BROWNLOW'S KNOXVILLE WHIG.

WM. G. BROWNLOW, Editor and Proprietor. "PUT NONE ON GUARD BUT AMERICANS." PRICE—TWO DOLLARS, INVARIABLY IN ADVANCE

ESTABLISHED, APRIL, 1838. KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE, SATURDAY MORNING JULY 20, 1861. VOLUME XXII.—NUMBER 51

JOHN W. ODELL.
AGENT FOR THE SALE AND PURCHASE of Negroes, Gay street, Knoxville, Tenn.
TEMPLE & RODGERS,
Attorneys at Law.
KNOXVILLE, TENN.
T. C. CHAMPE,
MERCHANT TAILOR,
GAY STREET,
(Opposite the Lamar House.)
HAS JUST RECEIVED HIS Spring Stock of Cloths, Cassimeres, Vestings, Ready-Made Clothing, Gentlemen's Furnishing Goods, Hats, Boots and Shoes, and every thing usually kept in a gentleman's store of this kind.
Strict attention given to all work, entrusted to his care.
DENTISTRY.
DR. P. H. CARDWEL
LATE TRAVELING DENTIST
In the exercise of East Tennessee, takes this method of informing his numerous friends and patrons, and the public generally, that he has permanently located himself in Knoxville, and is now prepared to attend promptly to all operations in his profession, such as cleaning, filling, extracting, inserting artificial teeth, &c.
All operations performed in the best style. Teeth extracted without pain. Gold plate, from a single tooth to a full set, manufactured to order, and warranted to give satisfaction. Terms cash. Office on Gay street, one door south of the Knoxville Female Academy. Charges will be moderate.
THOMAS J. BAGBY,
GENT & COMMISSION MERCHANT,
Rives out Rogers, Rents out Houses, Buys and Sells Tobacco, Wheat, Corn, Flour and Other Country Produce.
ALL BUSINESS ENTRUSTED TO MY care will be attended to promptly and properly.
Refers to Rogers, Chas. T. Worthington & Co., Timothy, Bagby & Co., Memphis; Bagby & Bradford, St. Magnolia & Norfolk; and R. A. Rivers, of Richmond.
CHANGE.
R. M. M'PHERSON & CO.
WINDOWS AND
COMMISSION MERCHANTS,
MAIN STREET,
Knoxville, Tennessee.
R. M. McPHERSON TENDERS HIS services to his numerous friends and customers in the liberal patronage for many years past, and solicits a continuance of the same for the new firm.
JOHN S. BRIEN & SONS,
Attorneys at L w,
OFFICE NO. 3 CHERRY STREET,
SAN VILLE TENNESSEE.
W. C. M'ADOO,
ATTORNEY AT LAW.
WILL PRACTICE IN THE VARIOUS Courts of Knox and adjoining counties.
CAMP HOUSE,
CLEVELAND, TENNESSEE
NEW HOTEL JUST OPENED, ON the west side of Railroad and south end of the Depot, in front of the depot, with a good house and good service to accommodate the public with as good fare as any House in East Tennessee.
W. A. CAMP,
Proprietor.
CLARK, GREGORY & CO.,
SOLE PROPRIETORS OF
CLARK & DULLER'S
AMBROSIAL OIL,
To whom all orders must be addressed.
Agency of all the Manufacturers Patent Medicines, Ladies' Toilet Goods, London Toilet Soaps, Cheap Jewelry, &c. 31 College Street, opposite the Spurgeon House.
Nashville, Tennessee.
DENTISTRY.
DR. GEORGE BUCKMELL TENDERS his professional services to the citizens of Knoxville and vicinity. Dwelling on Gay street, one door south of the post office. Office, Gay street, a few doors above the Post Office. Best side.
CANCER CAN BE CURED
DR. R. W. JANUARY
TENDERS HIS SERVICES FOR THE treatment of Cancerous Diseases, whether external or internal, Scrofula and Chronic Diseases. His treatment is very mild and perfectly safe, whether taken internally or locally applied. The remedies are vegetable. As proof of his successful success in the treatment of Cancerous Diseases, he would refer to the following gentlemen:
Dr. Alex M.D., McMinnville, Tenn.; Dr. J. M. Port, M.D. Kingston, Ky.; Dr. Dillard, M.D., Lexington, Ky.; Rev. Sprague, Esq., Fredericksburg, Va.; Rev. W. C. Buck, Cincinnati, Ohio; Rev. and Rev. Massenger; Dr. J. R. W. Dillard, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. J. King, M.D., Mount Pleasant, Tenn.; Dr. Nachael, M.D., Fort Royal, Ky.; Dr. Sutton, M.D., Rigby Mac, Dr. Dillard, M.D., Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Dillard, Nashville, Ala.; Rev. J. B. Cheatham, Nashville, Tenn.; Col. John M. Bass, Dodge, Geo.; M. L. Berry, Esq., Memphis, A. C.; Dr. Stacey M.D., Temple, Ky.; Rev. Cunningham, Tenn., Jan. 1, 1860.
J. P. ALEXANDER. JOB C. TOWNSEND.
SUMMERS & TOWNSEND,
CONFECTIONERS AND FRUIT DEALERS,
251 Baltimore Street,
South Side, 2 doors below Howard St.,
BALTIMORE.
C. E. McTEER,
WITH
MASSIE, BELL & GOODLOE,
WHOLESALE DEALERS IN
Boots, Shoes, Hats, Caps,
&c., &c.
No. 334 Baltimore Street,
BALTIMORE.
PRODDCE
Commission and Grocery House
LYNCHBURG, VA.
WILSON & SON,
ARE PREPARED TO RECEIVE AND SELL all kinds of Country Produce, and solicit consignments from town and products committed promptly. A good and well selected
STOCK OF GROCERIES.
always on hand and for sale low for cash, or to punctual customers or exchanged for Country Produce.
References—Cashiers of the Governor, Banks of Lynchburg, Merchants, Lynchburg & Richmond, Bristol, Tenn., Abbott & Co., Jonesborough, Tenn., Emory & Henry, Washington, Tenn.
Wholesale Drug Store.
