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BY M'CLURE & STONER.

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PLEASANTON ON PLEASANTON'S ART OF WAR.

That spits forth death, and mountains, rocks and seas;
Talks as familiarly of roaring lions,
As maids of thirteen do of puppy dogs."

Brig. Gen. A. J. Pleasanton, commander of the Home Guard of the city of Philadelphia, in pursuance of an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania, approved by the Governor; chosen to command by the militia warriors of the city of Brotherly Love; confirmed by the senate and upright councils known as the City Fathers, and bearing commission as Brigadier General, signed by Gov. Curtin, with the great seal of the Commonwealth attached, has made official report to the Hon. Alexander Henry, Mayor of Philadelphia, of the various operations of the Home Guard in general, and of the trials, triumphs and trumpet-tongued heroism of Brig. Gen. A. J. Pleasanton in particular. One hundred and twelve pages of pamphlet tell the thrilling story, and a hitherto unknown Hero, Sage, Patriot and Prophet, stands self-splendid, defiant of the malicious poet's surly rale that—

"The honor's error forced,
When he that did the act is commentator"

The country will hail the advent of Pleasanton. He bursts upon us as the great central figure of this bloody panorama, until now struggling for his country's welfare in obscurity, rejected of men and military pretenders, and unknown to the hopeful millions whose blood and treasure have been wasted because Pleasanton pursued military honors and grim visaged, relentless war, under a multitude of difficulties—where distance lent heroic enchantment. The keen eye that greeted the sun of Austerlitz, and the genius that gave victory to the eagles of France on that gory field, will pale before the searching prophetic vision; the crowning strategy and the horse thunders of condemnation, which alternately illumine and darken the pages of history, since Pleasanton has made report of Pleasanton, and portrayed the "conjuncture of circumstances" which made Pennsylvania armyless and Pleasanton brigadecless.

As an important fact in the chronology of this conflict, we notice that the report bears date—"Head Quarters, Defences of the city of Philadelphia, December 31, 1863," and opens with the triumphant vindication of Pleasanton prophecy. After the failures of Burnside and Hooker in Virginia, "it was easy to foresee," narrates the Brigadier, "that the seat of war would be transferred to Pennsylvania with as little delay as possible." He knew it, and he alone; but the brave are ever generous, and he scorned to be parsimonious with the gifts and powers which Heaven, the legislature by act of 16th of May, 1861, the City Fathers, and the Home Guard, had confided to his keeping. He gave "timely notice" to the authorities; but having eyes they saw not, and with ears they heard not; and stubbornly adhered to the same "incredulity" that has "marked their conduct from the commencement of hostilities." They "disregarded the warning, reposed in their fancied tranquility," and only hearkened unto the words of wisdom when the foe "swept down the valley of the Shenandoah, like an eagle from his eyrie, and crossing the Potomac river, marched directly upon Pennsylvania in June, 1863." The Secretary of War and Gov. Curtin were "incredulous," and when the rebel guns thundered at Winchester, and Jenkins was forcing the Potomac, the authorities concluded that the rebels were "making a raid," and instead of calling Pleasanton and Pleasanton's hosts of the Home Guard to turn back the bloody tide of treason, they searched the land of strangers and flung such pignions as Gens. Couch and Brooks to cope with the giants of chivalry. True Pleasanton was but a single warrior; but he was Pleasanton—a broad seal, legislative, municipal and elective Brigadier; with few men but prolific of proclamations; and could he have been induced to "move upon the enemy's works" with printing press, types and fixtures, with ink and quill, and enforced upon the insurgents the reading of his manifestoes as fast as multiplied by his tireless brain, the foe would have reeled back in ghastly horror, and the crimsoned path of treason in Pennsylvania would have been without creation. More fulfilling than Grecian or Roman story would have been Pleasanton's report of Pleasanton's triumphs; but a stupid Secretary and a doubting Executive made Pleasanton mourn in retirement, and Gettysburg is the fearful monument of their folly.

