Daily Appeal.

MEMPHIS.

TUESDAY, : : : FEBRUARY 26, 1861.

Largest Circulation in the City

Reading Matter on Every Page

STATE OR PROVINCE?—BOND OR FREE?

A political pamphlet, entitled as above, has been issued by Hon. ALBERT PIKE, addressed particularly to the people of Arkansas. We do not hesitate to pronounce it the ablest pamphlet we have yet read on the present crisis. Both in matter and in style it is unsurpassed by any production which has fallen under our cognizance on the subjects of which it treats. His analysis of the causes which have produced the present divisions of the two sections is made with the sagacity of a true statesman. His argument in support of the southern theory of our government, and against the northern theory, promulgated by WEBSTER, that the people of all the States as one people made the Government, is masterly and invincible. His view of the United States as a corporation is striking and forcible: "Thus it was that the fathers succeeded in effecting what had never before been attempted or suggested as possible—the forming, at one and the same time, of a Union of independent confederated States, co-equals, and retaining their individuality as States, and a national unity or single nation, for all necessary national purposes. They did not create some nondescript creature in part a league or confederation, and in part, one nation and one people; but they created both what was, *at one and the same time*, BOTH a league and union of many States, and ONE State. The motto, "*E pluribus unum*," did at mean that the many were fused together into one unity; but that, continuing many, they were *at the same time one*. And not only were the United States meant to be one nation for all the particular purposes specified in the Constitution, and independent and equal States for all other purposes, but by a beautiful application of the law of corporations, their corporate character appears or disappears whenever it is necessary that it should do so for the interest or advantage of the States that are the corporators."

The author urges that the real controversy between the North and the South is a radical difference as to the very nature and powers of the government, and that this is the true "irrepressible conflict." "*It is a difference of opinion that cannot be reconciled, and the northern people are nearly true to our one.*"

While they hold that this is simply a government of popular majorities, and degrade the States to the rank of counties or parishes, they have become too strong for us, outnumber us in people and in States, receive a hundred thousand emigrants per annum, have open space wherein to make six or seven new States, and announce it as their ultimatum, that we shall not expand southwardly or southwestwardly, but *slavery shall be prohibited in all territory hereafter acquired.* "He who reflects on all this, cannot well fail to see that separation was but a question of time." The doctrine of the North as to the territories, is but an application of their theory of the government—"a living reality in practice," and if the Southern States, from Delaware to Texas, do not mean to abandon their constitutional faith, admit that there is no union *of the States*, and submit to the worst of absolutisms, that of a foreign majority, they must stand shoulder to shoulder, one firm, unbroken phalanx, in this great emergency, and prove to the world that they are strong, wise, and patriotic enough to form and maintain a Constitution and government for themselves."

To expand, says Mr. PIKE, is the destiny and necessity of every young and growing nation. It is a law of its being. By the law of growth and natural right, the South-west is as much ours, as the North-west is the Northern or the Northern States. The law is more imperative with us because slavery gradually drifts to the southward, seeking more profitable fields of labor. Now the North says to us, "we will expand indefinitely to the North-west, and make new States there; if we acquire territory to the South-west, we will fill that likewise with our Vandalic hordes, until our States make three-fourths of the whole. In the meantime, you shall remain as you are. You shall not expand to the South-west; and we will also force slavery to recoil and disappear from the border States." *On this point they will make no concession.*

"We have four millions of slaves. How many years or upon how many generations we have ten millions? SLAVERY—all—are henceforward to be confined to the present Southern States. No doubt it will be well enough so, during our lifetime; *but how will it be with our children?* Are we ready, in order to purchase quiet and peace for ourselves, to bequeath such a calamity to them, as the perpetual confinement of slavery within its present limits would be? Shall we, to avoid a present danger, and that we may be permitted to fold our hands and sleep in dishonor, devise to them this accursed legacy? I, for one, will not consent to it. Better were treason against an unrighteous government, than treason against our own children!" He argues that it is both our right and a necessity to grow—plant new States, this is God's law; and the attempt to stay its operation has already shivered the Union, as a force shivers a vessel of fragile glass."

From the result of his observations at the Federal Capital, Mr. PIKE affirms most emphatically that which we have repeatedly and earnestly urged upon our readers, viz.: that the delay of the border States encourages the Republicans, and that as soon as LINCOLN is inaugurated he cannot help but attempt to coerce the seceding States, if the border States still delay. He says: "Emboldened by the hesitation of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland, *we can see* that the Republicans become more insolent, and speak in bolder tones of rebellion and coercion. THURLOW HALE talks bravely; LINCOLN objects to any compromise; and the very fact that any States have seceded is ignored. The names of their members are still called in the House. Blame South Carolina as much as you will, the attitude of the North, and all the acts of the Republican party go very far to prove, even to those most reluctant to believe it, that the separation of the Southern States *has not occurred a day too soon.*"

With cogent arguments and earnest appeals, he urges Arkansas, and the border States, to unite with the seceded States at once, and save that, "*if any compromise is patched up, somebody will be sold.*" He thus disposes of the hobby ridden by the *sellers of the experiment*, which has been so ridden by Union orators and writers.

