



If any man attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot! -Gen. Dix.

The Oregon Argus.

W. L. Adams, Editor.

OREGON CITY.

SATURDAY, JULY 27, 1861.

THE NEWS.—We publish the President's Message entire this week, to the exclusion of much other interesting matter. The message is a telegraphic copy, and will be found to contain a few errors. Every friend of his country will commend the decided manner in which the President meets the difficulties now besetting the country.

The advice of every character, now coming from Washington, assure us that the Government is resolved to push ahead until every vestige of this most infamous and disgraceful rebellion is completely crushed out.

Wreck of the Pacific.

All sorts of reports are in circulation about the accident that happened to the ocean steamer Pacific, Capt. Staples, on her way down the Columbia river on Wednesday night of last week. The facts are simply these: The vessel left Portland about eight o'clock p. m., having on board some sixty or seventy passengers and a small quantity of freight, expecting to reach Astoria Thursday morning, and proceed immediately to sea. Everything went on smoothly during the first part of the night. The moon shed a dull but simple light down through the floating clouds that indicated a gathering storm. We had taken our family on board, anticipating a quick, safe, and pleasant trip to Astoria, our new home. We had but just gone to bed, at eleven and a half o'clock, when the steamer ran on what is said to be "Coffin Rock," in the vicinity of Rainier. The shock was not very violent, but enough so to throw some of the passengers nearly or quite out of their berths. We hastened on deck, and found that the steamer was still under headway, while it seemed to know nothing about the damage sustained, although we learned that the vessel was taking in water very fast. The first effort was directed toward trying to find the leak, in order to stop it from the inside. This failing, a sail was settled down by means of weights in front of the bow, with the view of partially checking the rush of water so that the pumps might keep her afloat till she could run down to Astoria. The hatchways were immediately opened, and the bright light of the moon was fast becoming submerged in water. We heaved on deck with all possible dispatch. The freight was shifted aft, and seven or eight fine horses, standing forward, were moved far back as possible, in order to relieve the steering, which was fast settling down at her bow. The bulk-heads were set away, to let the water back, so as to get the pumps at work. The water by this time had set barrels and boxes about the hold. The steam pumps were kept constantly at work, and vast quantities of water were brought through the hatchway by means of a large bucket constructed of a barrel. The ship in the meantime had been kept going, some of the time in stream, then down, occasionally stopping for a time, and turning round and round in the middle of the river, just below Coffin mountain. About o'clock Thursday morning daylight began to break in the east, much to the relief of all on board. The water had now gained on the fire till it was evident that the engine, which was literally motionless, must soon stop. The fireman came up from below, having worked for some time in vain nearly waist deep. There was now an alarm given to leave the vessel. She was run up against a few minutes past three, just below Coffin mountain, on the north bank of the Columbia. She crawled upon the sand so moderately that we could feel no jar when the steamer struck. The lead was thrown for a mile before reaching the shore, indicating pretty deep water all the way. Between her bows and the shore, a distance of some ten or fifteen rods, the water is seven or eight feet deep, and quite rapid. From her stern back the water deepens rapidly, giving some twenty or twenty-five feet at the stern. After striking the current washed the sand rapidly from under her, and in a few hours she listed over as a walling portion of her lower decks, and a part of the freight on the upper deck slid off into the river. The cabin, cook room, and all the lower apartments were stripped of bedding, stoves, and all other valuables, which were safely landed on shore by one o'clock p. m. on Thursday. About eleven o'clock the bark Samuel Merritt came down the river, and anchored in a cove and a half off, when Capt. Gilmer, who had her in charge, came aboard, and kindly took our family on board the bark, bound to Oak Point. The anchors Multnomah and Coville both made their appearance about an hour later, and took the Pacific's passengers back to Portland.

Wreck of the Pacific.

We came to Oak Point on Thursday, where we tarried, wandering through the wild woods, gathering berries which grow here in the greatest profusion, and lingering among the ambrosial delights of Mr. Alex. Abernethy's home surroundings, enriched by luscious fruits and adorned by flowers, that render this charming spot as fit a subject for song as the gardens of Alcibiades. Despite the mosquitoes (the only evil we saw here), the misty waters stretching far away in the distance, gull on either side by the overhanging banks of cottonwood—the cooling zephyrs, that every afternoon hasten up from the ocean, the fragrance of a hundred clusters of the choicest flowers, and waving the branches of the fruit-laden cherry, apple, and pear trees—all seem to conspire to write gladness on the faces of those who are there, and stamp the soil with the great seal of heaven—PEACE. We took the Multnomah on Friday at three o'clock for Astoria, and reached the place safely about sun-down.

