such a brave little band. I feel desperately myself. Our only hope is in God. My love to father and all.

Your affectionate

(*Conclusion To-morrow*)

IMPORTATIONS.

(Reported for the Press.)

BOSTON—Steamship Kensington, Baker—10 cs shoes Brown & Pratt; 10 cs hats Bennett & Draper; 6 do domestics D S Brown & Co; 100 kegs grapes J H Busnier & Co; 32 cases tacks Hopkins & Howard; 12 bbls crackers Black & Son; 5 cs fish G H Comstock; 9 do G H Comstock; 43 bales domestics 15 cs do 10 trusses do B W Chase & Son; 3 bales domestics A Campbell & Co; 12 cs mdse J H Eaton; 177 do shoes F Ford & Co; 49 bales domestics Farnham, Kirkham & Co; 2 do 17 cs do Frothingham & Wellington; 10 cs fish W O Goodsy; 12 do machinery *Grover & Baker*; 16 do fish J Hopkins & Co; 50 bbls apples Hayward & Amber; 194 do N Hallinks & Bro; 14 kegs sarsps Jeanes, Scattergood & Co; 7 cs 25 bales domestics W D Jones & Co; 32 cs fish E Keisler; 21 bales domestics Lea, Richardson & Pimm; 56 cs 5 bales do F Lasher & Co; 8 cs books J B Lippincott; 63 do domestics Little, Stokes & Co; 83 bdls paper J Meagre & Co; 200 bags coffee J McBride; 84 do J McGlensey; 12 bbls berries Stephen A Nolmand; 330 do apples 110 bags potatoes Selser & Bro; 40 cs 10 bales domestics A Slade & Co; 69 do 66 do J T Way & Co; 100 bxs raisins 10 bbls 50 bags nuts 40 cs oranges 10 drums fish order; 100 packages Letsch & Co.

PHILADELPHIA BOARD OF TRADE.

E. C. BIDDLE, WM. C. KEEHNLE, } COMMITTEE OF THE MONTH.
JOHN F. ADDICKS, }

LETTER BAGS

At the Merchants' Exchange, Philadelphia.

Ship Tuscarora, Dunlevy.....Liverpool, Jan 23
Bark Malvina, Ide.....Pernambuco, soon
Bark Irma, Wortinger.....Barbadoes, soon
Schr J W Allen, Marshman.....Cienfuegos, soon
Schr Eveline, Yorke.....Havana, soon
Schr Gov Burton, Winsmore.....St Thomas, soon

MARINE INTELLIGENCE.

PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 23 1861.

SUN RISES.....7 6—SUN SETS.....4 54
HIGH WATER.....11 39

ARRIVED.

Steamship Kensington, Baker, 46 hours from Boston, with mdse and passengers to Henry Winsor.
Schr Convoy, Merill 3 days from Portland, with 8000 pairs headings to J M Coolbroth.
Steamtug America, Virden, 7 hours from Delaware Breakwater, having towed up the schr Chrysolite, from New York. Reports that the bark Reindeer, for Pernambuco, brig Tiberias and schr Pathway, both for Cienfuegos, went to sea on Sunday at noon; and yesterday, at 11 A M, the bark Albania, for Cork, and brig Isabella Jewett, for Trinidad de Cuba, went to sea. Left at the Breakwater *the revenue cutter Forward*, from a cruise.

CLEARED.

Steamship Delaware, Cannon, N York, J Alderdice.
Ship Gray Eagle, Hughes, Rio de Janeiro, Rutter, Newhall & Co.
Schr Albert Trask, Bowdoin, Cardenas, J M Coolbroth.
Schr A Hammond, Freeman, Boston, L Audenried & Co.
Schr Excelsior, Riley, New York, captain.

MEMORANDA.