"It is the common cry that the dissolution of this Union will be the signal failure of our experiment of free government. On the contrary, we are now proving that our institutions are not a failure. The world never saw such a drama as is now being enacted in the South. Without anarchy, without disorder, without interruption of the free and ordinary course of the laws, without suspension of the habeas corpus act, or troops to prevent or punish popular excesses, or even an increase of the police, the separation of a great confederation of sovereign States goes quietly on, with all the forms of law, all the solemnities of deliberation, all the decorum that could characterize the most ordinary proceedings in a period of profound peace."

If war results from it, it will not be by our fault, but in consequence of northern avarice reluctant to let those who have so long been its tributaries go free, and resolute to substitute another government for that which our forefathers made.

The new Republic, which is now being erected by southern patriots, the rival in arts and arms of the northern Government, and surpassing it in its truly republican institutions, *will be the sole evidence on this continent of the capacity of man for self-government.*

TEXAS ELECTION.

In accordance with the resolution of the Texas legislature passed at the last session, Gov. HOUSTON issued his proclamation requiring the polls to be opened in that State on Saturday last, the 23d inst, in order to allow the people to vote upon the question of ratifying the ordinance of secession.

The result of their verdict is scarcely, we apprehend, the subject of a moment's doubt in the mind of any one at all posted in Texas politics. The Galveston *News* of the 19th inst., speaking of the popular sentiment, says: "The statement is going the rounds of the northern papers, and our late Representative in Congress appears to have given ground for a similar impression that body also, that the majority of the people of Texas are opposed to secession—opposed to a Union with the sister Gulf States—in favor of one with anti-slavery States—in favor of remaining under Lincoln's rule. We are confident that on the 23d of February the reply of the voters of Texas to these assertions, will be given in such an undeniable negative, by such overwhelming majorities, as to convince even Greeley of his error."

☞ The Georgia State convention has been called together by the president to meet at Savannah on the 7th of March.

A FOREIGNER FOR SECESSION.

EDITORS APPEAL: The foreign vote of this State was, in the late election, against secession, and the reason assigned for it was, that the foreigners generally believed that their oath, of allegiance, prevented them from voting otherwise. This scruple, however, ought not to have interfered, whereas the governor of this State explained them before the election, that they were free in their choice. Therefore we expected that the foreign vote would be divided, just as well as that of the American, and we could not think that all the foreigners would unite against the Americans. We think it proper to state here, that it is our opinion that whenever a foreigner comes to this country and chooses a State to live in, either north or south of Mason and Dixon's line, whenever he takes the oath of allegiance he does not only bind himself to this country in general, but to the State of his adoption in particular. For this reason we, who live in the South, who have a vital interest in the institution of slavery, which we consider as an institution hallowed by and through nature, we are duty bound to protect it with all the influence which we can bring to bear. This institution is in danger when we stay united with a party whose fanaticism on one side, and sophistical infidel notions on the other, do not allow them to distinguish any more between right and wrong.

It is not too late yet. Let those foreigners come forward who are not Unionists at all hazards, and sign the resolutions breathing the sentiments of immediate secession, the only remedy for the South. A FOREIGNER.

VENALITY OF NORTHERN LEGISLATORS.

For many years past the dishonest selfishness of northern communities has been plainly manifesting itself in those occupying official public stations. Their legislatures and corporate bodies have been market houses for the purchase and sale of men and measures. Corruption and prostitution of public office to private gain has become the general rule, and honesty the exception. The notorious MATTESSON, whose rottenness caused his expulsion from the halls of Congress, was actually reselected by his constituents, who seemed to think that his grossly dishonest career was but another phase of Yankee *cuteness*. The Republican legislature, which assembled at Albany antecedent to the present session, was almost universally pronounced by both friend and foe, to be the most venal and corrupt body of men ever assembled. In the present legislature of New York, now in session, one of the members from the Brooklyn district, has been arrested for the crime of bribery and corruption. He offered to sell for $50 cash, and $50 on time, his vote in favor of a bill advancing the salary of the assistant-district attorney of Albany, from $1000 to $1500. The affidavit of the district attorney shows that the proposition was openly and boldly made, and not even disguised by this model legislator.

The New York *Herald* says that a little more investigation would probably develope a rich vein of bribery and corruption in that quarter.

"TO THIS COMPLEXION IT MUST COME AT LAST."