GAY STREET, KNOXVILLE, TENN.
JOHN JACKSON,
Successor to Gordon & Jackson.
Manufacturing Chemist and Wholesale and Retail Druggist,
SOLICITS THE ATTENTION OF PHYsicians, Merchants, and Families to his large stock of DRUGS, CHEMICALS, OILS, PAINTS, BRUSHES, PERFUMERY, SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS, &c.
Manufacturing many preparations I can sell them on as good terms as they can be purchased anywhere. I warrant every article genuine and as represented.
My increasing business warrants me in saying I can continue to give satisfaction to my patrons. [April 27
BARBER-ROOM.
DAVID SCAGGS would respectfully inform the public that he has recently returned from the country, and is now occupying the room formerly occupied by the Bank of Knoxville. Being now better situated to accommodate customers, he is ready at all times to give satisfaction to all persons wishing any thing in his line of business. [April 27
GEORGE A. MILLS & CO.
MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS IN
The Wooden and Willow Ware,
BRUSHES, CORDAGE &c.
NO. 11 NORTH HOWARD STREET,
Two Doors North of Howard House,
BALTIMORE.
F. W. MILES,
ARCHITECT AND BUILDER.
THE SUBSCRIBER RESPECTFULLY informs the citizens of Knoxville and the country that he has permanently located himself in this city for the purpose of superintending the business of building in all its branches. He will furnish plans for Churches and private dwellings. Also will give especial attention to the repairing and repainting of old buildings. Office at the Knoxville Female Academy. [April 27
MACHINERY.
THE SUBSCRIBERS, HAVING THE Agency for Building Portable and Stationary Steam Engines, Horse Mill Stones, Patent Reliving Chilles, Saw Mills, Boilers and Blind Machinery, Wood-work's and Tanner's Planing Machines, and Tyler's celebrated
WATER-WHEELS,
we flatter ourselves that our assortment of Machinery is manufactured in a more workmanlike and exchange solidly.
Tyler's Wheels may be seen in operation at the Machine Shop of the Subscribers in this city, and to the high character awarded it in other parts of the Union, where it is extensively used, I would respectfully call the attention of Mill owners in East Tennessee to the merits of the same.
ROGERS & BANFORD.
Knoxville, Tenn.
THE ADAMS EXPRESS
COMPANY,
GREAT
Eastern, Western, Southern and Northern Express Forwarders.
HEAVY AND LIGHT FREIGHTS, small parcels, Pub and Profits, in their passage, Specie, Bank Notes, Bonds, Jewelry, and all kinds of valuables, forwarded to and from all points of the United States and Canada, accessible by Railroad and Steamers, daily in charge of special messengers. Also, notes, drafts and securities promptly collected. Rates taken in charge and forwarded through the South.
H. S. PLANT, Sup. S. W. Div., Augusta, Ga.
JAS. PHUTER, Int. Sup., Chattanooga, Tenn.
TOM MURRAH, Agent, Knoxville, Tenn.
REMOVAL!
UNION CLOTHING HALL.
H. MANN,
HAS REMOVED HIS ENTIRE Stock of CLOTHING, BOOTS and SHOES, HATS, CAPS and FURNISHING GOODS, to the store lately occupied by L. S. Foster, on
GAY STREET,
west side, one door above Cumberland, and next door to Bell's Dry Goods. Where he will be pleased to meet his old friends and customers, and all others desirous of purchasing anything in his line of business.
His stock is large, to which he is adding continually by Express, and all may rest assured that their wants will be promptly and delightfully met, and at prices to suit the times. [April 27
WM. McTEER, late of Tennessee,
WITH
BROOKS, PAHNESTOCK & CO.
IMPORTERS AND JOBBERS OF
Foreign and Domestic Dry Goods,
FANCY GOODS AND NOTIONS,
No. 245 Baltimore and 26 German Streets,
BALTIMORE.
W. H. KENDALL,
TUNER AND REPAIRER OF PIANO Fortes, Organs, Melodeons, Seraphines, and all Musical Instruments in general, Knoxville, Tenn.
Mr. Kendall is well acquainted with the mechanical construction of above instruments. Old Pianos, and those become harsh from long lay, made to sound as well as when new. All orders addressed to him, or left at the Jewelry Store of Dancer & Butler will meet with prompt attention.
REFERENCES—Dr. R. B. Cary, Col. J. H. Crozier, F. Palmer, L. C. Shepard, Alvin Barton, J. C. Wood, Knoxville; Wm. Vance, Mills Point.
WM. BOOND,
Grocer, Provision Dealer
AND
COMMISSION MERCHANT.
GAY STREET, CORNER OF UNION,
Knoxville, Tennessee.
THE EXCHANGE AND DEPOSITE BANK OF KNOXVILLE.
JUST ORGANIZED, WILL COMMENCE Business on the 1st of June, and will deal in Gold, Exchange, Uncurrent Bank Notes, Domestic Paper, negotiable public securities, and stocks, and make usual credits and regulate loans on commission.
Special attention given to the collection of commercial paper, on which liberal advances will be made, whether in cash, merchandise, or produce.
Interest will be paid on deposites made for a definite time, or to be withdrawn after reasonable notice.
T. McILHENY, President.
Pain Manon, Sec.
400 SAFES
TESTED IN ACCIDENTAL FIRES.
