

LEWISTOWN GAZETTE.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY GEORGE FRYSSINGER, LEWISTOWN, MIFFLIN COUNTY, PA.

Whole No. 2593.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1861.

New Series--Vol. XV, No. 11.

DR. J. LOCKE,
DENTIST.
OFFICE on East Market street, Lewistown,
adjoining F. G. Francis' Hardware
Store. P. S. Dr. Locke will be at his office
the first Monday of each month to spend the
week. my31

DR. A. J. ATKINSON,
HAVING permanently located in Lewis-
town, offers his professional services to
the citizens of town and country. Office
West Market St., opposite Eisenbise's Hotel.
Residence one door east of George Blymyer.
Lewistown, July 12, 1860--17

Dr. Samuel L. Alexander,
Has permanently located at Milroy,
and is prepared to practice all the branches
of his Profession. Office at Swine-
hart's Hotel. my3-1y

EDWARD FRYSSINGER,
WHOLESALE DEALER & MANUFACTURER
OF
CIGARS, TOBACCO, SNUFF,
&c., &c.,
LEWISTOWN, PA.
Orders promptly attended to. je16

GEO. W. ELDER,
Attorney at Law,
Office Market Square, Lewistown, will at-
tend to business in Mifflin, Centre and Hunting-
don counties. my26

NOLTE'S BREWERY,
Feigrist's Old Stand,
Near the Canal Bridge, Lewistown, Pa.
Strong Beer, Lager Beer, Lindenberger
and Switzer Cheese—all of the best quality
constantly on hand, for sale wholesale or re-
tail.
Yeast to be had daily during summer.
my24-yr

McALISTERVILLE ACADEMY
Juniata County, Pa.
GEO. F. McFARLAND, Principal & Proprietor.
JACOB MILLER, Prof. of Mathematics, &c.
MISS ANNIE S. CHRIST, Teacher of Music, &c.
The next session of this Institution com-
mences on the 26th of July, to continue 22
weeks. Students admitted at any time.
A Normal Department
will be formed which will afford Teachers the
best opportunity of preparing for fall examina-
tions.
A NEW APPARATUS has been purchased,
Lecturers engaged, &c.
Terms—Boarding, Room and Tuition, per
session, \$55 to \$60. Tuition alone at usual rates.
Circulars sent free on application.

SILVER PLATED WARE,
BY HARVEY FILLEY,
No. 1222 Market Street, Philadelphia,
MANUFACTURER OF
*Fine Nickel Silver, and Silver Plated Forks,
Spoons, Ladles, Butter Knives, Cutlery,
Tea Sets, Urns, Kettles, Waiters, Bat-
ter Dishes, Ice Pickers, Cake
Baskets, Communion Ware,
Cups, Mugs, Goblets, &c.*
With a general assortment, comprising none but the
best quality, made of the best materials and heavily pla-
ted, constituting them a serviceable and durable article for
Hotels, Steamboats and Private Families.
Old Wares repolished in the best manner. fe13-1y

WILLIAM LIND,
has now open
A NEW STOCK
OF
Cloths, Cassimeres
AND
VESTINGS,
which will be made up to order in the neat-
est and most fashionable styles. ap19

New Fall and Winter Goods.
R. F. ELLIS, of the late firm of McCoy
& Ellis, has just returned from the city
with a choice assortment of
Dry Goods and Groceries,
selected with care and purchased for cash,
which are offered to the public at a small ad-
vance on cost. The stock of Dry Goods em-
braces all descriptions of

Fall and Winter Goods
suitable for Ladies, Gentlemen and Children,
with many new patterns. His
Groceries
comprise Choice Sugars, Molasses, Java, Rio
and Laguna Coffee, superior Teas, &c. Also,
Boots and Shoes, Queensware, and all other
articles usually found in stores—all which
the customers of the late firm and the public
in general are invited to examine.
R. F. ELLIS.
Country Produce received as usual and the
full market price allowed therefor.
Lewistown, October 25, 1860.