But the page of history just now supplied has one bright star that glimmers through the midnight of stupidity and infidelity that envelops the authorities. There was one faithful man—Pleasanton was faithful to Pleasanton. The age of proclamations had dawned, and Pleasanton protested in behalf of Pleasanton, that six proclamations by the President, the Governor and Gen. Couch in two weeks, was a double crime—it was a folly and an infringement. It was madness to call men when Pleasanton was burning to meet the foe in the name of the broad seal of the State; of the act of Assembly; of the municipality, and of the heroic Home Guard, consisting, for active duty, of Pleasanton and Pleasanton's staff with caissons of portfolios; and it was an ungenerous infringement of the properties of life and of the regulations of the Home Guard, for six proclamations to issue in two brief weeks without Pleasanton's name to even one of them. He plead that they should—

"Let fortune empty all her quivers on me—
I have a soul that, like an ample shield,
Can take in all, and verge enough for more!"

With sublime but subdued deference to the evil "conjuncture of circumstances," he exclaims—"Was there ever such a spectacle?" "The State actually invaded"—and Pleasanton not even allowed to proclaim Pleasanton into the field two hundred miles from the foe! In

faithful sorrow for his own and his country's misfortunes, rather than in anger, he modestly vindicates the truth of history, by stating that Pleasanton was forgotten by ungrateful officials; and as if madness ruled on every hand, the authorities dreamed of the fabled days of Cadmus, and without having sown dragon's teeth, called armed men to spring from the soil, like reptiles in balmy spring time. "Thus abandoned to ourselves," records the sorrowing Brigadier, he resolved to make the banks of the Schuylkill historic; and the Mayor called upon him to muster "the whole of the said Guard for the preservation of the peace and the defence of the city." Pleasanton drew his sword. Little dreamed future historians of the hour big with fate when Pleasanton threw himself into the conflict. His first triumph was "General Order No. 1." In the name of the broad seal, the Assembly, the Mayor, and the Home Guard, he proclaimed peace and defence. But, although green with his laurels, he was generous in the midst of his greatness; and he forgave those who had spitefully used him. He did not subvert the government, either State or National; but in sublime meekness he invited "the support and co-operation of his fellow-citizens, and of all the authorities, National, State and Municipal, in the performance of his responsible duties." Generous, benignant Pleasanton! Nor did he stop with formal concession to the authorities. He sent copies of General Order No. 1 to Stanton, Halleck, Curtin and Couch, and wrote autograph epistles to each to advise them that he was in the field and the Republic was safe at last. He asked Stanton to supply his requisitions; but Halleck answered Gen. Couch was in command in Eastern Pennsylvania, and "was charged with all matters." He wrote Gen. Couch, magnanimously proposing subordination to the authorities, and asking that his requisitions be supplied; but Couch's humor never reached the answering point. He wrote Gov. Curtin for permission to charge the State, but Curtin plead want of authority and absence of cash. With pointed grief does Pleasanton exclaim—"Here was an extraordinary state of things!" A Brigadier General without a Brigade, without supplies, without cash, and without even recognition! Heroically he rushed to his portfolio and opened upon Mayor Henry at destructive range, and called for \$500,000 more, and recited how his General Order No. 1, had fallen upon listless authorities, and declared their responses were "by no means satisfactory or encouraging." Failing to command co-operation from the National and State authorities, he resolved, in a spirit of generous selfishness, to co-operate with them, and enlisted Gen. Couch with a Pleasantonian epistle devoted to unflinching fidelity to Pleasanton. As Gen. Couch did not know the roads to Philadelphia, he gave report of his reconnaissance in force he had made from Philadelphia to the Susquehanna in 1861, and proposed to map it so that in their mutually co-operative efforts the staff officers of Gen. Couch could find the "Head Quarters of the Defences of the City of Philadelphia," in the numerous exigencies in which important advice would be wanted at the "Head Quarters of the Department of the Susquehanna." He informed Gen. Couch that he was Brigadier "under the authority of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, and of the Municipal Government of this City," and he graciously condescended to propose to be mustered into the service of the United States; his rank so honorably conferred to be sacredly preserved and that he be assigned to command in Philadelphia, so that he could "organize with more celerity" the forces wanted by bungling commanders to resist the foe. And as Gen. Couch was unlettered in greatness, Pleasanton informed him how he had been at West Point in 1822; promoted, transferred and 2d Lieutenant in 1826; resigned in 1830; lawyer since 1832; Brigade Major in 1835; Colonel of Artillery from 1835 to '46; Assistant Adjutant General of Militia from 1838 to '39; Paymaster General of Volunteers in service (Buckshot war) in 1838-9; Railroad President in 1839-40; commander of Artillery during the riots of 1844 and now bearing honorable wounds therefor; directed to organize the Home Guards under an act of the legislature of May 16, 1861, with rank of Brigadier General; appointment confirmed by Select Council; afterwards elected "by the whole force" to the same position for five years; unanimously confirmed again by the Select Council and "duly commissioned a Brigadier General of Volunteers, commander of the Home Guard," and finally "assigned to the command of the defences of Philadelphia, under the aforesaid act of the legislature of the State, June 16, 1863."