JAMES C. MOSES IS AGENT FOR the above celebrated Safes, which are warranted Fire and Burglar Proof SAFE, at Manufacturer's Prices. Nearly four hundred of these Safes have passed safely through accidental fires, and they will stand fire as well as a acknowledged "Champion." [Apr
SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT MART!
THE SUBSCRIBERS HAVE JUST OPENED a store at No. 145 Baltimore street, next to the Piedmont House, and is prepared to manufacture all kinds of
AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS,
TOOLS AND MACHINERY.
Having been awarded the FIRST PREMIUM, at the Fair of the Louisiana Agricultural and Mechanical Society for the best Horse and Hand Plough, Subscribers believe that their work will give entire satisfaction, that the farmers would prefer to buy articles of home manufactory, under a free or guarantee.
E. H. SHEPHERD & CO.
Baltimore.
1861. SPRING TRADE! 1861.
NEW FIRM!
ROBERT M. M'CLUNG. [CHAS. S. WALLACE.
M'CLUNG & WALLACE.
(SUCCESSORS TO SAMUEL S. BOYD.)
DEALERS IN STAPLE AND FANCY Dry Goods, Ready Made Clothing, Carpeting, Hats, Caps, Boots, Shoes, &c., &c.
Corner Store---Coffin's Block.
They will be pleased to see the former friends and patrons of the old House, and hope to offer such inducements to the trade as will guarantee a continuance of the patronage so liberally extended to Mr. Boyd heretofore. Mr. Boyd is now in Market purchasing Spring and Summer supplies, and will remain in the New Firm for a time after his return. [March 27
NEW BAKERY
AND
CONFECTIONARY ESTABLISHMENT.
G. MOREHOUSE,
THANKFUL FOR PAST FAVORS would announce to his friends and patrons, and the public generally, that he is now prepared to furnish, at his establishment, on Cumberland Street, opposite the Lamar House,
BREAD, CAKES,
PIES, CRACKERS,
CONFECTIONARY,
CANDIES, &C.,
of the best qualities, and in any quantity.
Having just fitted up a splendid Gentlemen's Saloon, the ladies can be furnished with any quantity of Crackers of every kind desired. [April 27
Asheville Mutual Life Insurance Co.
THIS COMPANY GRANTS Insurances on the lives of persons of any age on more favorable terms than any other Company. The office is managed with such economy, combined with strict justice to all parties, as insure success. Persons insuring for life are only required to pay 20 per cent. of premium, and give their promissory note for the 70 per cent., bearing interest at 6 per cent. per annum. After five years insurance, they participate in the profits.
Clergymen's earning are only required to pay 20 per cent. premium, and give their notes for the remainder 8 per cent.
When the premium on the insurance of Slaves amounts to $100, no deposit is required. To pay cash only is required and the owner's note for the remaining 70 per cent. Same terms as above.
Insurance against fire made on as reasonable and favorable as by any other Company in the State. Annuities granted and all kinds of Life Insurance made on as fair and equitable terms as by any other Company, the security of the Assured being made the first object of the society.
Application for Insurance to be made to the Secretary at Asheville, where every information will be immediately given. For Life Insurance, the Certificate of Family Physicians must accompany the printed application for insurance.
W. M. McDOWELL, Secretary.
P. S.—This opportunity of procuring a policy of insurance for the families of Clergymen in the event of their death at a very small expense, should not be neglected by any one, at a time when the circumstances of the Parties could peculiarly be expedited.
ASHEVILLE, N. C., Nov. 5, 1860. [27
KEROSENE
OR COAL OIL, BY THE BARREL, OR in any small quantity, for sale wholesale and retail, at
JACKSON & DUNN'S Drug Store.
SPORTSMEN
A COMPLETE ASSORTMENT OF RIFLES, SHOT GUNS, PISTOLS, and Fishing Tackle, at the Sign of the Big Pulback, corner Gay and Cumberland streets. [March
HOWARD ASSOCIATION.
PHILADELPHIA.
A Benevolent Institution established by special Endowment for the Relief of the Sick and Distressed, afflicted with Virulent and Hydrosic Diseases, and especially for the Cure of Diseases of the Sexual Organs.
MEDICAL ADVICE GIVEN GRATIS, by the Acting Surgeon, to all who apply by letter, with a description of their condition, age, occupation, habits of life, &c., and to those of extreme poverty, Medicines furnished free of charge.
VALUABLE REPORTS on Spermatorrhœa, and other Diseases of the Sexual Organs, and on the NEW REMEDIES employed by the Surgeons, sent by the Association in sealed letter envelopes, free of charge. Two or three stamps for postage will be acceptable.
Address, Dr. J. SKILLIN HOUGHTON, Acting Surgeon, Howard Association, No. 2 South Ninth street, Philadelphia, Pa. By order of the Directors.
EZRA D. HEARTWELL, President.
GEO. FRANCINE, Secretary. [April 13-1y
JUST RECEIVED,
A SPLENDID ASSORTMENT of COAL Stoves, with everything appertaining to the same.
[illegible]