NAILS, Spikes, &c.—A large and full as-
sortment of Duncannon Nails and Spikes.
Also a full assortment of Tacks, Screws, &c.
For sale by
JOHN KENNEDY & CO.

**FRESH Raisins, Dried Fruit, Nuts, Can-
dies and Fancy Candy Toys** at wholesale
to country stores and confectionaries can be
had at A. Felix's, at a small advance on city
prices, for cash.

**75 cents per gallon for best Coal Oil, at
F. G. FRANCIS'S**

THE MINSTREL.

THE MEETING PLACE.
18. xxxv. 10.
Where the faded flowers shall freshen—
Freshen never more to fade—
Where the shaded sky shall brighten—
Brighten never more to shade—
Where the sun blaze never scorches—
Where the star beams cease to chill:
Where no tempest stirs the echoes,
Of the wood, or wave, or hill:
Where the moon shall waltz in gladness,
And the noon the joy prolong:
Where the daylight dies in fragrance,
Mid the burst of holy song:
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest!

Where the shadow shall bewilder,
Where life's vain parade is o'er,
Where the sleeper's soul is broken,
And the dreamer dreams no more:
Where the bond is never severed—
Sitting, slapping, sob and moan:
Midnight weeping, twilight weeping,
Heavy mournings—all are done.
Where the children fond his mother,
Where the mother finds the child:
Where dear families are gathered,
That were scattered on the wild:
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest!

Where the hidden wound is healed,
Where the blighted life re-blooms,
Where the snifter heart the freshness
Of its boyhood youth resumes:
Where the love that here we lavish
On the withering leaves of time,
In an ever spring bright climate,
Where we find the joy of loving,
As we never loved before—
Shall have faded flowers to fix on
Loving on, unchilled, unnumbered,
Loving once and evermore!

Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest!

Where a blasted world shall brighten,
Underneath a bluer sphere,
And a softer, gentler sunshine
Shed its healing splendour here:
Where earth's barren vales shall blossom,
Putting on their robe of green,
And the King in Kingly Eden
Be where only wastes have been:
Where a King in Kingly Glory,
Such as earth has never known,
Shall assume the Father's sceptre,
Claim and wear the Holy crown,
Brother, we shall meet and rest,
Mid the holy and the blest!

EDUCATIONAL.

Edited by A. S. Smith, County Superintendent.

School Exhibitions.
For a few years past the practice has
been gaining ground of closing the term of
school with a public evening exhibition.—
It is urged in favor of this custom, that it
gives patrons and the community a good
opportunity to judge of the progress made
by the pupils, and that it familiarizes pu-
pils with appearing before an audience,
thus enabling them to overcome their awk-
wardness and timidity, and giving them
self control and confidence.

These are certainly benefits worthy of
consideration, and if public exhibitions con-
tribute to their acquisition as fully as is
claimed and no counterbalancing injuries
result from them, surely they should be
countenanced and encouraged. But it
may fairly be doubted whether these benef-
its are secured, and whether injuries do
not result from them. No exhibition, con-
sisting of declamations, dialogues and show
generally, gives any just evidence of the
proficiency of scholars in the branches
taught in the school. A boy may perform
his part in a dialogue creditably and yet
not have learned anything during the whole
term of school, not even to be obedient to
his teacher. Another boy may be unable
to take part with credit in any public per-
formance, and still may have made rapid
progress in all his studies continually.—
The best way to show what scholars have
learned, is to examine them in branches
they have learned; and it certainly seems
a most fitting mode of bringing a school to
its close, to have a public examination, not
for the purpose of hoodwinking patrons by
special preparation, not for the sake of gain-
ing a brilliant reputation for a teacher, but
to enable the patrons of a school to see just
what has been accomplished. If scholars
know that such an examination is to be held,
they will naturally be desirous to make due
preparation for it; under the guidance of a
judicious teacher, they will strive to mas-
ter every principle studied, and qualify
themselves for a creditable exhibition of their
attainments. This course would much
promote the excellent practice of thorough
reviewing, and stimulate teachers to do their
duty faithfully, and in such a way as to
secure the appreciation of intelligent observ-
ers. It would deepen the teacher's sense
of his responsibility, to some extent, to his
patrons.

