

Mr. AVERY stated that his colleague, Mr. THOMAS, was absent upon a select committee of the House.

Mr. SINGLETON (when his name was called) said: Mr. Speaker, I must decline to vote upon this proposition, as I have done upon similar propositions heretofore. These questions will be decided by a convention representing the sovereignty of my State, which is in session to-day.

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM (when his name was called) said: I prefer the original Crittenden propositions, with certain amendments, as a basis for action, because they would settle the slavery question in the Territories definitively, as well south as north of 36° 30', as also in all territory hereafter acquired. Anything less than a complete, final, and irrevocable adjustment, right now, of the question of slavery, would be idle and mischievous. But, as no action can be had upon the subject in any form till the rules are suspended, I vote "ay."

Mr. LOOMIS stated that Mr. WOODRUFF was confined to his room by sickness.

Mr. BRANCH made a similar statement with regard to three of his colleagues, Messrs. CRARGE, RUFFIN, and WINSLOW.

Mr. COLFAX announced that Mr. CASE was absent on business of the House.

Mr. QUARLES stated that Mr. NELSON was engaged on the committee of thirty-three.

Mr. AVERY said: Notwithstanding, as I understand it, this is the same proposition substantially that was before what is called the border States committee, and that it has been repudiated since by the Republican members of that committee; and notwithstanding I feel humiliated that all propositions of this sort should come from the South, yet still I vote "ay."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

#### APPEAL IN COPY-RIGHT CASES.

Mr. COX. I ask the unanimous consent of the House to take up House bill No. 554, to extend the right of appeal from decisions of circuit courts to the Supreme Court of the United States.

There being no objection, the House proceeded to the consideration of the bill. It directs that, from all judgments and decrees of any circuit court rendered in any action, suit, controversy, or case, at law or in equity, under any law of the United States granting or confirming to authors the exclusive right to their respective writings, a writ of error or appeal, as the case may require, shall lie to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same circumstances as is now provided by law in other judgments and decrees of such circuit courts, and in all other cases in which an injunction is awarded or granted by the decree, and also in all other cases in which the court shall deem it reasonable to allow the writ of error or appeal.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time; and being engrossed, it was accordingly read the third time, and passed.

Mr. COX moved to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed; and also moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table.

The latter motion was agreed to.

#### APPROVAL OF MAJOR ANDERSON'S COURSE.

Mr. ADRAIN. I offer the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That we fully approve of the bold and patriotic act of Major Anderson in withdrawing from Fort Moultrie to Fort Sumter, and of the determination of the President to maintain that fearless officer in his present position; and that we will support the President in all constitutional measures to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.

Mr. GARTRELL and others objected to the resolution.

Mr. ADRAIN. If there be objection, I move to suspend the rules.

Mr. BARKSDALE. On that motion I demand the yeas and nays.

Mr. JOHN COCHRANE. I ask for the reading of the resolution.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. BURNETT. I appeal to the gentleman from New Jersey that, in view of the present excited condition of the country, he withdraw his resolution. [Cries of "No!" "No!" from the Republican side of the House.]

Mr. ADRAIN. There is no member of the House more desirous than I am to restore friendly

relations between the North and South; but yet while the people of the country are approving the act of Major Anderson, I deem it but just and right that this House should also declare its approval of it. [Loud calls to "Order!"]

Mr. BARKSDALE. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was not agreed to.

The question recurred on Mr. ADRAIN's motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. HOUSTON. If the gentleman from New Jersey will allow me—

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to debate.

Mr. HOUSTON. I am not going to debate it. I am going to say nothing more than this—

Mr. LOVEJOY. I call the gentleman to order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Alabama cannot be permitted to proceed.

Mr. CRAWFORD. Let us vote on it.

Mr. HOLMAN. Before the vote is taken on the motion to suspend the rules, I ask leave to offer an amendment to the resolution.

Several MEMBERS objected.

The yeas and nays were ordered on the motion to suspend the rules.

Mr. DAVIS, of Indiana. Before I am compelled to vote, I ask for the reading of the resolution.

