

in the vacation remove every subordinate officer here. As I am advised by gentlemen of experience in the Senate, they have to do it with the advice of the Vice President only during the session of the Senate. In that I may be mistaken; but I am informed that such is the fact.

Mr. BRIGHT. If the Senator will allow me, perhaps it would add to his argument to read the resolution of the Senate on this subject.

Mr. POWELL. Read it.

Mr. BRIGHT. On the 10th of July, 1854, a committee raised in this body for the purpose of organizing a proper corps of officers, made a lengthy report, accompanied by several resolutions. I will read the resolution referred to by the Senator from Kentucky:

Resolved, That the several officers and others in the departments of the Secretary of the Senate and of the Sergeant-at-Arms, shall be appointed and removed from office by those officers respectively, as heretofore; but when made during the session of the Senate, any such removal to be first approved by the President of the Senate, on reasons to be assigned therefor in writing by the officer making the removal; and when in the recess, such reasons, in writing, to be laid before the President of the Senate on the first day of the succeeding session, and to be approved or disapproved by him."

Mr. POWELL. It is quite apparent, then, that I have stated the rule correctly. If this resolution were adopted and these removals were to take place, during the vacation every subordinate officer could be removed. I will say to the Senator from Illinois, that it was not, and is not, my purpose to prevent, in any manner or form, this Republican Administration from possessing itself of all the offices. That is their business; not specially mine; but I have a right, as a Senator, to speak of the removals in this Chamber, for these removals are within our control, not that of the President. As I have before stated, I believe that we should resist this thing; we should keep up the ancient usages of the Senate on this subject, and allow these faithful officers to remain, and only remove them for cause, as heretofore.

I will say to the Senator from Illinois, that my "zeal," as he has chosen to call it, on this subject, did not arise from any desire to prevent the Republicans, Mr. Lincoln and his hosts, from having the offices; but from the simple fact that I wished to keep my friends on that side of the Chamber from this act of bringing miserable party questions in regard to the selection of its officers, for the first time, into the Senate Chamber. I did not wish those gentlemen, for many of whom I have the greatest respect, to be guilty of this burning disgrace, and, in my judgment, lasting shame, upon the Senate and the country. For that reason, and for that reason alone, I perhaps have exhibited some "zeal" upon the subject.

Mr. JOHNSON. Quite a number of nominations have been sent in by the President, and are now lying on the Secretary's table. I will renew the motion to go into executive session, for the purpose of disposing of that business.

Mr. TRUMBULL called for the yeas and nays; and they were ordered; and being taken, resulted—yeas 26, nays 10; as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Anthony, Baker, Bingham, Breckinridge, Bright, Clingman, Dixon, Douglas, Foot, Foster, Hale, Harris, Howe, Johnson, Lane, Latham, Mitchell, Nesmith, Nicholson, Powell, Rice, Sherman, Sumner, Thomson, Wilnot, and Wilson—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Cowan, Doolittle, Fessenden, Grimes, Harlan, King, Morrill, Simmons, Trumbull, and Wade—10.

EXECUTIVE SESSION.

So the motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business; and, after some time spent therein, the doors were reopened, and the Senate adjourned.

IN SENATE.

MONDAY, March 25, 1861.

Prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Dr. GURLEY.

The Journal of Saturday last was read and approved.

Several messages were received from the President of the United States, by Mr. J. G. NICOLAY, his Secretary.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The first business in order is the unfinished business of the last sitting on Saturday, being the resolution introduced by the Senator from New Hampshire, [Mr.

HALE,] for the election of a Sergeant-at-Arms and Doorkeeper, and an Assistant Doorkeeper.

Mr. HALE. As the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Howe] is in the midst of an unfinished speech, which the Senate want to hear, I move that that resolution, for the present, lie on the table.

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. If there be no objection, that course will be taken. It will lie on the table. The next resolution in order is the resolution introduced by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas,] on the 13th instant, relative to the forts, &c., in the seceding States.

DISPATCHES OF MAJOR ANDERSON.

Mr. POWELL. I ask leave to offer a resolution before the Senator from Wisconsin proceeds:

Resolved, That the President be requested, if in his opinion not incompatible with the public interest, to communicate to the Senate the dispatches of Major Robert Anderson to the War Department during the time he has been in command at Fort Sumter.

The resolution was considered by unanimous consent, and agreed to.

PAPERS WITHDRAWN.

On motion of Mr. POWELL, it was

Ordered, That leave be granted to withdraw from the files of the Senate the papers in the case of Jean A. B. Dauterive and his legal representatives.

REPORT FROM A COMMITTEE.

Mr. DIXON, from the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, to whom was referred a motion directing the Secretary of the Senate to procure from the publishers, for the Library of the Senate, twenty copies of the Annals and Register of Debates of Congress, and pay for the same out of the contingent fund of the Senate, at a price not exceeding that heretofore paid for the same, reported in favor of the motion.