An exhibition of the proficiency of pu-
pils in composition and declamation, is per-
fectly proper and wholly commendable,
and may very fitly follow the examination,
adding to it interest and profit.

This public examination would be far
more satisfactory to a very intelligent per-
son than a mere exhibition. And it would
be hardly less promotive of self-control and
ease of manner on the part of pupils. It
would be wholly in the direction deemed
most excellent, toward a more complete
mastery of the branches of useful learning,
and readiness of expression.

Two grave objections may be urged
against school exhibitions as they are usu-
ally conducted. First, to make an exhibi-
tion satisfactory requires no little time
and attention which scholars might devote
to more useful purposes. As a general
fact, when pupils become sufficiently inter-
ested in an exhibition to ensure its success,
their minds must be more or less withdrawn
from regular studies, and thus the principal
object of the school is partially if not
wholly defeated. Second; an exhibition
is supposed to be for the entertainment of
the audience; it is thought this entertain-

ment can be rendered complete only by a
very large proportion of fun. So the decla-
mations frequently, the dialogues always,
contain a liberal infusion of what will ex-
cite laughter; and, as a natural consequence,
the scholars must commit to memory much
that is of no possible benefit, sometimes sen-
timents that may be a milldew to their moral
nature.

It is not asserted, as it is not believed,
by the writer, that an exhibition is neces-
sarily bad or always injudicious. If pro-
per care be taken in the selection of the
declamations and dialogues, and if no un-
due time or attention be devoted to it, all
which a teacher can control, then it is
wholly unobjectionable. Still, it ought to
be made subordinate to our honest exami-
nation, and should never be suffered to
consume the pupils time, or to absorb in-
terest that might be more wisely directed.

Aphorisms on Education.
The dispositions of children, instead of
being made touchy, irritable or forward by
indulgence, or cowardly and slavish by ex-
cessive harshness, should be made as open
and cheerful as possible.

Parents and teachers must seek occasions
of securing and maintaining influence
over children, by means personal respect.
Bodily punishment is only admissible
where children or pupils violate the respect
due to age, or a law of education. On the
other hand, the sense of shame and of hon-
or should early be awakened. Where
mental training is wanting, the position of
man is infinitely low; he becomes like a
beast.

PLATO.
The true victories, the only ones which
we need never lament, are those won over
the dominion of ignorance.

The employment most honorable, and
most profitable to the people, is to labor for
the diffusion and extension of the ideas of
men.

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.
Heaven be thanked that it is a point of
honor to care for schools. For men with-
out schools are men without humanity; like
birds that cannot fly, or fish that cannot
swim.

As much as a dollar is worth more than
a penny, so much are the intellectual pow-
ers more valuable than the bodily.

The child must observe and think, and
learn to retain his thoughts in his memory;
and this the school teachers.

He must be continually mindful of God
and his duty; and must cultivate his sense
of the beautiful and lofty; and this the
school causes.

He must accumulate and arrange hu-
man knowledge, express his thoughts by
words, and make himself understood by
others; which the schools make practica-
ble.

Childhood is the planting-time for the
whole life. He who cares for the school,
cares for the most important planting time,
not only for earth, but also for Heaven.

Neither poverty nor labor can excuse a
father from educating his children.

I assure every father who has a heart,
and who neglects this duty, that he will
one day weep bitter tears over his fault,
and will never escape remorse for it.

MISCELLANEOUS.

**The President and the South Carolina
Commissioners.**
The correspondence between the Presi-
dent and the South Carolina Commis-
sioners has been published. The latter sub-
mitted it to the Convention of that State,
where it was read in 'secret session,' but
the injunction of secrecy having been re-
moved, it soon appeared in the Charleston
papers.