By this terrific bombardment in the shape of a sulphurous personal history, Gen. Couch's pickets were driven in and his line of reticence broken. An Aid returns thanks for the maps of the roads, and another Aid acknowledges the receipt of the brilliant autobiography, but the General commanding was "not authorized" to offer the muster, and the assault fails. Four days later, and another stranger and adventurer—"an offshoot of Maine transplanted to Minnesota"—named Maj. Gen. Dana, was assigned to "the command of the militia and volunteer forces and defences of Philadelphia" by order of Maj. Gen. Couch! It would seem that ingratitude had resolved upon a harvest at the expense of Pleasanton, but, still with his eagle eye fixed upon the flag, he looked above the groveling hatreds which beset him, and resolved to co-operate with Gen. Dana. But here was modest Pleasantonian merit destined to receive its crowning humiliation. After informing Gen. Dana by what high authority he wore his honors, he replied that he did not recognize either Gen. Pleasanton or Gen. Pleasanton's organization! "Pray, why not?" demanded the Pleasanton Brigadier; and forthwith he emerged from the mountain of sorrows that surrounded him and became jolly. "This is very funny!" says Pleasanton; and Pleasanton made merry over his own and his country's

woes. He was powerless to serve; he had mourned until weary of mourning, and none wept with him; and he crowned sadness with the essence of mirth. But in his facetious moments Pleasanton did not forget Pleasanton, nor did Pleasanton forget Pleasanton's mythical Home Guard, ten thousand warriors strong according to the act of Assembly, approved May 16, 1861. "My commission" said he, "as Brigadier General, is signed by Gov. Curtin, with the great seal of the Commonwealth attached. You may not, if you choose, respect anything here," but what instructions am I to give men when I have recruited them into my invincible Guard—lawful alike by State and municipal regulation? Gen. Dana had not become humorous—he was solemn as Pleasanton was merry, and he answered—"None; send them to me!" The report closes the scene by informing us that Pleasanton "saluted him" and took his leave!

But the Home Guard Brigadier was not thus to be driven from his valiant purpose to aid an imperiled country in its darkest hour. He had tried and failed; had tried again and failed again; had repeated the trial again only to have failure repeated by unappreciative authorities. But he was mindful that—

"The mouse that always trusts to one poor hole,
Can never be a mouse of any soul!"

—and ever faithful to the honor and safety of the Nation, the Home Guard, and the Brigadier General Commanding, he resolved to defy difficulties and stupid and incredulous Secretaries, Governors and Major Generals, and persevere. At last fortune seemed to smile upon him and gave promise of rank, pay and honors, whether or not the Home Guard should muster 10,000 strong, in accordance with the act of Assembly of May 16, 1861. He met Adjutant General Thomas "in front of the Union League building," about 1.33 P. M., 29th June, 1863, "an old acquaintance and fellow student at West Point." Here was fortune unfolding her arms for a cordial embrace of Pleasanton. He suggested that he should be forthwith mustered into the United States service with the rank conferred by the act of Assembly, the Governor, the broad seal, the municipal authorities and the vote of the whole force. "Certainly," by all means!" responded Gen. Thomas. Go and tell General Dana "to muster you at once into the service," says the Adjutant General, and forthwith Pleasanton goes to have Pleasanton forthwith mustered; but the "offshoot of Maine," madly bent upon the destruction of his country and his country's cause, interposed the red-tape of regulations, and refused to muster Pleasanton, either forthwith or thereafter, unless ordered in writing. A pencil order would do; but it must be in form; and forthwith Pleasanton rushed to the depot to catch Gen. Thomas, with a written order directing the forthwith muster. Gen. Thomas signed the order so pregnant with future glory, and fortune again smiled brightly on the path of Pleasanton. But alas!

"The buds that promised fair,
Were early blasted, or but given to be
A mockery—a harvest of despair!"