THE KNOXVILLE WHIG
IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY WM. G. BROWNLOW.

Terms of Subscription.

TWO DOLLARS a year, payable invariably in advance. No subscription will be received for a less period than Six Months.

Remittances can be made through the Post Office, at the risk of the Publisher, when the receipt of the Post-master is taken for the amount forwarded.

Subscribers for causes of suspicion must give the Post Office, County and State to which the paper has been and is to be sent.

Rates of Advertising.

TWELVE LINES OF NONPAREIL MAKE ONE SQUARE.

No. of Squares	1 Time	2 Times	1 Month	2 Months	3 Months	6 Months	1 Year
Half Square,	$1 00	$1 50	$2 00	$3 00	$3 50	$5 00	$6 00
One Square,	1 50	2 00	3 00	4 00	5 00	8 00	10 00
Two Squares,	2 00	3 00	4 00	6 00	7 00	11 00	15 00
Four "	3 00	5 00	6 00	8 00	10 00	20 00	30 00
Six "	4 00	6 00	10 00	12 00	20 00	30 00	40 00
Twelve "	12 00	20 00	25 00	40 00	50 00	60 00	80 00

Calls on persons to become subscribers will be inserted in other advertisements, to be paid for invariably in advance.

All advertisements on which the number of insertions is not marked, will be published till forbid, and charged accordingly.

Advertisements will be conspicuous due when inserted, except those with whom we keep regular accounts.

No advertisements from a distance will be inserted unless accompanied by a remittance, except in cases where the advertiser is known to be punctual.

KNOXVILLE WHIG.

KNOXVILLE, TENN.

SATURDAY, JULY 20, 1861.

Proposals for a Compromise.

Secessionists are charging that the Union men have been seeking a compromise with them here, and that the conditions upon which they will be at peace and behave themselves are, that the Governor shall withdraw the troops from East Tennessee. At the same time, the more violent of the Secessionists say that they will not withdraw their troops—that more shall come in—and that Union men shall submit, and go with the Southern Confederacy. There are clever men here, in the ranks of the Secessionists, who do not seek to intimidate in this way, or to insult Union men, by words or acts, but that class are in the minority, and their counsels do not prevail.