From the previous course of the Union-loving organ in this city, we were not surprised to see in its last issue an article approvingly copied from the Richmond *Whig*, in which appears the following extract, which we desire every Tennessean, in whose veins courses the blood of his Revolutionary sire, to peruse and ponder:

The conservative Whigs and Democrats of the South, and the conservative REPUBLICANS *of the North, must UNITE in forming a* new Union party, while the destructives of all shades of opinion by different modes must co-operate for a common object—disunion.

Here it is that we have the first out-cropping of the foul combination of isms—of southern supporters of the LINCOLN administration with *Black-Republicans*—to make war upon the great movement looking toward southern independence. "Conservative Republicans," forsooth, like WM. H. SEWARD and THURLOW WEED, with their *conservative* followers, are thus publicly and unblushingly invited into political affiliation with the so-called "Union party" of the South. We feel confident that there are now in our midst good and true men, who have been acting with this party during the late campaign, who will shun its contact in the future as they would a loathsome leper, so soon as this unnatural and unprincipled amalgamation shall be consummated. Southern men co-operating with the confessed supporters of ABRAHAM LINCOLN against the southern rights party! But our heart sickens at the contemplation of a proposition so monstrous and revolting. It will be spurned by the true and loyal yeomanry of the border States, for he who runs may see in it a Trojan horse from which will spring the elements of our own devastation. Let the PEOPLE beware lest they are *sold* into Egypt by the *politicians*.

ARKANSAS ELECTION.

The Des Arc *Constitutional Union* (anti-secession) of the 22d inst., concedes that the assembling of a convention has received the sanction of the people, and that the election of secession members to the convention has been accomplished. The *Union* says: "The time for Arkansas to take a bold front has arrived. Longer delay is dangerous, for the 4th of March will soon be at hand, when the people of Arkansas, by remaining in, will be compelled to bear arms against their brethren. The river counties are unanimous in favor of immediate secession, the Union candidate running at all, while in our town, one of the most devoted of the Union to the Federal Government, the unconditional Union candidate received but twenty-five votes. Mr. Totten, the candidate of the conditional secessionists, has been elected in this county, *and the condition on which he will vote for the State to remain in the Union is now despaired of by the most sanguine.* We are compelled to secede in defense of our rights; the alternative has been forced upon us, hope no longer remains, and *in a few days our connection with the Federal Government will be severed forever.*"

ANOTHER SEIZURE OF NEW YORK VESSELS IN GEORGIA.

We learn from the Savannah *Republican*, that, owing to a failure upon the part of Gov. MORGAN, of New York, either to forward the arms belonging to the State of Georgia, seized sometime since by the city police, or to deliver them into possession of the agent of the State in New York, three more vessels in port at Savannah were taken possession of on the 21st inst., by order of Gov. BROWN, and placed under military guard. These vessels, adds the *Republican*, are of sufficient value to make up a good portion of the loss, and we presume the governor will forthwith advertise them for sale at the expiration of thirty days, unless the arms shall be laid down in Savannah in the meantime.

☞ President DAVIS but spoke the words of soberness and truth when he proclaimed that the day of compromise had passed. It is useless now to be resorting to such pitiful subterfuge for delay as a general convention of the States. The seceded States will never entertain one moment's thought of being inveigled into any such Black-Republican project as the one proposed by CHASE, of Ohio, in the peace conference, looking to a postponement of "the rugged issue" until the 4th of April next. The South has been parleying in friendly defiance with her enemies too long already. It is now time for action—bold, prompt and fearless ACTION. The abortive efforts of irresponsible agents at whitewashing off the asperities of forms of law, all the solemnities of deliberation, all the decorum that could characterize the most ordinary proceedings in a period of profound peace."

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SUMMARY.

☞ The telegraph announces the death of Gen. Forbes Britton, of Texas.

☞ The river was falling at St. Louis yesterday, at the rate of sixteen inches an hour.

Our first page will be found to contain a variety of interesting matter, among which is a correspondence from Europe, principally on the commerce of Russia.

It is said in Philadelphia that Gen Scott and Gov. Hicks were prominent among those who gave the warning to Mr. Lincoln which occasioned his precipitate passage through Baltimore.

A bill to authorize the Postmaster-General to arrange the terms and conditions of postal service with seceded States, yesterday passed the Senate of the United States Congress, by a vote of 34 to 12.

In the House of the United States Congress yesterday, the tariff bill being under discussion, all the amendments of the Senate were concurred in save those on tea and coffee, which were referred to a committee of conference.

The United States Circuit Court has dissolved the injunction in the case of the abstracted Indian trust bonds, and decided that the Government is bound to pay the holders, since the bonds were received without notice of fraud.