At 4 P. M. of the same day the order was presented to Gen. Dana, and already the Pleasantonian brain was crowded with Napoleonic bulletins to grace the morning papers, when he should be mustered forthwith and assigned to the command of his Home Guard, 10,000 strong according to the act of Assembly. But the "offshoot" again interposed red-tape to cramp the genius about to burst in effulgent splendor upon the military world. "When your brigade is full I will muster you," said the malicious Dana. "Pardon me," says the impatient warrior, "the order directs 'you to muster me a Brigadier General of Volunteers forthwith—it contains nothing about a brigade.'" The "offshoot" was defeated in his cruel machinations—it was so denominated in the bond, and he agreed to muster and announce the assignment to duty of the heroic Pleasanton in the morning papers. The shades of evening gathered slowly after receding day, and long, long weary hours of night interposed between Pleasanton and fame. But bright morning came, and the sun rose with unusual splendor to smile upon a mustered Pleasanton and see him wrestle with the Gods of War. But the morning papers were silent on the topic that had convulsed the couch and disturbed the dreams of Pleasanton. He charged upon Dana to know why he was not proclaimed with mustered honors; and the faithless Dana answered by handing several telegrams from Harrisburg which he said, "would explain themselves." Pleasanton grasped them; he read them and confessed that the explanation was free from ambiguity. The same Adj. Gen. Thomas who had, at 1.33 P. M. on the 29th of June, ordered the muster, had, at or about 3.40 A. M. on June 30th issued an order declaring—"Gen. Pleasanton's appointment is revoked!" There had been "violent opposition to your muster at Harrisburg," says the imperturbable Dana, and it cannot be done. Pleasanton writes in behalf of Pleasanton to his "old acquaintance and fellow school-mate at West Point" to know why his laurels had thus withered untimely; but in sadness the Brigadier declares that his letters "have remained unanswered." But he resolved to be greater than fate—he did not sink down—

"Foiled, bleeding, breathless, furious to the last!"—he rose above the injustice of men clad with brief authority and beheld only imperiled State and Nation. He drew forth his portfolio again and wrote to the offshoot Dana, and proposed to organize the militia men. To this Dana replied by his aid, that Pleasanton can organize militia men; but they shall not "be necessarily attached to the body known as the Home Guard, of which you are the Commander." "It is understood," continues the letter, "that that body was composed of only a few officers, and a few, if any men!" Here was mingled insult, stupidity and treason. The Home Guard legally 10,000 strong by act of Assembly of 16th of May, 1861, approved by the Governor, declared

to have but few officers and no men! and the worn and impatient warrior must not "check the encouraging activity" in enlistments, by forcing recruits to join the Home Guard; but the hope is expressed that he may "fill his skeleton command with willing recruits!" With becoming pride did Pleasanton "dismiss these insinuations with the contempt which they merit," and thus ended the campaign of Pleasanton; but not so the report. It is replete with the truth of history. It tells of opportunities lost for want of Pleasanton; of battles won as they would have been won by Pleasanton; of military rules and laws known only to Pleasanton; of giant men and States made lilliputians because the powers hearkened not to Pleasanton, and last but not least, it tells how the jealous hatred of Pleasanton's greatness poured out the vials of their wrath upon the devoted head of Pleasanton; how they defied every suggestion of safety by confronting the act of Assembly of 16th of May, 1861, which declared the Home Guard 10,000 strong, and Pleasanton its Commander, by the broad seal of the State and the sanction of the Executive and municipal authorities. Such is the unbroken record of wrong that ever beset the hero Pleasanton; and at last, weary of his country's ingratitude, he looks back "with perfect complacency and equanimity upon the expedients which have been adopted to embarrass and obstruct the operations of the Home Guard," and thoughtful that—

"Where boasting ends, there dignity begins!"

—he wrapped the drapery of his periled honors about him, and sank to rest in the midst of his admired and admiring Home Guard. Au revoir, Pleasanton!

Gov. CURTIN sent a message to the legislature on Saturday, asking authority to issue bonds for a loan of \$700,000 to reimburse the Banks for money advanced to pay the militia, called out by the Governor in 1863, under the authority of the President. Congress has not yet made the appropriation, although the call was expressly authorized by the general government, and the claim should in justice be promptly paid at Washington. We doubt not that it will be so paid; but the credit of the State demanded immediate provision for paying the banks and the legislature did it at once.