The first letter is dated Washington,
December 28, and was written by the Com-
missioners to Mr. Buchanan. It is accom-
panied by a copy of their 'full powers' to
treat with the government of the United
States, for the delivery of forts, etc., and
for the settlement of all financial questions
in which South Carolina and the Union
possessed a mutual interest, but it com-
plains that the peaceful negotiations origi-
nally contemplated have been rendered im-
possible by the removal of Major Ander-
son to Fort Sumter. The presence of any
of the national troops in the harbor of
Charleston is considered a 'standing men-
ace,' and their immediate withdrawal is
therefore recommended.

The President's reply is dated December
30. He gives quite a full history of his
proceedings in reference to the South Car-
olina movement up to that time, and of the
motives by which he has been governed.
He quotes from his last annual message to
show that he has no authority to determine
the character of the relations which shall
exist between the several States, but that
his chief duty is to enforce the laws, and
that therefore he cannot receive the Com-
missioners at all in their official capacity,
but simply 'as private gentlemen of the
highest character.'

He then proceeds to consider the alleged
'pledge,' about which much has been said,
that no change would be made in the mili-
tary arrangements at Charleston, gives the
'agreement,' and his understanding of it,
and then quotes an order issued by the
Secretary of War, on the 11th of Decem-
ber, to Major Anderson, but not brought to
his notice until the 21st. It is as follows:
*Memoranda of Verbal Instructions to Major
Anderson 1st Artillery, Commanding
Fort Moultrie, South Carolina:*

You are aware of the great anxiety of the
Secretary of War that a collision of the troops
with the people of the State shall be avoided,
and of his studied determination to pursue
a course with reference to the military force
and forts in this harbor which shall guard
against such a collision. He has, therefore,
carefully abstained from increasing the force
at this point, or taking any measures which
might add to the present excited state of the
public mind, or which would throw any
doubt on the confidence he feels that South
Carolina will not attempt by violence to ob-
tain possession of the public works or inter-
fere with their occupancy.

But as the counsel and acts of rash and im-
pulsive persons may possibly disappoint these
expectations of the Government, he deems it
proper that you should be prepared with in-
structions to meet so unhappy a contingency.
He has, therefore, directed me verbally to
give you such instructions.

You are carefully to avoid every act which
would needlessly tend to provoke aggression,
and for that reason you are not, without nec-
essity, to take up any position which could
be construed into the assumption of a hostile
attitude; but you are to hold possession of
the forts in this harbor, and if attacked you
are to defend yourself to the last extremity.
The smallest show of force will not permit
you, perhaps, to occupy more than one of
the three forts, but an attack on, or attempt
to take possession of either of them, will be
regarded as an act of hostility, and you may
then put your command into either of them
which you may deem most proper to increase
its power of resistance. You are also author-
ized to take similar steps whenever you have
tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a
hostile act.

D. P. BUTLER,
Assistant Adjutant General.
Fort Moultrie, S. C., Dec. 11, 1860.
This is in conformity to my instructions to
Major Beull. JOHN B. FLOYD,
Secretary of War.

It is certainly questionable whether the
last sentence of these instructions did not
fully authorize Major Anderson to change
his position, for, by all the accounts from
Charleston which have reached us, there
seems little doubt that he had an abun-
dance of 'tangible evidence' of a design to
capture Fort Sumter or attack Fort Moul-
trie, when threats indicative of such a pur-
pose were daily resounding through the
streets, and when the Convention was dis-
cussing plans for their seizure. However,
Mr. Buchanan argues in his letter that
Major Anderson acted entirely 'upon his
own responsibility, and without authority,'
and that his first promptings were to order
him to return to his original position. But
the intelligence that Castle Pinckney and
Fort Moultrie had been seized by the South
Carolina authorities, and the 'Palmetto
flag' hoisted over them, as well as over the
custom house and post office, immediately
changed this determination. He concludes
as follows:

"It is under all these circumstances that I
am urged immediately to withdraw the troops
from the harbor of Charleston, and I am in-
formed that negotiation is impossible. This
I cannot do; this I will not do. Such an idea
was never thought of by me in any possible
contingency. No such allusion had been
made in any communication between myself
and any human being. But the inference is
that I am bound to withdraw the troops from
the only fort remaining in possession of the
United States in the harbor of Charleston,
because the officer there in command of all
the forts, thought proper without instruc-
tions to change his position from one of them
to another.