Now, the truth is, that two clever men from Roane county, the one a leading Secessionist, and the other a leading Union man, came expressly to visit our citizens, of both parties, and to call a meeting of leading men, with a view to some sort of compromise, and to prevent the shedding of blood among ourselves, of which every sensible man must see there is danger. These gentlemen were prompted to come from Roane by the best of motives; and further, from the fact that there was imminent danger of a collision between the citizens of Roane and Morgan, on the one hand, and the troops being quartered in that section, on the other hand.

A meeting was had, at the instance of these two gentlemen, as we understood it, for we were not present. We understand that nothing was agreed upon, although several gentlemen of both parties were present, and interchanged views. The more violent Secessionists are saying that the Confederate forces [illegible] in East Tennessee, and that [illegible] shall be subjugated, let consequences what they may. This is, in substance, proper charges, and we have [illegible] the purposes of the [illegible]ville. Well, we shall [illegible]

[illegible]ral Patterson.

[illegible] of a large [illegible] the Potomac, and [illegible] in an engagement [illegible] force. We have no [illegible] at—we never have had, [illegible] less than none, since [illegible] by a man, in Philadelphia, to [illegible] for the Stars and Stripes. His correspondence with his Southern relatives in Tennessee, shows that his sympathies [illegible] with the South, though in command of a large Northern army. If he shall have an engagement, which he will labor to avoid, and his troops are successful, it will be more the result of luck and their bravery, than of his management.

The Charleston *Courier* gives the following article in regard to Patterson, and his *keeping out of the battle* at Cerro Gordo. The first paragraph is from Brigadier General Triggs' official report of that battle, and says:

Major Gen. Patterson, United States Volunteers, having reported sick, I assumed command of the whole. Having done so, and having matured my plan of attack, and assigned to each division its duty, I was overtaken by an order from Major Gen. Patterson, after night on the 13th April, to suspend all further offensive operations until the arrival of the General-in-chief, (Scott,) or until ordered by himself.

Thus you see, that on the eve of a great battle, Major General Patterson feeling his incompetency for the emergency, very conveniently took sick, and after his second in command had made all arrangements for the battle, he would not only not fight it himself, nor permit Brigadier Gen. Twiggs to do so.—Fortunately, however, for the honor of our arms, on the 16th, orders were received by Brigadier Gen. Twiggs from the General in Chief to proceed on his line of operations.

Twiggs did so, and achieved a brilliant victory, in spite of the cowardice of the Pennsylvania Major General, as also that of the Second Pennsylvania Regiment, who suffered the gallant Colonel Haskell with his brave Tennesseans, to be mowed down by the heavy fire from the enemy's batteries; they failing to come to his support when the signal was given.

Sick as this distinguished Major General would fain have appeared before and during the engagement, yet, when the enemy was routed, and Twiggs in full pursuit, Patterson suddenly became well enough to join in the chase; as may be seen in the following extract from the same official report of Brig Gen. Twiggs.

"The pursuit was continued so far as Guerro, when I was overtaken by Major General Patterson, who assumed command of the advance, and ordered a halt."

In completing, from time to time, the list of the distinguished leaders of the Vandal forces, it would be improper to omit the name of one so distinguished for cowardice, at least, as this would-be Pennsylvania hero.

Jack Hays En Route for Texas.

The New Orleans Delta states as a fact that Colonel Jack Hays is on his way from California to the Confederate States, with a party of picked men. Jack Hays, it is well known, was during the Mexican War a noted Texas Ranger, and, although not endowed with much courage himself had in his command many desperadoes who, by their peculiar mode of warfare, made themselves useful to the United States Government, and a dread to the Mexicans. In the early stages of the California fever he emigrated to that State, and was elected, as a Whig, Sheriff of San Francisco. When Gen. Pierce was dividing the spoils, Jack conceived the idea of changing his coat, and, much to the surprise of the good people of the Golden States, he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of United States Surveyor General, which position he held until the good sense of a new President prompted his removal.

Confederate Harmony.

The following extract from a Washington letter, published in a Kentucky paper, shows rather a want of harmony among the Generals of the Confederate army:

WASHINGTON, June 26.

It is reported that the misunderstanding between Jeff Davis and General Beauregard and General Lee, that has been noted for some time past, has occasioned the latter resigning his position. It is certain that private letters from Lee to old associates in the United States army have disclosed his dissatisfaction in the rebel service.

Abraham Lincoln's Message.

DEMAND FOR FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN AND FOUR HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and of the House of Representatives!

Having been convened on an extraordinary occasion, as authorized by the Constitution, your attention is not called to any ordinary subject of legislation.

At the beginning of the present Presidential term, four months ago, the functions of the Federal Government were found to be generally suspended within the several States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Florida, excepting those only of the Post-Office Department.