The United States property in Texas has been quietly surrendered to the State authorities, the federal troops being allowed to leave with all facilities. Gen. Twiggs, in a dispatch to the State Department at Washington, says he has surrendered to the Texas authorities all the forts, arms, ammunition, etc., in the State. The property thus surrendered amounts to $1,300,000 or more.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE.—The Springfield (Tenn.) *Speculator*, a strong Union paper, in its issue of the 22d inst., says:

The prospect of a settlement of our national difficulties by the peace Congress, as it is termed, is somewhat gloomy, and Tennesseans will yet, perhaps, have to take their cause and their interests in their own hands. If they do, we have no fears that they will not maintain them against any foe who may try to wrest them from us.

☞ The Southern Congress at Montgomery, on the 22d inst., passed an act declaring and establishing free navigation upon the Mississippi river. This conduct, so characteristic of that liberality and catholicity of feeling which is known to pervade this assembly of statesmen, is nothing more than what we expected of them. We are gratified to see that every new step taken by them gives the "lie direct" to the base slanders that are being so diligently propagated by the enemies of southern independence throughout the border States. The calumnious speculations of these maligners must of necessity soon cease.

THE ICE CROP.—The New York correspondent of the Charleston *Courier* says:

If the South does not use our ice next summer we will have a good lot on hand and to spare. The season for gathering this most useful commodity has been very good. The total crop for this market will amount to the grand sum of over 400,000 tuns. It is stored all along the Hudson river from Poughkeepsie to Rockland lake. The average thickness of the ice gathered is thirteen inches, and the quality is unusually good.

☞ The mail clerks in the Nashville post office presented GEO. S. R. ANDERSON, the postmaster in that city, with a walking cane on the 221 inst., as a memento of their high appreciation for his kindness and gentlemanly deportment." It was given in contemplation of the resignation of his position on the 4th of March next.

☞ A dispatch hence to the New York *Express* says that bets have been made in Washington that JEFFERSON DAVIS will be inaugurated at the national capital before the month of May, and some here are excited enough to regard such an event as inevitable.—*Washington Exchange.*

A YANKEE PRINTER'S TOAST.—At a printers' supper, in Boston, in honor of the birthday of Franklin, the following toast was "drunk, all standing":

The South.—May it never be necessary to use shooting sticks to knock into pi the *forms* of our southern brethren.

☞ The Augusta (Ga.) *Constitutionalist* of the 24th inst., says:

About eighty recruits passed through this city yesterday morning on their way to Charleston, to join the South Carolina army. They were from Memphis, Tennessee.

☞ The communications of correspondents have been crowded out to-day by an unusual quantity of matter. The article of "J. P." and the one "To the People of Tennessee," particularly, will be attended to as soon as possible.

☞ The Charleston *Courier*, a most reliable journal, asserts that there is no prevailing dissatisfaction in that State at the course of the southern Congress at Montgomery. It is a slander of the Union-savers.

STARTLING RUMORS.

EDITORS APPEAL: Intimations have reached me late from divers quarters that a certain plot exists in a portion of the Southern States to rid the country of Black-Republican rule, which I cannot, although a strong secessionist myself, but deprecate and condemn. It is nothing more nor less than this: A set of desperate characters from different portions of the South have banded together under the name of the "Lincoln Office-holding League" who will proceed quietly and by different routes to Washington about the 4th of March, the ostensible object of their visit being to obtain the different offices in the South, while their real object is to assassinate Mr. Lincoln and Hamlin, and inaugurate a civil war at the Federal Capital. I give the rumor for what it is worth, and can only say that, if true, it is unworthy of southern chivalry and southern honor. "WIDE AWAKE."

STARTLING NEWS FROM CHARLESTON.

Suspected Movement to Reinforce Fort Sumter—Federal Reinforcements at Hand.

(From the Charleston *Mercury* of Friday.)

The special dispatches of the *Mercury*, announcing that a stealthy reinforcement of Fort Sumter had been determined on, and that Federal troops, in boats, might be expected at any moment that circumstances should happen to favor their attempt to reach the fort, were confirmed about 9 o'clock last night by telegrams received by the governor. Shortly after ward, dispatches came up from Fort Moultrie stating that the lieutenant in charge of the harbor watch had reported that he was informed by a pilot that the steamship Daniel Webster had been seen by him off Cape Romain at noon. Notice was immediately given to the different posts. General Dunnovant and Captain Hamilton proceeded immediately to Fort Moultrie. Major Stevens repaired to the Morris Island batteries. Everything was got in readiness for the expected visitors.

Up to the hour at which we go to press (half-past 4 o'clock) there has been nothing seen either of the Daniel Webster or her boats.

We are very sure that the gallant troops on Morris and Sullivan's Islands will keep a bright lookout for both.