The resolution was again read.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 124, nays 53; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Charles F. Adams, Green Adams, Adrain, Aldrich, Allen, Alley, William C. Anderson, Ashley, Babbitt, Beale, Bingham, Blair, Blake, Brayton, Briggs, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Clemens, Coburn, John Cochrane, Coffax, Covode, Cox, John G. Davis, Dawes, Delano, Dinmick, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Etheridge, Farnsworth, Fenton, Ferry, Foster, Frank, French, Gilmer, Gooch, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Haskin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Holman, William Howard, William A. Howard, Hughes, Humphrey, Hutchins, Irvine, Junkin, Francis W. Kellogg, William Kellogg, Kenyon, Kilgore, Larrabee, DeWitt C. Leach, Logan, Longuecker, Loomis, Lovejoy, McClay, Marston, Charles D. Martin, McClelland, McKean, McKenty, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Montgomery, Moorhead, Morrill, Edward Joy Morris, Morse, Nixon, Olin, Palmer, Perry, Pettit, Porter, Pottle, Edwin R. Reynolds, Rice, Riggs, Christopher Robinson, James C. Robinson, Royce, Sedgwick, Sherman, Sickles, Spaulding, Spinner, Stanton, Stevens, William Stewart, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vandever, Wade, Waldron, Walton, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Elihu B. Washburne, Webster, Wells, Wilson, Windom, and Wood—124.

NAYS—Messrs. Thomas L. Anderson, Avery, Barksdale, Barret, Bocoock, Boulogny, Branch, Brown, Burch, Burnett, John B. Clark, Clopton, Cobb, James Craig, Crawford, De Jarnette, Florence, Garnett, Gartrell, Hamilton, Hardeman, John T. Harris, Hatton, Hawkins, Hill, Houston, Jones, Kunkel, Landrum, James M. Leach, Love, Mallory, Elbert S. Martin, Maynard, McRae, Sydenham Moore, Niblack, Pendleton, Peyton, Pryor, Quarles, Reagan, Rust, Scott, Simms, Singleton, William N. H. Smith, Stevenson, Stokes, Taylor, Vallandigham, Vance, and Wright—53.

So (two thirds voting in favor thereof) the rules were suspended, and the resolution was brought before the House.

During the vote,

Mr. HUGHES (when his name was called) said: As I desire to see a fair and square vote on every proposition similar to the one now before the House, I vote "ay."

Mr. LEACH, of North Carolina, (when his name was called,) said: I do not desire to give any vote now or hereafter that will tend to increase the excitement in the public mind already so intensified. I do not wish to give any vote of commendation to Mr. Anderson or Mr. Buchanan in connection with the existing momentous issue of union or disunion. I would, above all things, like to give a complimentary vote to any man or set of men who might be able to induce Congress to adopt some measures to save the Constitution and the Union.

Mr. McKEAN. A few more men like Major Anderson would quickly settle it. [Loud calls to "Order!"]

Mr. VALLANDIGHAM (when his name was called) said: I voted for peace and adjustment a moment ago; you refused it. I vote now against force. "No."

Mr. BURCH (when his name was called) said: I am not in favor of an abandonment of the Government property anywhere. But, believing that the resolution is introduced in no good spirit, and without a desire to compromise the difficulties, I vote "no."

Mr. BRAYTON announced that Mr. LEE was absent from the House on account of sickness.

Mr. HINDMAN, not being within the Hall when his name was called, asked leave to vote.

Objection was made.

Mr. HINDMAN. I would say to the gentleman objecting that perhaps I might vote with him on this question to the extent of suspending the rules. I should vote in favor of suspending the rules in order to bring up the question at once; and to ascertain whether Mr. Buchanan deserves the damnation of such a compliment. I want to know if he has approved himself a traitor to every principle and to every pledge, both public and private. [Loud calls to "Order!"]

Mr. HILL (when his name was called) said: I desire to make one remark. It is well known that I am an advocate for peace—

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to debate.