Within these States, all the forts, arsenals, dock-yards, custom-houses and the like, including the moveable and stationary property in and about them, had been seized and held in open hostility to this Government, excepting only Fort Pickens, Taylor and Jefferson, on and near the Florida coast, and Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbour, South Carolina.

The forts thus seized had been put in improved condition, new ones had been built, and armed forces had been organized and were organizing, all avowedly with the same hostile purpose. The forts remaining in the possession of the Federal Government in and near these States, were either [illegible] or weakly manned; the navy-yard especially Fort Sumter was nearly surrounded by well-prepared hostile batteries, with guns equal in quality and the best of its own, and outnumbering the latter as, perhaps, ten to one.

A disproportionate share of the Federal muskets and rifles had somehow found their way into these States, and had been seized to be used against the Government. Accumulations of the public revenue lying within them had been seized for the same object.—The navy was scattered in distant seas, leaving but a very small part of it within the immediate reach of the Government. Officers of the Federal army and navy had resigned in great numbers, and of those resigning, a large proportion had taken up arms against the Government.

Simultaneously, and in connection with all this, the purpose to sever the Federal Union was openly avowed. In accordance with this purpose, an ordinance had been adopted in each of these States, declaring these States respectively to be separated from the National Union. A formula for instituting a combined Government of these States had been promulgated, and this illegal organization in the character of Confederate States was already invoking recognition, aid and intervention from foreign powers.

Finding this condition of things, and believing it to be an imperative duty upon the incoming Executive to prevent, if possible, the consummation of such an attempt to destroy the Federal Union, a choice of means to that end became indispensable.

This choice was made and declared in the inaugural address. The policy chosen looked to the exhaustion of all peaceful measures before a resort to any stronger ones. It sought only to hold the public places and property not already wrested from the Government, and to collect the revenues, relying on the rest for time, discussion and the ballot-box.

I promised a continuance of the mails at Government expenses to the very people who were resisting the Government, and it gave repeated pledges against any disturbance to any of the people or any of their rights. Of all that a President might constitutionally and justifiably do in such a case, everything was forborne without which it was deemed possible to keep the Government on foot.

On the 5th of March, the present incumbent's first full day in office, a letter from Major Anderson, commanding at Fort Sumter, written on the 28th of February, and received at the War Department on the 4th of March was by that Department placed in his hands. This letter expressed the professional opinion of the writer that reinforcements could not be thrown into that fort within the time for his relief, rendered necessary by the limited supply of provisions, and with a view of [illegible] the question of the same, with a force of less than 20,000 good and well-disciplined men. This opinion was concurred in by all the officers of his command, and their memorandums on the subject were made enclosures of Major Anderson's letter.

The whole was immediately laid before Lieut. Gen. Scott, who at once concurred with Gen. Anderson in opinion. On reflection, however, he took full time, consulting with officers both of the army and navy, and at the end of four days came reluctantly but decidedly to the same conclusion as before. He also stated at the same time that no such sufficient force was then at the control of the Government, or could be raised and brought on the ground within the time when the provisions in the fort would be exhausted.

In a purely military point of view, this reduced the duty of the Administration in the case to the mere matter of getting the garrison safely out of the fort. It was believed, however, that to so abandon that position under the circumstances would be utterly ruinous; that the necessity under which it was done could not be fully understood; that by many it would be construed as a part of a voluntary policy; that at home it would disorganize the friends of the Union, embolden its adversaries, and go far to ensure to the latter a recognition abroad. That it would be our national destruction consummated.—This could not be allowed.

Starvation was not yet upon the garrison, and ere it would be reached, Fort Pickens might be reinforced.

This last would be a clear indication of policy, and would better enable the country to accept the evacuation of Fort Sumter as a *military necessity*. An order was at once directed to be sent for the landing of the troops from the steamship Brooklyn in Fort Pickens. This order could not go by land, but must take the longer and slower route by sea.

The first return news from the order was received just one week before the fall of Fort Sumter. The news itself was that the officer commanding the Sabine, to which vessel the troops had been transferred from the Brooklyn, acting upon some quasi armistice of the late Administration, and of the existence of which the present Administration, as to the time at which the order was dispatched, had only too vague and uncertain rumors to fix attention, had refused to land the troops.—To new reinforce Fort Pickens, before a crisis could be reached at Fort Sumter, was impossible, rendered so by the near exhaustion of provisions in the latter-named fort.

In precaution against such a conjuncture, the Government had, a few days before, commenced preparing an expedition, as well adapted as might be, to relieve Fort Sumter, which expedition was intended to be ultimately used or not, according to circumstances. The strongest anticipated case for using it was now presented, and it was received to send it forward.