NORTH CAROLINA.—A friend writing from ——, North Carolina, on business to the *Courier* office, adds: "North Carolina will be with you in a few weeks, and I trust many more will follow her. Mark my prediction! In less than thirty days from to-day, (February 15) instead of only seven States, there will be at least ten. Yours is a glorious State, and is engaged in a glorious work."—*Charleston Courier.*

CASES ARISING OUT OF THE INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY.—Three cases of political importance will soon be before the United States Supreme Court. These are an appeal from the territorial court of Kansas on a decision as to the right of the people of a Territory to exclude slavery therefrom; the controversy between Gov. McGoffin, of Kentucky, and Gov. Dennison, of Ohio, and the Lemon case, from New York.

☞ The London *Star* says:

If Mr. Buchanan does not intend to send relief to Major Anderson, why does he not order him and his handful of men to withdraw? The vacillation which marks the conduct of the Government of Washington is naturally exciting both indignation and contempt in the minds of all parties.

ACCIDENT TO MR. BOOTH.—A recent dispatch from Albany, N. Y., says that Mr. J. Wilkes Booth, a tragedian, met with an accident at the Gaiety theatre by falling on his dagger, and slicing a muscular wound under his right arm between one and two inches in depth. It is said, however, not to be of a serious character.

☞ A Tennessee paper says: "The Southern Congress at Montgomery have appointed standing committees on 'territories' and 'public lands,'" and pertinently or impertinently asks where are they? Let them ask the question a few years hence, and we will answer it to their satisfaction.—*Augusta (Ga.) Constitutionalist.*

☞ Mr. J. D. Garrison, of Calhoun county, Alabama, has recently discovered on his plantation, a rich mine of Tripoli. Tripoli is a rich mineral substance of great value in cleaning and polishing watches of all kinds.

☞ The Cincinnati Enquirer regrets to say that the only effect which has been produced by the speeches of Johnson and Etheridge, of Tennessee, and Clemens of Virginia, has been to make the Republican leaders more uncompromising than ever.

☞ The Cincinnati *Gazette* says of the recent election: "In Tennessee, the home of Andrew Johnson and Brownlow, the voice was one of unconditional allegiance to the Constitution."

PREPARATIONS FOR WAR.—We understand that Messrs. R. & J. Lachlison, founders, of this city, have taken a contract to furnish three thousand shot and shell for the State of South Carolina.—*Savannah Republican.*

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE.

Special correspondence of the Daily Appeal.

WASHINGTON, February 21, 1861.

There is a fund of amusement in the gravest matters of life. I once stood by the bedside of a dying country girl of divine beauty. She breathed her last, and a smile of ineffable sweetness lingered over her face, which made me imagine that when the pure spirit assumed the radiant robes of light and immortality, a part of its celestial vestments had perchance dropped upon the stainless body. The heart-broken mother stood weeping over the lifeless form of the much loved daughter, to whom, with all a mother's pride and selfishness, she ascribed every perfection. A neighboring countrywoman present remarked in accents of subdued sadness, "Alas! she now knows more than any of us." The mother responded, "Ah, yes, she sees was a mighty knowing gal." I could have laughed outright at this unexpected exhibition of maternal love and vanity if I had been on my own deathbed. Did the absurd indiscreetness of that assumed courage of a sorrowing mother ever strike you as did the unusual expression of the weeping mother? When I hear a man saying that he does "not believe in the right of secession, but when the circumstances arise that justify it he will march into rebellion with unflattering step," it ever occurs to me that he is steaming up more daring than there is any need for, and is seeking to satisfy his auditors of his infinite pluck by denying the existence of a simple right. He raises a cloud of smoke, sound and fury behind which to conceal a determination to submit to northern aggressions. When he talks of rebellion as a "right" which he will readily exercise calmly and deliberately, he intimates that secession and all ones, some backs down behind this triumph into slavish submission. There is supreme ridiculousness in the dodge, though it affects matters of the highest importance. It has always been my opinion that mere animal courage was the commonest of all attributes of God's creature, finding its chief development in a bullet carrier, and should never be boasted of by man.

My idea of allegiance is, that I only owe it to the Federal Government because my State with my implied assent "delegated" a share of that due her to the General Government. When my State withdraws her allegiance mice is withdrawn pro tanto, and then I recognize no civil government and no laws except those of Tennessee. I cannot understand these "rebellion men" when they denounce my secession theories. If they be honest in their exhibitions of courage and in their expressed determination to be guilty of treason in a certain contingency, it should surely be a matter of joy to them that in their sphere the contingency will by a large number of their fellow-citizens who are conscious that while others towardly condemn their own course, they are simply exercising a constitutional and legal right. Whenever Tennessee goes out of the Union, and sets at defiance Federal laws, I shall feel as perfectly satisfied that I am doing right in disobeying them as in obedience to the behests of my State, as I am now while I concur in the enforcements of such laws. If these fearless rebellion men have any such heroic spirit they never utter it against the doctrine of secession, whatever they may think of it. They can hope to attain no good by the inculcation or dissemination of their theory of government, save and except ultra submissionism, since it is true that no sane man would advocate practical secession, except for wrongs and grievances which should entitle them to rebellion.