Mr. HILL. I shall engage in no debate; but it is with infinite pain that I have seen this resolution presented to the House. It is not, in my judgment a peace offering, and it is calculated to do nothing but harm.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I insist that the rule shall be enforced.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Georgia will understand that no debate is in order.

Mr. HILL. I have no objection to Mr. Anderson's course being approved; but this resolution introduced here to-day does nothing but harm in this House, and in the country.

The vote was announced as above recorded.

Mr. ADRAIN. I call for the previous question on the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. REAGAN. I ask leave to submit an amendment to the resolution. [Cries of "Object!"]

Mr. BARKSDALE. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. MAYNARD. I demand the yeas and nays on the adjournment.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The call for the previous question was seconded.

Mr. BOCOCK. I move that the resolution be laid upon the table.

Mr. CRAWFORD. I appeal to the gentleman from Virginia to withdraw his motion to lay upon the table. It cannot be carried. Let us have a vote on the resolution, and let us understand exactly where we are.

Mr. BOCOCK. Let the gentleman vote down my motion, if he does not approve of it. I want to show to the country that I, for one, am anxious to quench this firebrand introduced into this House this day.

Mr. LOVEJOY. And I am anxious, for one, to let the country see that we are ready and willing to sustain the Government.

Mr. HATTON. I demand the yeas and nays on the motion to lay upon the table.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The main question was then ordered to be put.

Mr. WASHBURN, of Illinois. I demand the yeas and nays on the adoption of the resolution.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. LEACH, of North Carolina. Is not the resolution divisible?

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will indicate what division of the resolution he proposes, and the Chair will decide the question.

Mr. HILL. I think that the resolution is divisible.

Mr. LEACH, of North Carolina. It is, I think, susceptible of division. First, we can vote on the first part of the resolution in reference to Major Anderson, and then on the portion in reference to the President.

Several MEMBERS. Read the resolution.

The resolution was again read.

Mr. LEACH, of North Carolina. I withdraw my demand for a division of the question.

Mr. RUST. I want to make an inquiry of the Chair. Can I propound an interrogatory to the gentleman from New Jersey?

Several MEMBERS. Debate is not in order.

Mr. RUST. I merely want to make an inquiry. [Cries of "Call the roll!"] I have the right to ask the Chair a question. [Cries of "Order!"]

The SPEAKER. No debate is in order, during the call of the roll.

Mr. RUST. I insist that I have a right to propound an interrogatory to the gentleman from New Jersey, in reference to his resolution. [Cries

of "Order." If the Chair decides that I have no such right, I appeal from his decision.

Mr. HINDMAN. My colleague had the floor before the roll was called.

Mr. ADRAIN. I hope the gentleman will be allowed to put his inquiry. It is only fair that he should be indulged.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to the gentleman's doing anything that is not in order.

Mr. ADRAIN. I will answer the gentleman's question, with pleasure, if permitted to do so. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. RUST. What is the decision of the Chair?

The SPEAKER. The Chair decides that, if objected to, debate is not in order, during the call of the roll.

Mr. RUST. The Clerk had not commenced calling the roll, when I took the floor.

The SPEAKER. But the main question had been ordered; and that cuts off all debate.

Mr. RUST. I do not desire to enter into any debate. My only desire is to put an inquiry to the gentleman from New Jersey. Upon his answer may depend the vote I shall give on this occasion. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. ADRAIN. I hope the gentleman will be allowed to propound his interrogatory. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. HINDMAN. May I ask the Chair a question for information? [Cries of "Order!"] I am in order. I want to ask the Chair what is in order. I understand the Chair to decide that when the main question has been ordered, it is not in order to ask the mover of a proposition for information. Is that the Chair's decision? I would like to hear from the Chair.

The SPEAKER. Debate is not order when the main question has been ordered to be put, unless by unanimous consent. The Chair has indulged gentlemen again and again when debate was not in order. He did not call them to order when they seemed to have the general consent to proceed. If the gentleman from Arkansas wishes to put a question, the Chair hopes he will be indulged.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to everything that is not in order.