"At this point of writing I have received
information, by telegraph, from Capt. Hum-
phreys, in command of the Arsenal at Char-
leston, that it has to day (Sunday, 30th) been
taken by force of arms. It is estimated that
the munitions of war belonging to the United
States, in this arsenal, are worth half a mil-
lion of dollars.

"Comment is needless. After this infor-
mation, I have only to add that whilst it is
my duty to defend Fort Sumter, as a portion
of the public property of the United States,
against hostile attacks from whatever quarter
they may come, by such means as I may pos-
sess for this purpose, I do not perceive how
such a defence can be construed into a men-
ace against the city of Charleston.

"With great personal regard, I remain
yours, &c., JAMES BUCHANAN.
To Honorable Robert W. Barnwell, J.
H. Adams, J. L. Orr."

The Commissioners replied to this letter
under date of January 1, 1861, and they
bitterly upbraided him for an alleged change
in his policy. The tone of this extraordi-
nary document may be inferred from the
following extracts. Referring to his course
several weeks ago, they say:

"Seeing very clearly that this question of
property was a difficult and delicate one, you
manifested a desire to settle it without a col-
lision. You did not reinforce the garrison in
the harbor of Charleston. You removed a
distinguished and veteran officer from the
command at Fort Moultrie because he at-

tempted to increase his supply of ammunition.
You refused to send additional troops to the
same garrison, when applied for by the offi-
cer appointed to succeed him. You accepted
the resignation of the oldest and most eminent
member of your Cabinet, rather than allow
the garrison to be strengthened. You com-
manded an officer stationed at Fort Sumter to
return immediately to the arsenal forty mus-
kets which he had taken to arm his men. You
expressed, not to one, but to many of the
most distinguished of our public characters,
whose testimony will be placed upon the re-
cord, whenever it is necessary, your anxiety
for a peaceful termination of this controver-
sy, and your willingness not to disturb the
military status of the forts, if Commissioners
should be sent to the Government, whose
communications you promised to submit to
Congress."

They conclude their letter as follows:
"By your course you have probably ren-
dered civil war inevitable. Be it so. If you
choose to force the issue upon us, the State
of South Carolina will accept it, and relying
upon him who is the God of Justice, as well
as the God of Hosts, will endeavor to per-
form the great duty which lies before her,
hopefully, bravely, and thoroughly.

"Our mission being one for negotiation and
peace, and your note leaving us without hope
of a withdrawal of the troops from Fort
Sumter, or of the restoration of the status
quo existing at the time of our arrival, and
intimating, as we think, your determination
to reinforce the garrison in the harbor of
Charleston, we respectfully inform you that
we purpose returning to Charleston to-mor-
row afternoon."

This letter, which is one of the most im-
pertinent and insulting epistles ever sent
to the ruler of a great country, was not re-
plied to at all by the President, further
than by the following significant endorse-
ment:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, 3 o'clock.
This paper, just presented to the President,
is of such a character that he declines to re-
ceive it."

It is evident that the secessionists at one
time hoped to lure Mr. Buchanan on to a
'lower depth' of complicity with their trea-
sonable designs, from which he shrank
back with horror; and that, after all the
concessions he has made to them, they are
now becoming as hostile and antagonistic
to him as to the Republican party.