Secession in my opinion is not rebellion, and the attempt to confound the two should not be made, since parties who have at least the real spirit of the South who would accomplish such a purpose. When Tennessee secedes, as she must sooner or later, the more men who believe with me in the exercising a legal right in adopting this measure of redress, the better for the State, and the better for the people, whether they concur with me in opinion or not.

These reflections have been suggested by a speech from a Kentucky Congressman, who to-day declared for rebellion as the true remedy, and denounced the doctrine of secession as treason and the crime of treason.

The cup of southern wrongs is almost filled to overflowing. The naval strength of Abraham Lincoln has been increased by the addition of some fifteen power steamers to his means of coercion. They are to be so constructed that they may enter all southern ports and harbors, and assail the cities of the South in the most powerful manner by the full vote of the Black-Republicans. Stanton's force bill, which I have already sent you, was passed in favor of this measure. It will, however be taken up and doubtless passed to-day. Bingham's bill, providing for the blockade of southern ports, is also before the House. Gen. Scott is still concentrating troops upon the Capital. His mercenaries meet one everywhere on the streets, and in the capitol itself. The republic of our fathers is rapidly becoming a military despotism, and in point of fact, as it already declared against the Southern Confederacy. Why does Tennessee stand idle? She cannot remain a disinterested spectator of the fight. Will she be content to occupy the degrading position, when all her southern sisters are struggling against the unprincipled hordes of the demoralized North? Has Tennessee lost all her manly and patriotic feelings? When the Southern States overrun, their cities pillaged, their commerce destroyed, their fields desolated by invading armies of abolitionists? Surely this is not her spirit. Yet she stands supinely by, and the North points jeeringly at her, saying to the South: "We have a faithful ally in your sister southern State."

The peace conference is doing nothing, but hoping to gain time for Lincoln's purposes. The Republicans of this body do not wish to vote against any proposition they receive, it is too late for Congress to refer it to the several States. Then it is said that Lincoln will call a special session of Congress, and advise the calling of a convention of the States, in order that, if deemed advisable, the Constitution may be remodeled. It is not the purpose, certainly, of the Republicans to do anything else but coerce the seceding States into a position beyond getting the money, they care nought for the secession of the cotton States. They fear the operation of a system of free trade, and hence Bingham's bill and the proposed deprivation of the South of legalized ports of entry. Mr. Seddin, of Virginia, says that the peace offering to the South, if any be made by the Republicans, will be accompanied by a pretext for submission; that it will be a naked bone thrown to the southern dogs, so naked that they cannot munch it. I will write again this afternoon. The immortal Edmonds, of the Adams express, puts this through for

MERCUTIO.

Second Letter.

Desiring to give your readers a satisfactory assurance that I have not misrepresented the leaders of the Republican party, nor the proposed policy of the incoming administration, I here give excerpts from speeches just made by Stanton, of Ohio, and Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania. With Mr. Stevens, Howard, of Mich., said to be the ablest man in the House on the Republican side, has just announced his hearty concurrence;

Mr. Garnett, of Virginia. I am to understand, so far as the gentleman is concerned, that he [Mr. Stanton] speaks for the members of the Republican party as far as he derives their votes for secession, and that their sentiment is against any attempt to recapture the forts in the seceding States?

Mr. Stanton. I do not say it never will be done. If we enter upon a war, in which armies are marching and countermarching between one section and the other, such a result will be probable. If all peaceful measures shall fail, and nothing else remains but open war, I do say that I do not know that anybody regards an attempt to recapture the forts as an impracticable or improbable thing.

Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania. I hope what the gentleman from Ohio has said will not be regarded as an expression of the united voice of the Republican party.

Mr. Garnett. So I thought.

Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania. For my part I differ from him, and agree exactly with what the President elect has reported to have said, and what I hope and believe he is authentically reported to have said. I know nothing of his intentions as the President, except what I see reported; but if he is what I understood him to be when I voted for him, I think it is his intention to retake all the public property of which we have been robbed—retake it by such means as are necessary, using gentle means at first, and if those fail such as become necessary.

Mr. Garnett. I thank the gentleman for his frankness. I thought the gentleman from Ohio was misrepresenting his party upon this subject. It is not the first time that that gentleman has had awarded to him by his party the confidence which is due to his services and his talents. He belongs to what is called the moderate section of the Republican party. But let me tell him—and I wonder that a man of his experience, and let me say of his logical mind, has not before discovered it—that in times of excitement like this, and in crises like the present, the moderates of every party will be drifted, as chaff before the wind, by the heart of popular feeling. The extreme men will rule. This is the lesson of parties, and the experience of history. Yes, sir, that gentleman does not represent his party in this House, nor the Republican party elect.

Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania. I did not say that the incoming Administration would unquestionably take the forts; I said that he himself (Mr. Stanton) did not speak for all the Republican party; that if Mr. Lincoln was what I understood him to be when I voted for him, then, when he came in, he would retake the property of the Federal Government.

Mr. Stanton. I take it for granted that the incoming administration of Mr. Lincoln will not recognize secession as a constitutional right; that it will not be treated as such; that it will be treated as a revolution. I let happen what will, I am assured that the conference will adopt such a plan as all the border States can stand upon, but whether the required number of States will adopt it as part of the Constitution, and make it the law of the land, is doubtful. This is the line at the door of settlement. Some time where the opponents of compromise sent to Kansas to secure the attendance of a delegate who, they hoped, would act with them. Toombs therefore appeared and asked admission, but the anti-compromisers, having but little faith in their ally, opposed his admission on the ground of the near approach of the final action of the conference. A greater part of the afternoon was occupied with the question of his admission.

This has been the most enthusiastic celebration of the birthday of Washington that has ever been witnessed here. The volunteer military paraded in the morning, and the United States troops in the afternoon. When the military passed the President's house, Miss Lane appeared at the window of the mansion, but the President did not show himself.

The tariff bill, by unanimous decree, decked the bronze statue of Washington with a flag and drapery, on which was displayed, in large characters, the words, "Peace, Peace, Peace." Most of the flags displayed had some device attached to them, such as "God save the Union," "We are for the Union," "The Union now and forever," etc., etc.

The tariff bill, having passed the Senate, is now to be considered in the House of Representatives. It will be referred to the committee of ways and means, of which Mr. Sherman is chairman, and it is probable that such amendments as the committee may recommend will be adopted. Subsequent amendments will be referred to a committee of conference, as any attempt to discuss the bill on its merits in the House would prove fatal for want of time.

Information received in-day from Montgomery indicates that the Congress will regard any attempt on the part of the United States to maintain its authority in the Confederate States as an act of war, which will be followed by instructions against it.

The collection of the revenue and the retention of the forts it would take as an attempt to hold them in subjugation.

No tariff bill has yet passed Congress. One will undoubtedly be adopted in a day or two, differing not essentially in its character from the present tariff in force in the United States. It will apply to all goods imported from ports north of Wilmington, Delaware, and proper bonds will be exacted from the shippers from the slaveholding States continuing in the Union, to guard against sham transactions. The militia of the seas will be invoked at once, in the event of blockade. Between fifty and one hundred privateers are in readiness for the ocean, and will commence operations at a moment's warning.

There are one hundred and sixty amendments to the tariff bill which remain to be printed. It will go to the Speaker's table, and then be within the control of a majority, when the preceding special orders are disposed of, which may be done by arrangement.

Captain Meigs reports the forts at Tortugas and Key West as now being in excellent condition. The recent reinforcements and provisions and munitions have rendered them equal to any probable emergency. Major Arnold was still in command of the garrison, and Lieutenant Jones took charge of the company which Captain Meigs commanded, until his successor, who is already ordered, shall reach Tortugas.

More evidence given before the stolen bonds committee shows the utter groundlessness of the charge. The telegraphic correspondent of one of the New York papers testified that he had not a word of fact for the sensation dispatch which he sent about astounding defalcations in the Departments.

Boston, thus far, seems to be the only city fully represented here by office-seekers. Every Republican journal of that city is represented in Washington, after some of the local offices in that city, or failing in that quest, they will accept foreign missions, if driven to it.

Mr. Buchanan leaves the White House for Wheatland direct on the evening of the 4th of March, immediately after Mr. Lincoln's inauguration.

CLEVELAND.

WASHINGTON, February 22.—Philip Clayton, ex-assistant secretary of the treasury of the United States, will leave for Montgomery, having been appointed to a similar position under the Southern Confederacy.

It is a general holiday here. All the Government and municipal offices are closed. The military display is large and imposing. National flags are flying in all parts of the city. Bells are ringing, and a salute of thirty-four guns is being fired, one for each State in the Union.

The Federal troops paraded this afternoon, apart from the District military, but in detached bodies, not in a mass, as contemplated by the official programme, the orders having been countermanded. The heavy artillery fired salutes at three points in the city.

The peace conference did not conclude its business to-day.

Col. S. S. English has been appointed surveyor of customs at Louisville.

It is authoritatively denied that any documents or letters for the South, or elsewhere, have been detained at the Washington post office.

Numerous petitions are received begging Congress for a bankrupt law.