FORTS IN THE SECEDING STATES.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the following resolution, submitted by Mr. DOUGLAS, on the 13th instant:

Resolved, That the Secretary of War be requested to inform the Senate what forts, arsenals, navy-yards, and other public works, within the limits of the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, are now within the actual possession and occupation of the United States; and by what number of men each is garrisoned and held; and whether reinforcements are necessary to retain the same; and if so, whether the Government has the power and means, under existing laws, to supply such reinforcements within such time as the exigencies and necessities of the case may demand; and whether the defense and protection of the United States and their interests make it necessary and wise to retain military possession of such forts, places, and other property, except at Key West and Tortugas, and to recapture and reoccupy such others as the United States have been deprived of by seizure or surrender for any other purpose, and with a view to any other end than the subjugation and occupation of those States which have assumed the right to secede from the Union, and within whose limits such forts and other public property are situated; and if such be the motives for recapturing and holding the forts and other public property, what military force, including regulars and volunteers, would be necessary to enable the United States to reduce the States aforesaid, and such others as are supposed to sympathize with them, to subjection and obedience to the laws of the Union, and to protect the Federal capital.

The pending question being on the amendment of Mr. CLARK to strike out all after the words "United States," where they first occur.

Mr. HOWE. Mr. President, I had said the other day that I was opposed to the adoption of the resolution offered by the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas,] because the Senator himself did not seem to need the information it called for; because I was not certain that the Secretary of War was prepared at that time to give that information; because I was not sure that it was wise to publish such information to the enemies of our country; and because, if the condition of the country was such as the resolution, and such as the speeches by which the resolution has been supported, seemed to intimate, it did not appear to me prudent at this time to inform the friends of the country to whose treachery that condition of the country ought to be attributed. I said I was also opposed to the speeches by which the resolution had been supported, because they seemed to traduce, to malign, systematically to belittle the Government of the country, and the people of the country, because, as it seemed to me, they tended to inflame the prejudices and the passions of the malcontents by attributing to their opponents designs and purposes utterly and

altogether foreign to their wishes and to their ideas; and because they were calculated to heighten, rather than to diminish, the alarm and the confusion among the loyal citizens of the Republic, by magnifying the difficulties which the Republic is to encounter.

I objected also to each of the plans proposed by the Senator from Illinois for the pacification of the country. I objected to the first scheme proposed, because, as it seemed to me, and still seems to me, it is impracticable. It seems to me, it is unwise, at a time like this, to demand of any great portion of the people of the country concessions to the other portion. When war is threatened, when force is paraded, that does not seem to be the happiest time to negotiate; and for this plain reason: because if that portion of the country which is assailed is very much frightened, it may make concessions which the welfare of the country does not demand; and because, if it is not much frightened, it may not make such concessions as will pacify the country.

Besides, sir, I do not understand how this mode of pacifying the country is to be carried out. It does not seem to me to be a practicable measure to assume to restore peace to the country, by giving a new constitution to the country. How are you going to do it? I believe there are thirty-four States which now compose the United States. I believe it will take twenty-six to amend the Constitution. There are already seven States, as I understand, which have assumed a position that will prohibit them from cooperating at all in the work of revising, or amending, or changing, the Constitution of the United States. If you attempt to do it, you cannot get either the assent or dissent of any one of these seven States. It is said there is imminent danger of another State putting itself in line with the seven. That will make eight who will not cooperate at all in this work of remodeling the Constitution of the United States. You must, then, have the approbation of every State left, in order to amend it. Can it be had? Ought the peace and prosperity of the country to be put upon the hazard of obtaining such unanimity as that? Suppose Massachusetts stands out, and will not adopt any amendment that you propose, or that has been proposed; suppose Ohio, suppose New York, the politics of which States are or have been a little capricious, should do so; suppose the State of Vermont will not assent to it, and you know how steadfast she has been; I believe she has not changed her principles since the Revolution; in point of fact, I believe she has scarcely changed her representation since the Revolution; suppose she cannot be induced to assent to any one of these amendments, or to all of them: will statesmen, will the representatives of the United States, put themselves in this attitude before the country—that a certain measure shall be named, and that every one of the States acting in the Union shall approve of it, or an actual disruption of the Union, and war between the different sections of the Union, shall be the consequence? I do not think that alternative ought to be presented; and if presented, I do not think it is calculated to lessen the alarms, to lessen the apprehensions, with which this crisis is now looked upon, either north or south.

I said, sir, that I was opposed to the second plan offered for our adoption. I was opposed to recognizing the independence of those States which have refused, or which may refuse to remain in the Union. Such a measure seems to me, as I said then, and repeat now briefly, to be incompatible with the honor, the interest, or the credit of the States which may remain in the Union. By that one step, they sacrifice whatever of credit they have heretofore achieved; by that one step, they verify the predictions of the enemies of republican government and of republican institutions throughout the world. Such will be its direct tendency and effect upon the welfare of those States which remain within the Union. What will be the result upon those States which shall see fit to go out of the Union, it is very difficult to foresee or to foretell; but the question which I want settled more than all others, and above all others, is this: whether that measure, if adopted, will actually give peace to the whole country. Suppose you recognize the independence of those seven States which say they will no longer remain within the Union: will that secure peace to the country? Is any representative here prepared