LEGISLATIVE APPOINTMENT.

The new legislative apportionment, under which the Senators and Representatives are to be chosen during the next seven years, passed the Senate on Tuesday of last week by 17 to 15, and was adopted in the House on Wednesday by a vote of 51 to 44. It is rather conspicuous for a careful distribution of the Union majorities, so as to make them available in as many districts as possible, than for the equities and affinities of association; and if not overdone, will leave but a moderate minority of Democracy in the next legislature. Of the 33 Senators, the Union men should elect 21, taking the vote for Gov. Curtin last year as a basis, and the Franklin and Adams district may be counted as rather Union than Democratic in addition; and the House should elect 65 Union men to 35 Democrats. The next legislature will pretty certainly have a controlling Union majority in both branches, unless improbable reverses to the Union armies should prostrate the Union party; but the unusual assortment of double Senatorial districts, and double, treble and even quadruple Representative districts, with the natural estrangements so often manifested in local politics, will peril party success in ordinary political contests.

It will be seen that Franklin and Perry are associated for Representatives, and will elect two members, and that the old Senatorial district of Franklin and Adams is restored. We subjoin the bill:

SENATORIAL.	
1, 2, 3, 4.	Philadelphia city..... 4
5.	Chester, Delaware and Montgomery..... 2
6.	Berks and Northampton..... 2
7.	Lebanon..... 1
8.	Schuylkill..... 1
9.	Carleton, Mercey and Wayne..... 1
10.	Bradford, Susquehanna and Wyoming..... 1
11.	Luzerne..... 1
12.	Pott, Tioga, McKean and Clinton..... 1
13.	Lycoming, Union and Snyder..... 1
14.	Northumberland, Montour, Columbia and Sullivan..... 1
15.	Dauphin and Lebanon..... 1
16.	York and Cumberland..... 1
17.	Adams and Franklin..... 1
18.	Carlisle, Cameron, Berks and Forest and Elk..... 1
19.	Blair, Huntingdon, Centre, Mifflin, Juniata and Perry..... 1
20.	Cambria, Indiana and Jefferson..... 1
21.	Clearfield, Cameron, Berks and Forest and Elk..... 1
22.	Westmoreland, Fayette and Green..... 1
23.	Allegheny..... 1
24.	Beaver and Washington..... 1
25.	Lawrence, Butler and Armstrong..... 1
26.	Mercer, Venango and Warren..... 1
27.	Crawford and Erie..... 1
REPRESENTATIVES.	
18.	Philadelphia..... 18
19.	Chester, Delaware and Montgomery..... 2
20.	Berks and Northampton..... 2
21.	Lebanon..... 1
22.	Schuylkill..... 1
23.	Carleton, Mercey and Wayne..... 1
24.	Bradford, Susquehanna and Wyoming..... 1
25.	Luzerne..... 1
26.	Pott, Tioga, McKean and Clinton..... 1
27.	Lycoming, Union and Snyder..... 1
28.	Northumberland, Montour, Columbia and Sullivan..... 1
29.	Dauphin and Lebanon..... 1
30.	York and Cumberland..... 1
31.	Adams and Franklin..... 1
32.	Carlisle, Cameron, Berks and Forest and Elk..... 1
33.	Blair, Huntingdon, Centre, Mifflin, Juniata and Perry..... 1
34.	Cambria, Indiana and Jefferson..... 1
35.	Clearfield, Cameron, Berks and Forest and Elk..... 1
36.	Westmoreland, Fayette and Green..... 1
37.	Allegheny..... 1
38.	Beaver and Washington..... 1
39.	Lawrence, Butler and Armstrong..... 1
40.	Mercer, Venango and Warren..... 1
41.	Crawford and Erie..... 1



THE NEW TWO CENT PIECE.