Mr. RUST. Upon what grounds does the member object?

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object, sir, to everything not in order.

Mr. RUST. What is it that is in order?

Mr. HINDMAN. The member from Illinois does not know anything about what is or what is not in order. [Laughter.]

Mr. ADRAIN. I hope the gentleman will be permitted to propound his question.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to everything out of order.

Mr. RUST. I take an appeal from the decision of the Chair. [Cries of "It is too late!"] No, it is not too late.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman has a right to take an appeal. The question is, "Shall the decision of the Chair stand as the judgment of the House?"

Mr. FLORENCE. I want to hear the question that the gentleman from Arkansas desires to propound to the gentleman from New Jersey, before I vote on the appeal from the decision of the Chair. Unless I hear the question, I cannot vote intelligently on the appeal. [Laughter.]

The SPEAKER. The Chair has again and again decided debate is not in order after the main question has been ordered. Whenever indulgence could be extended to gentlemen, the Chair has extended it. Objection is now made, and the rule is imperative.

Mr. RUST. I withdraw my appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Mr. HINDMAN. I ask the Chair to indulge me while I put a question to him.

Mr. LOVEJOY. I object to debate.

Mr. HINDMAN. I have the right to put a question to the Chair.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will ask his question. Debate is not in order.

Mr. HINDMAN. I do not propose to debate. If gentlemen on the other side would allow me to proceed, I would be through in a moment, and they would save themselves from being placed in a ridiculous position. [Cries of "Order!"]

Mr. VANDEVER. I object to debate.

Mr. HINDMAN. I want to inquire of the

Chair whether it is in order for me to propound an interrogatory to the gentleman from New Jersey, touching the pending resolution which he has introduced? [Cries of "It is not in Order!" "Object!"] I am not asking Black Republican gentlemen on the other side for information, but the one who is presiding.

The SPEAKER. Nothing is in order but the call of the roll.

The question was taken; and it was decided in the affirmative—yeas 124, nays 56; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Charles F. Adams, Green Adams, Adrain, Aldrich, Allen, Alley, William C. Anderson, Ashley, Babbitt, Beale, Bingham, Blair, Blake, Brayton, Briggs, Buffinton, Burlingame, Campbell, Carey, Carter, Clemens, Coburn, John Cochrane, Colfax, Corwin, Covode, Cox, Curtis, John G. Davis, Dawes, Delano, Dimmick, Duell, Dunn, Edgerton, Edwards, Eliot, Ely, Etheridge, Farnsworth, Fenton, Ferry, Foster, Fouke, Frank, French, Gooch, Grow, Gurley, Hale, Hall, Haskin, Helmick, Hickman, Hoard, Hoffman, William Howard, William A. Howard, Humphrey, Hutchins, Irvine, Junkin, Francis W. Kellogg, William Kellogg, Kenyon, Kigore, Larrabee, DeWitt C. Leach, Logan, Longnecker, Loomis, Lovejoy, Maclay, Marston, Charles D. Martin, McClernand, McKean, McKenty, McKnight, McPherson, Millward, Montgomery, Moorhead, Morrill, Edward Joy Morris, Morse, Nixon, Olin, Palmer, Perry, Pettit, Porter, Potte, Edwin R. Reynolds, Rice, Riggs, Christopher Robinson, James C. Robinson, Royce, Sedgwick, Sherman, Sickles, Spaulding, Spinner, Stanton, Stevens, William Stewart, Stratton, Tappan, Thayer, Theaker, Tompkins, Train, Trimble, Vandever, Wade, Waldron, Walton, Cadwalader C. Washburn, Ellihu B. Washburne, Wells, Wilson, Windom, and Wood—124.