Special Message from Buchanan.
WASHINGTON, January 9.
To the Senate and House of Representatives:

At the opening of your present session I
called your attention to the dangers which
threatened the existence of the Union. I ex-
pressed my opinion freely concerning the
original causes of these dangers, and recom-
mended such measures as I believed would
have the effect of tranquillizing the country
and saving it from the peril in which it had
been needlessly and most unfortunately in-
volved. Those opinions and recommendations
I do not propose now to repeat. My
own convictions upon the whole subject re-
main unchanged. The fact that a great ca-
lamity was impending over the nation was
even at that time acknowledged by every
intelligent citizen. It had already made itself
felt throughout the length and breadth of the
land.

The necessary consequences of the alarm
thus produced were most deplorable. The
imports fell off with a rapidity never known
before except in time of war, in the history
of our foreign commerce. The treasury was
unexpectedly left without the means which it
had reasonably counted upon to meet its pub-
lic engagements, trade was paralyzed, man-
ufactures were stopped, the best public secu-
rities suddenly sunk in the market, every spe-
cies of property depreciated more or less, and
thousands of poor men, who depended on
their daily labor for their daily bread, were
turned out of employment. I deeply regret
that I am not able to give you any informa-
tion upon the state of the Union which is
more satisfactory than what I was then ob-
liged to communicate. On the contrary, mat-
ters are still worse at the present time than
they were. When Congress met a strong
hope prevailed that the whole public mind
would be speedily made by the Representa-
tives of the States and of the people, which
might restore peace between the conflicting
sections of the country.

That hope has been diminished by a
hour of delay, and as the prospect of a blood-
less settlement fades away, the public dis-
sent becomes more and more aggravated. As
an evidence of this, it is only necessary to
say that the Treasury notes authorized by
the act of the 17th December last, were
advertised according to law, and that no respo-
sible bidder offered to take any considerable
sum at par, at a lower rate of interest than
12 per cent. From these facts it appears that
in a government organized like ours, domes-
tic hostility, or even a well grounded fear of civil
hostilities, is more destructive to our pub-
lic and private interests than the most formi-
dable foreign war.

In my annual message I expressed the con-
viction which I have long deliberately held,
and which recent reflection has only tended
to deepen and confirm, that no State has the
right, by its own act, to secede from the Union
or throw off its Federal obligations at
pleasure. I also declared my opinion to be,
that even if that right existed, and should be
exercised by any State of the Confederacy, the
Executive Department of this Government
had no authority under the Constitution to
recognize its validity by acknowledging the
independence of such State. This left me no
alternative, as the Chief Executive officer, un-
der the Constitution of the United States, but
to collect the public revenue and protect the
public property, as far as this might be prac-
ticable under the existing laws. This is still
my purpose. My province is to execute, not
to make the laws. It belongs to Congress ex-
clusively to repeal, modify, or enlarge their

provisions to meet exigencies as they occur.
I possess no dispensing power. I certainly
had no right to make an aggressive war upon
any State, and I am perfectly satisfied that
the Constitution has wisely withheld that power
even from Congress.

But the right and the duty to use the mili-
tary force defensively against those who re-
sist the Federal officers in the execution of
their legal functions, and against those who
assail the property of the Federal Govern-
ment, is clear and undeniable. But the dan-
gerous and hostile attitude of States towards
each other has already far transcended and
cast into the shade the ordinary Executive
duties already provided for by law, has as-
sumed such vast and alarming proportions as
to place the subject entirely above and be-
yond the Executive control. The fact cannot
be disguised that we are in the midst of a
great revolution. In all its various bearings,
therefore, I commend the question to Con-
gress, as the only human tribunal under
Providence possessing the power to meet the
existing emergency. To them exclusively be-
ongs to declare war, or authorize the employ-
ment of the military force in all cases con-
templated by the Constitution, and they alone
possess the power to remove the grievances
which might lead to war, and to secure peace
and union to this distracted country. On
them, and on them alone, rests the responsi-
bility.