Representative Van Wyck, of New York, was assaulted last night by three unknown persons, and wounded by a heavy knife, and while desperately resisting them was knocked down. Recovering himself somewhat, he discharged a pistol at them. He thinks the shot took effect, as the party retreated. Mr. Van Wyck reached his residence in a weak but not dangerous condition.

SOUTHERN CONGRESS.

The Montgomery *Confederation* of the 22d inst. says:

Most of the important business of Congress being transacted in secret session, we are hardly able therefore to lay before our readers such a full and interesting account of its proceedings as we would desire.

At precisely 12 o'clock, Congress is called to order by the President, and a prayer is offered up by one of the clergy of the city. This being done, and the journal having been read and approved, the clerk calls each State in regular order for memorials, communications and the like. After this the President calls for reports from the several committees.

Occasionally, though not very often, a gentleman presents a communication, which he accompanies with a few remarks or introduces a resolution, and rises to address, or makes some interesting report, on which no action is taken until the doors of Congress are closed.

On an average, we have one or two communications presented daily—probably a resolution—sometimes, about every other day, a speech of fifteen to thirty minutes, and now and then a report from the committee on correspondence.

It will be seen, therefore, that the time of open session is very limited, for as soon as the call for reports of committees is over—which is open session does not consume five minutes—a motion is made and carried to go into secret session, when doubtless a vast amount of interesting matters are discussed and transacted.

Now on yesterday, after going through the usual preliminaries, there was a call of States for reports from committees, communications respectively from Judge Chilton and Dr. Fearne, of this State, were presented and referred to the appropriate committees. A resolution of inquiry as to the export of duty on cotton, was offered by Mr. T. R. R. Cobb, of Georgia, and accompanied by a few very pertinent remarks from that gentleman. The President called for the reports from various committees, and Mr. Shorter, from the committee on engrossments, reported bills determining the salaries of the Vice-President and the heads of the various departments, and also bills organizing the State, Treasury, War, and other departments.

A motion was then made by Mr. Harrison, of Mississippi, to go into secret session, and in childhood's days; one emigrated North, the other South; both served in the Indian wars of the West; both commenced their political careers about the same time, both were President electors in the election of 1844—Davis for Polk, and Lincoln for Clay—both elected to Congress about the same time, '46 or '46, and were in the same year, and almost the same day, called to preside over their respective Governments—one as President of the United States, the other President of the Confederate States of America. One the rock upon which a nation has split, the other the corner-stone of a new republic.—*Montgomery Mail.*

WRECK.—The wrecked schooner Harriett Newell, Capt. Samuel Keach, which left Norfolk, Va., on the 5th inst., with a cargo of 300,000 bushels of corn for Boston, was off Absecom beach, N. J., on the 7th inst., has been published. The captain and five seamen, sp. Mr. Henry M. Davis, a passenger, a son of Capt. R. Davis, of Richmond city, passed the whole night of the 7th on the cabin house, the vessel having sunk to that depth, with the waves breaking over her. They were cumbered with quite only, on which the next morning the lee was four inches thick. All hands were badly frost-bitten.—*Petersburg (Va.) Express, 2 ed.*

REVIVAL.—We learn from the Georgetown (Ky.) *Journal* that an interesting revival is in progress at the Methodist church in that place, under the ministrations of Rev. Mr. Fox and Rev. Mr. Foster, who is assisted by the Rev. Mr. Hiner and Dr. Adams, of Lexington.

EXTRACT FROM SENATOR WILSON'S SPEECH.

The following extract from a speech delivered in the Senate of the Northern Congress, on the 22d inst., by Senator WILSON, of Massachusetts, may be taken as a fare specimen of sentiment in that State:

The venerable Senator from Kentucky comes forward as a peacemaker with a compromise. He accorded to the Senator from Kentucky purity of motive and patriotic interests, but said the plan for running the line of 36:30 was not a compromise but an unqualified concession, a cheat and delusion. The leaders of slavery through paganism, had fixed their hungry eyes on Cuba, Mexico and Central America, and had fought their battles on this question. They were ignominiously beaten by the people and then rebelled. The Senator from Kentucky (Crittenden) proposes also to make the rule applicable to all territory hereafter to be acquired. The freemen of the North, who fought the battle in November, will never accept this. He (Crittenden) also proposes to insert in the Constitution a provision that Congress shall not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia while it exists in Virginia and Maryland. Why should this nation bind itself to wait the pleasure of Virginia? Such a proposition is an insult to the United States. The amendment of Mr. Kentucky, seconded by the Senator from Illinois, provides that the elective franchise shall not be exercised by any person of the African race. Why is such a provision proposed? Is the class of men had exercised the right of citizenship in Massachusetts for eighty years, and the ancestors of these men fought with heroic courage in the battles for liberty and independence. *Never, or the North could never put the proposition of the Senator from Kentucky in the Constitution.* They would fear if they did the reputation of a mutilated and violated instrument, that their names would be