There are a variety of opinions as to the prospects of saving the Pacific. Some think she will be raised soon, while others think she will not be got off before high water next spring. In any event, it is a great loss, and is much regretted by the whole community. The public and generally the bearing of Capt. Staples and Purser Down have made them very popular with the traveling public, and it is universally hoped that the temporary loss of the Pacific will not be the means of removing their officers to another track.

We are under obligations to Hon. J. W. Nesmith for public documents.

without refunding? The nation paid very large sums—in the aggregate, I believe, a hundred millions—to release Florida of its aboriginal tribes. Is it just that she now go off without making any return? The nation is now in debt for money applied to the benefit of these so-called seceded States, in common with the rest. Is it just either that the creditors shall go unpaid, or the remaining States pay, while part of the national debt was contracted to pay the old debts of Texas? Is it just that she shall leave and pay no part of this herself? Again, if one State may secede, so may another, and when all shall have seceded, none is left to pay the debts. Is this quite just to creditors? Did we notify them of this sage view of ours when we borrowed their money?

If we now recognize the doctrine of allowing the seceders to go in peace, it is difficult to see what we can do if others choose to go or to extort terms upon which they will promise to remain. The seceders insist that our Constitution admits secession. They have assumed to make a national Constitution of their own, in which of necessity they have either discarded or retained the right of secession, as they insist it exists in ours. If they have discarded it in theirs, they thereby admit that on principle it ought not to be in ours; if they have retained it, by their own construction of ours they show that to be consistent they must secede from one another whenever they shall find it the readiest way of settling their debts or effecting any other selfish or unjust object. The principle itself is one of disintegration, and upon which no government can possibly endure. If all the States save one should assert the power to drive that one out of the Union, it is presumed the whole class of secession politicians would at once deny the power and denounce this act as the greatest outrage upon State rights. But suppose precisely the same act, instead of being called driving them out, should be called the seceding of the others from that one, it would be exactly what the seceders claim to do, unless, indeed, they make the point that the one, because it is a minority, may rightfully do what the others, because they are a majority, may not rightfully do. These politicians are subtle and profound on the rights of minorities. They are not partial to that power which is in the Constitution and speaks from the preamble calling itself "We the people." It may well be questioned whether there is to-day a majority of the legally qualified voters of any State, except, perhaps, South Carolina, in favor of disunion. There is much reason to believe that the Union men are the majority in many, if not in every other of the so-called seceded States. The contrary has not been demonstrated in any one of them. It is ventured to affirm this even of Virginia and Tennessee, for the result of an election held in military camps where the bayonets are all on one side of the question voted upon, can scarcely be considered as demonstrating popular sentiment. At such an election, all that large class who are at once for the Union, and against coercion, would be coerced to vote against the Union.

It may be assumed, without extravagance, that the free institutions we enjoy have developed the powers and improved the condition of our whole people beyond an example in the world. Of this we now have a striking and an impressive illustration. So large an army as the Government has now on foot was never before known without a soldier in it but who had taken his place there of his own free choice; but more than this, there are many single regiments whose members, one and another, possess full practical knowledge of all the arts, sciences, professions, and whatever else useful or elegant is known in the world, and there is scarcely one from which there could not be selected a President, a Cabinet, a Congress, and perhaps a Court, abundantly competent to administer the Government itself. Nor do I say this is not true also in the army of our late friends, now adversaries, in this contest. But if it is, so much better the reason why the Government, which has conferred such benefits on them and us, should not be broken up. Whoever, in any section, proposes to abandon such a Government, would do well to consider in defense of what principle it is that he does it; what better he is likely to get in its stead; whether the substitute will give, or be intended to give, so much of good to the people.