NAYS—Messrs. Thomas L. Anderson, Avery, Barksdale, Barret, Boccock, Boulogny, Branch, Brown, Burch, Burnett, John B. Clark, Clopton, Cobb, James Craig, Crawford, De Jarnette, Florence, Garnet, Gartrell, Gilmer, Hamilton, Hardean, John F. Harris, Hutton, Hawkins, Hill, Hindman, Houston, Hughes, Jones, Kunkel, Landrum, James M. Leach, Love, Mallory, Albert S. Martin, Maynard, Melzac, Laban T. Moore, Sydenham Moore, Peyton, Phelps, Pryor, Quaries, Reagan, Rust, Scott, Simms, Singleton, William N. H. Smith, Stevenson, Stokes, Vallandigham, Vance, Webster, and Wright—56.

So the resolution was adopted

During the vote,

Mr. BROWN said: Mr. Speaker, as this resolution may be construed to mean coercion, I vote in the negative.

Mr. BURCH. Believing the resolution to be an unnecessary *fire-brand*, and calculated to place the Executive in a false position, I vote "no."

Mr. CLARK, of Missouri. While favoring a part of the resolution, I must, under all the circumstances, vote "no."

Mr. JOHN COCHRANE. Having reason to believe that Major Anderson acted under the instructions of the late Secretary of War, I vote in the affirmative. [Laughter.]

Mr. DUNN. Having cause to believe that Major Anderson acted solely on his own responsibility, I vote "ay." [Laughter.]

Mr. HAMILTON. I do not desire to be understood as condemning the course of Major Anderson; on the contrary I approve it. I think he did right; and moreover, that he ought to be sustained by the Government. But, sir, for other reasons, believing the resolution to be untimely, I vote "no."

Mr. HARDEMAN. The Secretary of War having unequivocally denounced Major Anderson, I vote "no."

Mr. HATTON. The same reason that has influenced me, during this session of Congress, to vote against all such resolutions as the one now before the House—mere declarations of opinion, without any practical purpose in view—resolutions the consideration of which is calculated, if not intended, to create only angry and mischievous discussion—satisfies me as to the propriety of my voting against this resolution. Without reference to the merits of the proposition, I therefore vote "no."

Mr. HILL. As the President has not been in the habit of deferring his action to this, the House of Representatives, and as he has on some occasions acted adversely to the wishes of the House, I do not think it is necessary for them now to back him up. He will pursue whatever course he has marked out, regardless of their approbation. I vote "no."

Mr. HINDMAN. I have no difficulty in explaining my vote. No explanation is necessary. The act of Major Anderson was a direct and needless provocation of civil war, and therefore wrong in itself. His conduct deserves censure, instead of praise. If it was authorized by the President, then he has convicted himself of treason to liberty and the obligations of honor, dis-

regard of pledges, and a desire to plunge the country into all the horrors of internal strife and bloodshed.

Mr. KUNKEL. Believing that the action of Major Anderson was prompted more by a desire to secure personal safety than to secure the peace of the country, I vote "no."

Mr. LEACH, of North Carolina. The same reasons which I gave a while ago for not voting to suspend the rules, will control my vote now. I vote "no."

Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois. I desire to know whether these interruptions are in order during the call of the roll.

Mr. FLORENCE. I hope gentlemen will still be permitted to give the reasons for their votes, inasmuch as it has been allowed thus far without objection.

Mr. LOGAN. As the resolution receives my unqualified approbation, I vote "ay."

Mr. LONGNECKER, (amid loud cries of "Order!") by Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois, and others.] Believing that Major Anderson did his duty, and his whole duty, in the face of instructions to the contrary from the Executive, I vote "ay."

Mr. MALLORY. I hope my friend over the way, from Illinois, will indulge me in a word of explanation of my vote.

Mr. WASHBURNE, of Illinois. I object.

Mr. MALLORY. I will vote for this or any other resolution indorsing the conduct of Major Anderson in moving to a place of safety within his jurisdiction, but I will not vote for a resolution which goes further, and places me in the position of indorsing, beforehand, all the measures which the President of the United States may choose to take to enforce the laws and preserve the Union.

Mr. MAYNARD. I now vote against this resolution for the same reason that I voted against the resolution introduced some days since by the gentleman from Virginia, [Mr. PRYOR.]