As had been intended in this contingency, it was also resolved to notify the Governor of South Carolina that he might expect an attempt would be made to provision the fort, and that if the attempt should not be resisted, there would be no effort to throw in men, arms or ammunition without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort. This notice was accordingly given, whereupon the fort was attacked and bombarded to its fall, without even awaiting the arrival of the provisioning expedition.

It is thus seen that the assault upon and reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defence on the part of the assailants. They well knew that the garrison in the fort could by no possibility commit aggression upon them. They knew they were expressly notified that the giving of bread to the few brave and hungry men of the garrison was all which would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting, so much, should provoke more.

They knew that this Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assail them, but merely to maintain the visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as here in before stated, to time, discussion and the ballot-box for final adjustment; and they assailed and reduced the fort for precisely the reverse object—to drive out the visible authority of the Federal Union, and thus forces it to immediate dissolution. That this was their object, the Executive well understood.

And having said to them in the inaugural address, "you can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors," I took care not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the case so free from the power of ingenious sophistry, as that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affairs at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was fully passed.

This said, and thereby the combatants of the Republic begin the conflict of arms, without one to blame in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, sent to that behest years before for their own protection, and still ready to give that protection in manner was lawful.

This is all, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the distinct issue—immediate dissolution or blood. And this issue embraces more than the fate of these United States. It presents to the whole family of man the question whether a constitutional Republic or Democracy, a Government of the people by the same people, can or cannot maintain its territorial integrity against its own domestic foes. It presents the question whether discontented individuals, too few in numbers to control Administration according to organic law in any case, can always, upon the pretense made in this case, or in other pretenses, equally or nearly valid in precedent, break up their Government, and thereby free themselves from the necessity of [illegible] free Government upon the earth.

[illegible] forces for its preservation.

This call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in promptitude and spirit the most sanguine expectation. Yet none of the States commonly called slave States, except Delaware, gave a regiment through regular State organization. A few regiments have been organized within some others of those States by individual enterprise and received into the Government service. Of course the seceded States, so called, and to which Texas had been joined about the time of the inauguration, gave no troops to the cause of the Union.

The Border States, so called, were not uniform in their action—some of them being almost for the Union, while in others, as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was very nearly expressed and silenced.

The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A Convention elected by the people of that State to consider this very question of dissolving Federal Union was in session at the Capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell.

What this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Fort Sumter, some members of that majority went over to the Secession minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union.

Whether this great change was wrought by the great approval of the assault on Fort Sumter, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to that assault, is not definitely known.

Although they submitted the ordinance for ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken a day then somewhat more than a month distant, the Convention and the Legislature, which was also in session at the same time and place, with leading men of the State not members of either, immediately commenced acting as if this State were already out of the Union.

They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State, they seized the United States armory, at Harper's Ferry, and the navy yard at Gosport, near Norfolk, they received, perhaps invited into their State, large bodies of troops, with their warlike appointments, from the so-called seceded States. They formally entered into a treaty of temporary alliance and co-operation with the so-called Confederate States, and sent members to their Congress at Montgomery, and finally they permitted the insurrectionary Government to be transferred to their capital at Richmond.

The people of Virginia have then allowed no great insurrection to make no end when it is her misfortune, and their Government has not been able to put down a mere local [illegible]

It has not been yet, so far, but it may come, and in due form, claimed its protection. Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect as being Virginia.

In the Border States, so-called—in fact, the Middle States—there are those who favor a policy which they call armed neutrality; that is, arming of those States to prevent the Union forces passing one way or the division to other, over their soil.

This would be disunion completed. Figuratively speaking, it would be the building of an impassable wall along the line of separation; and yet not quite an impassable one, for, under the guise of neutrality, it would be the hands of the Union men and freely the supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open army. At a stroke, it would take all the trouble off the hands of secession, except only what proceeds from the external blockade.

It would do for the Disunionists that which, of all things, they most desire—feed them with and give them disunion without a struggle of their own. It recognizes no fidelity to the Constitution—no obligation to maintain the Union; and while very many who have favored it are doubtless loyal citizens, it is nevertheless very injurious in effect.

Recurring to the action of the Government, it may be stated that at first a call was made for 75,000 militia, and rapidly following this a proclamation was issued for closing the ports of the insurrectionary districts by proceedings in the nature of a blockade. So far all was believed to be strictly legal.

At this point, the insurrectionists announced their purpose to enter upon the practice of privateering.

Other calls were made for volunteers to serve three years, unless sooner discharged, and also for large additions to the regular army and navy.

These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared to be a popular demand and a public necessity, trusting, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them. It is believed that nothing has been done beyond the constitutional competency of Congress.