There are some foreboding doubts on the subject. Our adversaries have adopted some declaration of independence, in which, unlike the good old one penned by Jefferson, they omit the words, "all men are created equal." They have adopted a temporary National Constitution, in the preamble of which, unlike our good old one signed by Washington, they omit "We the people," and substitute "We, the deputies of the sovereign and independent States." Why this deliberate pressing out of view the rights of men, and the authority of the people? This is essentially a people's contest on this side of the world for that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men, to lift artificial weights from all shoulders, to clear the paths of laudable pursuits for all, to afford all an unfettered start and fair chance in the race of life, yielding to the partial and temporary departure from necessity. This is the leading object of the Government for whose existence we contend. I am most happy to believe that the plain people understand and appreciate this. It is worthy of note that while in this, the Government's hour of peril, large numbers of those in the army and navy who have been favored with the offices have resigned and proved false to the hand that pampered them, not one common soldier or sailor is known to have deserted the flag. Great honor is due those officers who remained true, despite the example of their treacherous associates; but the greatest honor, and most important fact of all, is the unanimity and firmness of the common soldiers and common sailors. To the last man, as far as is known, they have successfully resisted the traitorous efforts of those whose commands but an hour before they had obeyed as absolute law.—This is the patriotic action of plain people. They understand without any argument that the destroying of the Government which was made by Washington means no good to them.

Our popular Government has often been called an experiment. Two points in it our people have already settled: the successful establishing and the successful administering of it. One still remains: its successful maintenance against a formidable

internal attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election, can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by war; teaching all their folly of being the beginners of the war.

Let there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say that he will be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relative to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than was expressed in the Inaugural Address. He desires to preserve the Government that it may be administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their Government, and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect; it is not perceived that in giving it, there is any coercion, any conquering or any subjugation, in any just sense of these terms. The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government. But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guaranty mentioned.—Where an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory. It is with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the Government forced upon him. He could not perform this duty or surrender the existence of the Government. To compromise the public service would in this case be a crime. Not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular Government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions. As a private citizen, the Executive would not have consented that these institutions should perish. Much less could he act in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility, he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his, as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration of the law. And having thus chosen our course with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear, and with manly hearts.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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 keep the North more to the work 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 sanction, 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 has provided for them. In a word, the people will save their Government, if the Government itself will do its part only indifferently at first.

It must seem, at first thought, of but little difference whether the present movement at the South be called Secession or Rebellion. The movers, however, well understood the difference at the beginning.—They knew they could never raise their treason to any respectable magnitude by any name which implies violation of law. They knew their people possessed as much moral sense, as much devotion to law and order, and as much pride 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 delinquency of the public mind. They invented an ingenious sophism, which, if conceded, was followed by perfectly logical steps through all the incidents to complete destruction of the Union. The sophism itself is, that any State of the Union may, consistently with the National Constitution, leave the Union, and therefore lawfully and peacefully go out without the consent of the Union or of any other State in the Union. The little disguise that the supposed right is to be exercised only for a just cause, because they themselves are to be the sole judges of its justice, is too thin to merit any notice.—With rebellion, thus sugar-coated, they have been dragging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years, and until at length they have brought many good men to willingness to take up arms against the Government, and on the day after some assemblage of men have enacted the farcical pretence of taking their steps out of the Union who could have been brought up to no such thing the day before. This sophism receives much, perhaps the whole, of its currency from the assumption that there is some omnipotent and sacred 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 before they cast off their British colonial dependence, and the new ones each came into the Union directly from a condition of dependence, except 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 colonies, who were declared to be free and independent States. But even then the object plainly was not to declare their independence of one another, or of the Union, but directly the contrary, as their mutual pledge and their mutual action before, at the time, and afterward, absolutely shows, and the express plighting of faith by each and all of the original thirteen States in Articles of Confederation two years later, that the Union shall be perpetual, is most conclusive. Having never been States, neither in substance or in name, outside of the Union, whence their magical omnipotence of State rights, associating a claim of power lawfully to destroy the Union itself? Much is said about the sovereignty of the States, but the word is not in the National Constitution, nor, as is believed, in any of the State Constitutions. What is sovereignty in the political sense of the term? Would it be far wrong to define it, a political community without a political superior? Tested by this, none of our States, except Texas, ever was sovereignty, and even she gave up the character on coming into the Union, by which act she acknowledged the Constitution of the United States, and the laws and treaties of the United States, made in pursuance of the Constitution, to be for her, the supreme law of the land. The States have their status in the Union, and they have no other legal status. If they break from this they can only do so against law by revolution.