The Union is a sacred trust left by our re-
volutionary fathers to their descendants, and
never did any other people inherit so rich a
legacy. It has rendered us prosperous in
peace and triumphant in war. The national
flag has floated with glory over every sea.
Under its shadow American citizens have
found protection and respect in all lands be-
neath the sun. If we descend to considera-
tions of purely material interest, when, in
the history of all time, has a confederacy
been bound together with such strong ties of
mutual interest? Each portion of it is de-
pendent on all, and all upon each portion, for
prosperity and domestic security. A free
trade throughout the whole supplies the wants
of one portion from the productions of another,
and scatters wealth everywhere. The great
planting and farming States require, and
commercial navigating States send their prod-
ucts to domestic and foreign markets,
and furnish a naval power to render their
transportation secure against all hostile at-
tacks. Should the Union perish in the midst
of the present excitement, we have already
had a sad foretaste of the universal suffering
which would result from its destruction. The
calamity would be severe in every portion of
the Union, and would be quite as great, to
say the least, in the Southern as in the North-
ern States.

The greatest aggravation of the evil, and
that which would place us in a most unfavor-
able light, both before the world and posterity,
is, as I am firmly convinced, that the se-
cession movement has been chiefly based upon
a misapprehension at the South of the senti-
ments of the majority in several of the North-
ern States. Let the question be transferred
from political assemblies to the ballot-
box, and the people themselves would speedily
redress the serious grievances which the
South have suffered. But, in Heaven's name,
let the trial be made before we plunge into an
armed conflict upon the mere assumption that
there is no other alternative.

Time is a great conservative power. Let
us pause at this momentous moment, and af-
ford the people of both the North and South
an opportunity for reflection. Would that
South Carolina had been convinced of this
truth before her precipitated action. I there-
fore appeal, through you, to the people of the
country, to declare in their might that "THE
UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED" by
all constitutional means.

I most earnestly recommend that you de-
vote yourselves exclusively to the question
how this can be accomplished in peace. All
other questions, when compared with this,
sink into insignificance. The present is no
time for palliation. Action, prompt action,
is required. A delay in Congress to prescribe
and recommend a distinct and practical pro-
position for conciliation, may drive us to a
point from which it will be almost impossible
to recede. A common ground on which con-
ciliation and harmony may be produced is
surely not unattainable.

The proposition to compromise by letting
the North have exclusive control of the terri-
tory above a certain line, and giving South-
ern institutions protection below that line,
ought to receive universal approbation. In
itself, indeed, it may not be entirely satisfac-
tory; but when the alternative between a
reasonable concession on both sides, and the
destruction of the Union, it is an imposition
on the patriotism of Congress to assert that
its members will hesitate for a moment.

Even now the danger is upon us. In sev-
eral States which have not seceded, the forts,
arsenals, and magazines of the United States
have been seized. This is by far the most se-
rious step which has been taken since the
commencement of the troubles. This public
property has long been left without garrisons
and troops for its protection, because no per-
son doubted its security under the flag of the
country in all the States of the Union. Be-
sides, our small army has hardly been suffi-
cient to guard our remote frontiers against
Indian incursions. The seizure of this prop-
erty, from all appearances, was purely aggres-
sive, not in resistance to an attempt to con-
cede a State or States to remain in the Union.

At the beginning of these unhappy trou-
bles, I determined that no act of mine should
increase the excitement in either section of
the country. If the political conflict were to
end in civil war, it was my determined pur-
pose not to commence it nor even to furnish
an excuse for it by any act of this Govern-
ment. My opinion remains unchanged, that
justice as well as sound policy requires us
still to seek a peaceful solution of the ques-
tions at issue between the North and South.
Entertaining this conviction, I refrained even
from sending reinforcements to Major Ander-
son, who commanded the forts at Charleston
harbor, until an absolute necessity for doing
so should make itself apparent, lest it might
unjustly be regarded as a menace of military
coercion, and thus furnish, if not a provoca-
tion, at least a pretext for an outbreak on
the part of South Carolina. No necessity for
these reinforcements seemed to exist.