Mr. MCKENTY. I have the honor of representing one of the most conservative districts of Pennsylvania—one that is strongly Democratic. Our political affinities and sympathies have been always with the South; but I do not believe there is a single man in my district that does not sustain the President in his course. While we have stood by South Carolina at the ballot-box, we cannot sustain her act of treason [Mr. GARTRELL. What treason?] against the General Government. I feel that the act of the President is merely defensive; and, sir, if the last page of our nation's history is to be a bloody one, let the responsibility rest with those who will make it so. I vote "ay."

Mr. MOORE, of Kentucky. If this resolution were confined to Major Anderson, I should vote for it with great pleasure; but I cannot vote for the residue of that resolution. Hence I vote "no."

Mr. NIXON. I stand upon the platform of the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws as they are; hence I vote "ay."

Mr. PEYTON. As I believe that the object of the mover of this resolution is to inaugurate civil war in our country, I vote "no."

Mr. RUST. Knowing that Major Anderson exhibited no extraordinary courage in going from a weak position to a safe one, and believing, if it is the intention of the President of the United States to maintain him in that position, it is in violation of his pledged word, I vote "no."

Mr. SICKLES. Believing that my constituents are inflexibly opposed to coercion employed against a sovereign State; nevertheless, convinced as I am, that they regard the act of Major Anderson as one done within the spirit of his instructions, and from patriotic motives; and that it is the sworn duty of the President, according to his oath, to preserve the Union by the employment of all constitutional means, I believe I only give expression to the sentiment of the city of New York, when I vote "ay."

Mr. SMITH, of North Carolina. I wish to say, explanatory to my vote, that regarding this resolution as an obstruction to the success of those efforts which are still being made by the friends of peace for the adjustment of our difficulties, I vote "no."

Mr. STEVENSON. I do not know what measures the President of the United States contemplates; therefore, I am unwilling to commit myself to any measure of coercion which he might attempt

to use against a sovereign State. Whenever he does it, I shall be unalterably opposed to it from the beginning to the end; and I vote "no."

Mr. STOKES. I have no objection to the first part of this resolution; but I am certainly opposed to the latter part of the resolution, if I understand it. Another thing; I do not believe this resolution has any tendency to reconcile the difficulties between the North and South, or to restore peace. It is known to every member upon this floor that I am for peace, for compromise, and for healing all these disturbing questions which now distract the country; but I do not believe this resolution will have any tendency to reconcile these difficulties. For these reasons I vote "no."

Mr. QUARLES stated that his colleague, Mr. THOMAS, was absent from the House in service upon a select committee.

Mr. MOORE, of Alabama. This resolution proposes to extend—[Cries of "Order!"]

The SPEAKER. No remarks are in order, if objected to.

Mr. MOORE, of Alabama. Just one word.

Mr. BRIGGS. I hope the gentleman will be allowed to proceed, as that privilege has been granted to others.

Mr. MOORE, of Alabama. This resolution, Mr. Speaker, not only commends the conduct of Major Anderson in seizing Fort Sumter, but also that of the President in retaining him there. For myself, I do not think that either deserves commendation. But as to Major Anderson's conduct, this House and the public can only form a correct judgment when the orders under which he acted have been made known. As to the conduct of the President, I think there can be no two opinions among candid and impartial men. A solemn promise was made by him to the Representatives in Congress from South Carolina, that the forts in the Charleston harbor should not be reinforced, nor their condition in any manner changed, until all efforts at negotiation had failed; these Representatives promising at the same time that there should be no seizure of these forts by the authorities or troops of that State. A solemn compact was made between them. But history will record it, that this Government of the United States, through its chief Executive, violated its pledge, and broke faith with that gallant little State.