The Union, and not themselves, separated, secured their independence and their liberty by conquest or purchase; the Union gave each of them whatever independence and liberty it had. The Union is older than any of the States, and in fact it created them as States originally. Some dependent colonies made the Union, and in turn the Union threw off their old dependence for them, and made them States such as they are. Not one of them ever had a State Constitution independent of the Union. Of course it is not forgotten that all the new States framed their Constitutions before they entered the Union.—Nevertheless, dependent upon and preparatory to coming into the Union, unquestionably the States have the powers and rights reserved to them in and by the National Constitution; but among them surely are not included all conceivable powers, however mischievous and destructive, known in the world at the time as governmental powers, and certainly a power to destroy the Government itself had never been known as governmental merely administrative power. This relative matter of national power and State rights, as a principle, is not other than the principle of generality and locality. Whatever concerns the whole should be confided to the General Government; while what concerns only the State should be left exclusively to the State. That is all there is of original principle about it. Whether the National Constitution in defining boundaries between the two, has applied the principle with exact accuracy, is not to be questioned. We are also bound by that definition without question. What is now combatted is the position that secession is consistent with the Constitution, is lawful and peaceful. It is not contended that there is any express law for it, and nothing should ever be implied as law which leads to unjust or absurd consequences. The nation purchased with money the countries out of which several of these States were formed. Is it just that they should go off without leave, and

recessionary government to be transferred to their Capital at Richmond. The people of Virginia have thus allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within its borders, and the Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it found it; and it has the less regret, as the loyal citizens have in due form claimed its protection.

Those loyal citizens this Government is bound to recognize and protect, as being Virginians. In the Border States, so-called, but 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 Disunion forces the other, over their soil. This would be Disunion complete; 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 tie the hands of Union men, and freely pass supplies from among them to the insurrectionists, which it could not do as an open enemy. 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 well, 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, it is nevertheless injurious in effect, and embarrassing to the action of the Government.

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 large additions to the regular Army and Navy. These measures, whether strictly legal or not, were ventured upon under what appeared a popular demand and a public necessity. Trusting then, as now, that Congress would readily ratify them, it is believed that nothing has been done beyond the Constitution or the 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 process and forms of law, such individuals as he might deem dangerous to the public safety. This authority has purposely been exercised 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 questions of power and propriety before this question 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 fall 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 relieved 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? 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 provisions 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 it, is equivalent to a provision that such privileges 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 privilege 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 provision was plainly made for a dangerous emergency, it cannot be believed that the framers of the instrument intended that in every case the danger should run its course until Congress should be called together, the very assembling of which might be prevented, as was intended in this case, by the rebellion. No more extended argument is now offered, as an opinion at some length will probably be presented by the Attorney General, whether there shall be any legislation upon the subject, and if any, what, and submitted entirely to the better judgment of Congress.

The forbearance of the Government had been extraordinary, and so long continued as to lead some foreign nations to shape their action as if they supposed the early destruction of our National Union was probable. While this 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 the Navy, will give the information in detail deemed necessary and convenient for your deliberation and action, while the Executive and all the Departments will stand ready to supply omissions, or to communicate new facts considered important for you to know.

It is now recommended that you give the legal means for making this contest a short and decisive one; that you place at the control of the government for the work at least 400,000 men, and \$400,000,000.—The number of men is about one-tenth of those of proper ages in regions where, apparently, all are willing to engage; and the sum is less than a twenty-third part of the money value owned by the men who feel ready to devote the whole amount of \$600,000,000—which is a less 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