Soon after the first call for militia, it was considered a duty to authorize the commanding general, in proper cases, according to his discretion, to suspend the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*; or, in other words, to arrest and detain, without resort to the ordinary processes and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. The authority has purposely been exercised, but very sparingly.

Nevertheless, the legality and propriety of what has been done under it are questioned, and the attention of the country has been called to the proposition that one who is sworn to take care that the laws be faithfully executed should not himself violate them.

Of course some consideration was given to the question of power and propriety before this matter was acted upon. The whole of the laws which were required to be faithfully executed were being resisted, and failing of execution in nearly one-third of the States. Must they be allowed to finally fail of execution, even had it been perfectly clear that by the use of the means necessary to their execution some single law, made in such extreme tenderness of the citizen's liberty that practically it relinches more of the guilty than of the innocent, should, to a very limited extent, be violated? To state the question more directly, are all the laws but one to go unexecuted, and the Government itself go to pieces lest that one be violated?

Even in such a case would not the official oath be broken if the Government should be overthrown, when it was believed that disregarding the single law would tend to preserve it? But it was not believed that this question was presented. It was not believed that any law was violated.

The provision of the Constitution that the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require, is equivalent to a provision—is a provision—that such privilege may be suspended when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety does require it.

It was decided that we have a case of rebellion, and that the public safety does require the qualified suspension of the writ which was authorized to be made. Now, it is insisted that Congress and not the Executive is vested with this power.

But the Constitution itself is silent as to which or who is to exercise the power; and as the question was postponed to a day of great emergency, [illegible] believed the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the military authority should have power to act until Congress could be called to assemble, if that should prove to be necessary. The President accordingly has acted upon this view and has suspended the writ in this case by the direction. No more extended suspension is now offered, or an opinion of more sweeping will probably be presented by the Administration. What is done, and to be done, will be based upon the military exigency as they, who, in authority and entrusted with the proper judgment of Congress.

The maintenance of this Government has been an extraordinary and so long continued as to beat some foreign nations to shape their policy as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable.

While this, on discovery, gave the Executive some concern, he is now happy to say that the sovereignty and rights of the United States are now everywhere practically respected by foreign powers, and a general sympathy with the country is manifested throughout the world.

The reports of the Secretaries of the Treasury, War and Navy will give the information in detail concerning necessary and convenient your deliberation and action; while the [illegible] will show the condition of the country.

As soon as the Government got its armies [illegible] Virginia, [illegible] to be a long and a tedious one; that you place at the control of the Government for the work at least 400,000 men and $400,000,000. That number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper age within the regions where apparently all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than the twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who seem ready to devote the whole.

A debt of six hundred millions of dollars now is a heavy sum per head than was the debt of our revolution when we came out of that struggle; and the money value in the country now bears even a greater proportion to what it was then than does the population. Surely each man has as strong a motive now to preserve our liberties as each had then to establish them.

A right result, at this time, will be worth more to the world than ten times the men and ten times the money. The evidence reaching us from the country leaves no doubt that the material for the work is abundant, and that it needs only the hand of legislation to give it legal assertion and the hand of the Executive to give it practical shape and efficiency. One of the greatest perplexities of the Government is to avoid receiving troops faster than it can provide for them. In a word, the people will save their Government if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently well.

It might seem at first thought to be of little difference whether the present movement at the South be called a session or rebellion. The matter, however, well understood the difference. At the beginning, they knew they could never raise the treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies existence of law. They knew their people possessed as much intelligence, and as much of devotion to law and order, and as much pride in and reverence for the history and Government of their common country, as any other civilized and patriotic people. They knew they could make no advancement directly in the teeth of these strong and noble sentiments. Accordingly, they commenced by an insidious debauching of the public mind. They invented an insidious phrase, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the intermediate steps to the destruction of the Union. The phrase itself is, that any State of the Union may, consistently with the National Constitution, and, therefore, lawfully, and peacefully, withdraw from the Union without the consent of the Union, or of any other State.

The little disguise that the attempt is to be exercised only for just reasons is for the sole judge of the sufficiency of the reasons.

[illegible] to take up arms against the Government the day after some association assembled, passed the formal preliminary State out of the Union, who had brought to so such thing the day before.

This sophism derives much, perhaps the whole of its currency, from the assumption that there is some Omnipotence and Supremacy pertaining to a State to each State of our Federal Union. Our States have neither more nor less power than that reserved to them in the Union by the Constitution—no one of them ever having been a State out of the Union. The original compacts passed into the Union even before they cast off their British Colonial dependency; and the new one each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, excepting Texas; and even Texas, in its temporary independence, was never designated a State. The new ones only took the designation of States on coming into the Union, while that name was first adopted for the old ones in and by the Declaration of Independence.

Therein the United United Colonies were declared to be free and independent States