On the other hand, how did South Carolina act? Did she break her faith, or did she observe the stipulations made by her authorized representatives? There was Fort Sumter, a strong and almost impregnable fortress, commanding the harbor of Charleston, overlooking that city, and invulnerable to a weaker power, threatened with invasion by a foe vastly superior to herself in numbers and in military appliances. Her troops could have taken possession of this strong fortification at any moment. A dozen unarmed men could have seized it. What an inducement was there for South Carolina to have repudiated the agreement made by her Representatives, and to have taken possession of this fort. She might have justified herself upon the ground of self-defense; that it was necessary to prevent any hostile troops from occupying a position from which their chief city might perhaps be destroyed; that it was necessary to seize this fort for the protection of their homes and families. Had this, however, been done by South Carolina, what would the world have said? What execrations would have been poured upon her and her citizens, and particularly by those who are now offering incense to the President for failing to keep his pledge! *Punic faith* would have been affixed to her name, and her infamy would have been proclaimed throughout the civilized world. Nor would it have been different had some of her volunteers or a mere mob taken possession, acting without orders; provided the authorities of the State had so far ratified the act as to hold possession of that fort. But, to her honor be it said, she kept her faith. [Cries of "Order!"] I vote "no."

Mr. BARKSDALE, in giving his vote in the negative, made an explanation, amid loud and continued cries of order, which rendered his remarks entirely inaudible to the reporters.

Mr. BARRET. So far as I am concerned, ["Order!" "Order!"] I have but a few words to say. [Cries of "Order!"] So far as my knowledge extends, I justify the conduct of Major Anderson; but, as I have no official information in regard to the subject-matter of this resolution,

I vote against it, believing it an improper subject of legislation at this time. I vote "no."

Mr. GILMER. Mr. Speaker, I have been under the most painful anxiety while this vote has been taken. Disconnect this resolution from the vote just taken, refusing, even, to have printed and considered, the resolution offered by the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. ETHERIDGE,] it is well enough. Had the rules, on his resolution, for a trial to settle the present alarming difficulty in some peaceful way, been suspended, as, in all deference to the opinion of others, I think they ought to have been, I would not feel at liberty to vote against this resolution. I know not what is to be the result of this vote; but if the resolution is defeated, and some gentleman who voted against the resolution of the gentleman from Tennessee, will move to reconsider that, I will move to reconsider the vote on this resolution, if it is defeated. If not, I will take occasion in some other way, and under different circumstances, to do justice to Major Anderson, and to indicate my loyalty to the Constitution and my regard for the inviolability of the laws.

To vote for this resolution, in reply to a denial of a proposition for peace, would, in my judgment, make up a record not desired at this time. I regret to feel it my duty to vote on this resolution as I shall. If, after we shall have tried to adjust our troubles in a peaceful way, and all honest efforts in that direction shall have failed, it may then be time to hint at other remedies. Until all chance for a peaceful adjustment is gone, I cannot feel it my duty to look after any other. If northern gentlemen do not feel at liberty to consider a proposition that may tend to peace, especially when the mover of it declared his only purpose was to secure reflections that might appear by amendments, which any gentleman might desire—for me, after this stubborn refusal to indicate a willingness for peace, to vote for this resolution, would, in my honest opinion, be wrong.

I have had the most solicitous concern that we might pass this most fearful crisis in some satisfactory way, avoiding civil war and bloodshed; and that I may still be understood distinctly to be for peace, rejecting all suggestions for war, a sense of duty constrains me to vote "no."

Mr. HARRIS, of Virginia. For the reasons assigned by my friend from Tennessee, I vote "no."

Mr. WEBSTER. Mr. Speaker, just one word before I vote. I approve of the conduct of Major Anderson in his removal to Fort Sumter. I also approve of the determination of the President, if such be the fact, not to order his return to Fort Moultrie, but to sustain him where he is. More than this, sir; I believe in that principle of government which is involved in the last part of this resolution: that it is the duty of our Government, as of all Governments, to see that its laws are respected and its citizens protected. But, sir, following, as this resolution does, immediately after the resolutions proposed for consideration by the gentleman from Tennessee, [Mr. ETHERIDGE]—resolutions which came from the conservative men of the South, and were held out by them as the olive branch of peace to the country, but which a very large majority of the members on the other side of the House not only declined to support, but actually refused to consider, it looks as if, instead of that olive branch of peace, the sword of war was to be returned. Consequently, I cannot vote for this resolution. I vote "no." [Slight applause on the floor and in the galleries.]