at 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-arrangement of the late Administration existing up to the time the order was dispatched—had only vague and uncertain rumors to fix his attention, and had refused to land the troops to reinforce Fort Pickens before a crisis would be reached at Fort Sumter, which was rendered possible, 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 prepared 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 resolved 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, notice was to be given accordingly. 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 the reduction of Fort Sumter was in no sense a matter of self-defense 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 that would on that occasion be attempted, unless themselves, by resisting so much, should provoke more. They knew that the Government desired to keep the garrison in the fort, not to assault them, but to merely maintain visible possession, and thus to preserve the Union from actual and immediate dissolution, trusting, as hereinafter 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 force 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," he took pains not only to keep this declaration good, but also to keep the issue so free from the power of ingenious sophistry that the world should not be able to misunderstand it. By the affair at Fort Sumter, with its surrounding circumstances, that point was reached. Then and there the assailants of the Government began a conflict of arms without a foe in sight or in expectancy to return their fire, save only the few in the fort, who were sent to that harbor years before, for their own protection, and who were still ready to give that protection in whatever was lawful. In this act, discarding all else, they have forced upon the country the destructive issue—immediate dissolution or blood.

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 can endure, 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 the Administration according to organic law in any case, and always upon the pretenses made in this case, can absolutely, without any pretense, break up their Government, and thus practically put an end to free government upon the earth.—It forces us to ask, is there in all republics this inherent fatal weakness? Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of the people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?

So, seeing the issue, no chance was left but to call out the war power of the Government, and resist the force employed for its destruction by force for its preservation. The call was made, and the response of the country was most gratifying, surpassing in unanimity and spirit the most sanguine expectations. 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 other 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 a majority for the Union, while in others, as Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, the Union sentiment was nearly repressed and silenced.

The course taken in Virginia was the most remarkable, perhaps the most important. A convention, elected by the State to consider this very question of disrupting the Federal Union, was in session at the capital of Virginia when Fort Sumter fell. To this body the people had chosen a large majority of professed Union men. Almost immediately after the fall of Sumter, many of that majority went over to the original Disunion minority, and with them adopted an ordinance for withdrawing the State from the Union. Whether the change was wrought by their great approval of the assault upon Sumter, or their great resentment at the Government's resistance to the assault, is not definitely known. Although they submitted the ordinance for the ratification to a vote of the people, to be taken on a day 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 body, commenced acting as if the State were already out of the Union.—They pushed military preparations vigorously forward all over the State. They seized the United States Army at Harper's Ferry, and the Navy Yard at Gosport, near Norfolk. They received, perhaps invited, into their State large bodies of armed 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 in-

stantaneous attempt to overthrow it. It is now for them to demonstrate to the world that those who can fairly carry an election, can also suppress a rebellion; that ballots are the rightful and peaceful successors of bullets, and that when ballots have fairly and constitutionally decided, there can be no successful appeal back to bullets; that there can be no successful appeal except to ballots themselves at succeeding elections. Such will be a great lesson of peace, teaching men that what they cannot take by an election, neither can they take by war; teaching all their folly of being the beginners of the war.

Let there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government towards the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say that he will be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relative to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than was expressed in the Inaugural Address. He desires to preserve the Government that it may be administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their Government, and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect; it is not perceived that in giving it, there is any coercion, any conquering or any subjugation, in any just sense of these terms. The Constitution provides, and all the States have accepted the provision, that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government. But if a State may lawfully go out of the Union, having done so, it may also discard the republican form of government; so that to prevent its going out is an indispensable means to the end of maintaining the guaranty mentioned.—Where an end is lawful and obligatory, the indispensable means to it are also lawful and obligatory. It is with the deepest regret that the Executive found the duty of employing the war power in defense of the Government forced upon him. He could not perform this duty or surrender the existence of the Government. To compromise the public service would in this case be a crime. Not that compromises are not often proper, but that no popular Government can long survive a marked precedent that those who carry an election can only save the Government from immediate destruction by giving up the main point upon which the people gave the election. The people themselves, and not their servants, can safely reverse their own deliberate decisions. As a private citizen, the Executive would not have consented that these institutions should perish. Much less could he act in betrayal of so vast and so sacred a trust as these free people had confided to him. He felt that he had no moral right to shrink, nor even to count the chances of his own life in what might follow. In full view of his great responsibility, he has so far done what he has deemed his duty. You will now, according to your judgment, perform yours. He sincerely hopes that your views and your actions may so accord with his, as to assure all faithful citizens who have been disturbed in their rights, of a certain and speedy restoration of the law. And having thus chosen our course with pure purpose, let us renew our trust in God, and go forward without fear, and with manly hearts.

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