Ship Cowper, Lowell, at Montevideo 30th Nov, was loading mules for Pernambuco.
Bark Margaret, Quig, hence, at Pernambuco 15th ult. for Hampton Roads.
Bark Union, Heard, at Pernambuco 15th ult, for Rio de Janeiro.
Bark Wm H Newman, Gavett, cleared at Baltimore 21st inst. for Rio de Janeiro.
Bark Dorchester, Perkins, from Zanzibar, at Salem 21st inst.
Bark Fyrmont, Oliver, from Baltimore, at Montevideo Nov 28, and proceeded for Buenos Ayres.
Brig Delmont Leake, Mitchell, cleared at Pensacola 12th inst. for Havana.
Brig H A Didier, Graham, remained at Pernambuco 15th ult, unseeded.
Brig S Thurston, Lampher, was at Falmouth, Ja, 1st inst, for Black River, to load.
Brig Caroline, Gibbs, cleared at Boston 19th inst. for Philadelphia.
Brig Daniel Maloney, Steelman, at Providence 19th inst from Apalachicola.
Schr M Wrightington, Thacher, from Baltimore, at Kingston, Ja, 31st ult.
Schr Eleanor, Townsend, hence, arrived at Pensacola 13th inst.
Schr George Byron, Harvey, hence, at Pernambuco 15th ult, loading for Cuba.
Schr Star, Growell, from Providence for Philadelphia, remained at Newport 19th inst.
Schr J C Young, Tucker, at Newburyport 19th inst, from Wilmington, Del.
Sch Winged Racer, Purvier, from Tangier, at Boston 19th inst.

INSURANCE COMPANIES.

THE ENTERPRISE INSURANCE COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.

(FIRE INSURANCE EXCLUSIVELY.)

COMPANY'S BUILDING, S. W. CORNER FOURTH AND WALNUT STREETS.

DIRECTORS:

E. RATCHFORD STARR, WILLIAM MCKEE, NALBRO FRAZIER, JAMES N. ROBERTS, BENJ. T. TREDICK, HENRY WHARTON, MORDECAI L. DAWSON, GEO. H. STUART, JOHN R. WORRILL, ANDREW D. CASE, THOMAS R. BRIDGES.

RATCHFORD STARR, President.
CHARLES W. COXE, Secretary. fe15

DELAWARE MUTUAL SAFETY INSURANCE COMPANY, PHILADELPHIA.

Incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania, 1835.

Office S. E. corner of THIRD and WALNUT streets, *PHILADELPHIA.*

MARINE INSURANCE,
On Vessels, Cargo, Freight, } To all parts of the World.

INLAND INSURANCES
On Goods by Rivers Canals, Lakes, and Land Carriages to all parts of the Union.

FIRE INSURANCES
On Merchandise generally, On Stores, Dwelling Houses, &c.

ASSETS OF THE COMPANY,

$100,000 United States five ⅝ cent. loan	$105,500 00
115,000 United States six ⅝ cent. Treasury Notes, 1861	119,463 34
100,000 Pennsylvania State five ⅝ cent. loan	95,670 00
21,000 do do six do	22,890 00
123 000 Philadelphia City six ⅝ cent. loan	125,203 37
50,000 Tennessee State five ⅝ cent. loan	24,000 00
50 000 Pennsylvania Railroad 1st mortgage six ⅝ cent. bonds	45,000 00
15,000 300 shares, stock Germantown Gas Company, the second interest, guaranteed by the City of Philadelphia	15,300 00
5,000 100 shares Pennsylvania Railroad Company	3,900 00
5,000 100 shares North Pennsylvania Railroad Company	900 00
1,200 80 shares Philadelphia Ice Boat and Steam Tug Company	1,200 00
250 5 shares Philadelphia and Greenwood Cemetery	350 00
200 2 shares Philadelphia Exchange Company	125 00
1,000 2 shares Continental Hotel Co	500 00
$566,700 par. Cost $547,335.34. Market val.	$551,356 71
Bills receivable, for insurances made	171,386 42
Bonds and mortgages	34,500 00
Real estate	61,353 35
Balances due at Agencies—Premiums on Marine Policies, interest, and other debts due the Company	51,555 02