Mr. FLORENCE. How is my vote recorded?

The SPEAKER. In the negative.

Mr. FLORENCE. I intend that it shall remain so recorded, considering this resolution—[Shouts of "Order!"]

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is not in order.

Mr. PHELPS. I desire time to explain my vote, but I suppose it would not be accorded me, and I shall not violate the rules of the House. I vote "no."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

#### EIGHTH OF JANUARY.

Mr. SPINNER. I move that when the House adjourns it adjourn to meet on Wednesday next. To-morrow is the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans, and I presume every gentleman here has sufficient respect for the memory of the old

hero, who, if he were alive to-day, would put an end to all these difficulties, to vote for my motion.

Mr. FLORENCE. Everybody is for Jackson. Mr. HASKIN. I hope we shall adjourn over to-morrow in honor of the hero of New Orleans—the man who said "The Union must and shall be preserved."

Mr. LONGNECKER. I move that the House do now adjourn.

The SPEAKER. The motion to adjourn over takes precedence.

Mr. JOHN COCHRANE. I demand the yeas and nays on that motion, and call for tellers on the yeas and nays. I hope that members will not adjourn over, but will come here and do their duty to their country and to themselves.

Mr. LANDRUM. The country can attend to its duty better than Congress.

Tellers were not ordered.

The yeas and nays were not ordered.

The motion to adjourn over was agreed to.

Mr. SICKLES. I move that the House do now adjourn.

Mr. BRIGGS. I move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution in relation to Major Anderson was agreed to, and to lay the motion to reconsider upon the table.

The SPEAKER. That motion is not in order, pending the motion to adjourn.

The question was taken on Mr. SICKLES's motion; and it was agreed to.

And thereupon (at a quarter before five o'clock, p. m.) the House adjourned till Wednesday next.

#### IN SENATE.

WEDNESDAY, January 9, 1861.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Dr. GURLEY.

The Journal of Monday last was read and approved.

Mr. A. J. GLOSSBRENNER, the Secretary of the President of the United States, appeared below the bar, and announced that he was directed to present to the Senate a message in writing.

#### BILL BECOME A LAW.

A message from the President of the United States, by Mr. GLOSSBRENNER, his Secretary, announced that the President approved and signed, on the 5th instant, an act (S. No. 523) for the relief of George L. Hartsuff, United States Army.

#### COMMUNICATION WITH CHINA.

Mr. SEWARD. I submit a memorial from the Chamber of Commerce of the city of New York, praying Congress to adopt measures for the establishment of steam postal communication between San Francisco, in the State of California, and China. I ask that the memorial may be referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads; and as the subject is a very important one, and the memorial is argumentative and elaborate, and very interesting and able, I beg leave to ask that it be printed; which motion, I suppose, will go to the Committee on Printing.

Mr. GWIN. I hope there will be no objection to printing the memorial. It is on a very important subject. Must it go to the Committee on Printing?

Mr. HUNTER. It must go there anyhow. The VICE PRESIDENT. It must go to the Committee on Printing, unless by unanimous consent.

The memorial was referred to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads; and the motion to print was referred to the Committee on Printing.

#### STATE OF THE UNION.

Mr. SEWARD. I submit, also, the memorial of citizens of the State of New York, residing in the city of New York. The names subscribed to this memorial are those of the most respectable, intelligent, and patriotic citizens of the city of New York. They are such as John A. Stevens, James Gallatin, Robert B. Minturn, William B. Astor, August Belmont, Moses H. Grinnell, Hamilton Fish, Schuyler Livingston, Daniel Lord, Peter Cooper, William H. Aspinwall, Wilson G. Hunt, R. M. Blatchford, Shepherd Knapp, and others. This memorial presents the views of those citizens, on the subject of the great events which are transpiring in the country, affecting the integrity of the