We herewith present the readers of the Repository with an engraving representing the new species of coin, that is about to be adopted by Congress. The great demand for small change, of a less denomination than five cents, has directed the attention of financiers to supply the want, and a new coin, of which the above cuts are a correct representation, has been adopted and will doubtless be issued at an early day. The value of our present nickel pennies being greater than the value of an equal amount of currency, necessarily puts them to a premium and withdraws them from general circulation, and postage and other stamps are often used by shop-keepers to make change. When the new coin shall be adopted and issued, it will have an immense circulation so long as silver and gold are held at a premium. It is said that the expense attending the coining of the nickel cents, in consequence of the increased price of the metals used, makes them a positive loss to the government; and when issued they are intrinsically worth more, at the currency standard, than their face significance. The new two-cent-piece is but little larger and thicker than the present one-cent coin, and contains less nickel, and abundance of copper, with five parts of tin. In size it may be compared to the silver quarter dollar, and resembles as much as anything can, a gold coin, and is really beautiful. On one side there is a wreath of wheat, in the centre of which is stamped "2 cents," and around which are the words "United States of America." On the other side there is the Shield of Liberty, bearing the words "God our Trust."

The old copper cent, is inconveniently large and heavy, and in color and smell is offensive. It contains one hundred and sixty-eight grains. The new cent, adopted in 1857, is a vast improvement upon the old, alike in color, size and beauty. It is readily distinguished from other coin, even in the dark, by its smooth edges, wherein it differs from all the coins of our mint. It is composed of eighty-eight per cent copper and twelve per cent of nickel, and weighs seventy-two grains. When it was adopted, the intrinsic value of the metals composing it was \$56 for \$100 of cents; but the value of the metals has so increased as to arrest the coining of cents. The new two-cent coin is to be a mixture called bronze composed of ninety-five per cent copper and five per cent tin and zinc, which would afford a decided profit to the government in its coining. At the ordinary price of copper, the cost of the new coin would be but little over twenty-five per cent of its representative value; and it is probable that, when the government returns to a specie standard again, the new coin must be withdrawn, for the profit on its coining would be a great temptation to counterfeiters.

The present necessities of the people clearly demand the new coin, and we trust that Congress will take speedy action upon the proposition and authorize its issue. The use of postage and other government stamps as currency is attended with great inconvenience to the people; and when they become defaced or blurred, as they must eventually by such use, the government refuses to redeem them. It is due to the people, therefore, that Congress should supply this want at an early day, and thus obviate the necessity of using stamps of the denomination of one, two and three cents. If authorized and issued, the new coin would be gratefully accepted by the people, and would at once have an immense circulation.

Coins were used as early as the 8th century before Christ, and in the 4th century B. C. money was found in all parts of the civilized world—each State having its proper coinage. Copper was first used for coin by the Romans, and under Cæsar, copper, brass and iron were in use. In the United States the government now reserves the exclusive right to coin money; but individuals may make coin of any denomination and shape, of gold and silver, provided that it be not "in resemblance or similitude" of the government coins. In California and other gold countries gold is coined into half-dollar, dollar, and five, ten, twenty, fifty and an hundred dollar pieces; but they are so made solely as a matter of convenience. Copper coins cannot, however, be made excepting by the government. The earliest coin known to have been made in this country was of brass, and was issued in 1612 for the Virginia Company. A description of it written at the time says that it had "a hogge (hog) on one side, in memory of the abundance of the hogges which were found on their first landing." In 1645 the Assembly of Virginia decided that "a quoin (coin current) would be of great advantage; authorized the issue of copper pieces of two, three, six and nine pence, but they were never made." The general court of Massachusetts established "a mint house" at Boston in 1652 which order declared that certain coins should be made, which "shall be for some flat." During the reign of William and Mary, copper coins were struck in England for New England and North Carolina, having on them respectively "God preserve New England," and "God preserve Carolina and the lords proprietors, 1694." Maryland authorized a mint in 1662, but it never went into operation. Lord Baltimore, however, had several coins struck in England, having on the obverse a profile bust of himself, which circulated in that colony. New Hampshire legislated for copper coinage in 1776, but did not issue. From 1778 to 1787 the power of coining was exercised by Congress and also by several States. Vermont and Connecticut established mints in 1785, and issued

copper cents. New Jersey authorized copper coinage in 1785, and Massachusetts established a mint in 1786. In 1785 Congress adopted the plan of a National coinage proposed by Jefferson, and in 1787 a mint was authorized and carried into operation the following year. The United States Mint is now located in Philadelphia, and has branches in Charlotte, Dahlonega, New Orleans and San Francisco, and private coins are not issued at all, excepting in the gold regions as a matter of convenience.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

The following letter from President Lincoln has just appeared in the Franklin (Ky.) Commonwealth. It was written at the request of Col. Hodges, the editor of that paper, and addressed to him with permission to publish it, that the people of Kentucky might hear from the President himself what were the actual grounds upon which he based his policy of emancipation—so much misrepresentation and vituperation on the part of most of the newspapers published in Kentucky having hitherto kept the people in ignorance, and so succeeded in fostering a feeling of wrathful discontent throughout the State respecting that policy. Col. Hodges having accompanied Governor Bramlette and Senator Dixon on their late visit to Washington, to consult with the President touching the draft in Kentucky, heard this admirable vindication of his policy addressed in the course of conversation to Governor Bramlette, Senator Dixon and himself,—and was immediately struck with the thought that the publication of such a convincing summary of facts and arguments could not but have a most beneficial influence in Kentucky at the present time. He, therefore, requested the President's permission to publish what he had said, and having taken the matter into consideration, the President consented, and himself addressed the following letter embodying the conversation to Col. Hodges:

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, April 4, A. G. Hodges, Esq., Frankfort, Ky.:

MY DEAR SIR—You ask me to put in writing the substance of what I verbally said, the other day, in your presence, to Gov. Bramlette and Senator Dixon. It was about as follows: I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong. I can not remember when I did not so think and feel. And yet, I have never understood that the Presidency conferred upon me an unrestricted right to act officially upon this judgment and feeling. It was in the oath I took, that I would to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States. I could not take the office without taking the oath. Nor was it my view that I might take an oath to get power and break the oath in using the power. I understood, too, that in ordinary civil administration this oath even forbade me to practically indulge my primary abstract judgment on the moral question of slavery; I had publicly declared this many times and in many ways. And I ever that, to this day, I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery.

I did understand, however, that my oath to preserve the Constitution to the best of my ability imposed upon me the duty of preserving, by every indispensable means that Government and Nation, of which that Constitution was the organic law. Was it possible to lose the Nation and yet preserve the Constitution? By general law, life and limb must be protected; yet often a limb must be amputated to save a life; but a life is never wisely given to save a limb. I feel that measures, otherwise unconstitutional, might become lawful, by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Nation. Right or wrong, I assumed this ground, and now so do. I could not feel that to the best of my ability I had even tried to preserve the Constitution, if I save slavery or any minor matter, I should permit the wreck of Government, Country, and Constitution, all together. When early in the war Gen. Fremont attempted military emancipation, I forbade it because I did not then think it an indispensable necessity. When a little later, Gen. Cameron, then Secretary of War, suggested the arming of the blacks, I objected, because I did not yet think it an indispensable necessity. When still later, Gen. Hunter attempted military emancipation I again forbade it, because I did not yet think the indispensable necessity had come.

When, in March, and May, and July, 1862, I made earnest and successful appeals to the Border States, to favor compensated emancipation, I believed the indispensable necessity for military emancipation, and arming the blacks would come, unless averted by that measure. They declined the proposition, and I was, in my best judgment, driven to the alternative, of either surrendering the Union, and with it, the Constitution, or of having strong hand upon the colored element. I chose the latter. In choosing it, I hoped for greater gain than loss; but of this I was not entirely confident. More than a year of trial now shows no loss by it, in our foreign relations; none in our home popular sentiment; none in our white military force—no loss by it any how or any where. On the contrary, it shows a gain of quite a hundred and thirty thousand soldiers, seamen and laborers. These are palpable facts, about which, as facts, there can be no caviling. We have the men, and we could not have had them without the measure.

And now, let any Union man, who complains of the measure, test himself, by writing down in one line, that he is for subduing the rebellion by force of arms, and in the next, that he is for taking these hundred and thirty thousand men from the Union side, and placing them where they would be, but for the measure he condemns. If he cannot face his cause so stated, it is only because he cannot face the truth.

I add a word, which was not in the verbal conversation. In telling this tale, I attempt no compliment to my own sagacity. I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events controlled me. Now at the end of three years' struggle, the nation's condition is not what either party or any man devised or expected. God alone can claim it. Whether it is tending seems plain. If God now wills the removal of a great wrong, and will also take us of the North, as well as you of the South, shall pay fairly for our complicity in that wrong, impartial history will find therein new cause to attest and reverse the justice and goodness of God.

Yours truly,
A. LINCOLN.

GEN. SIGEL was serenaded last week at Chambersburg, and the crowd called persi—
"Gentlemen: Gen—
non and writ—
Brie—

only for
equal rights with the
Good night!