

But duke and princess, clown and seer,
Have voyaged forth to other seas,
And fathom deep, since many a year,
Are buried book and wand and keys.

On! we shall find in sober sooth,
From some clear well-head bubbling up,
The fountain of eternal youth
To brim the thirsty pilgrim's cup.

No ribboned grass is floating there,
Along our smooth, pearl-paven path,
But hidden faces' pale green hair
Of nymphs and nereids at the bath.

Enchanted world! enchanted hour!
Hail and farewell, enchanted stream,
That hast the unimagined power
To make the real surpass the dream!

 BUCHANAN'S LOYALTY.

I HAVE often regretted that I did not keep a complete diary of the more important events at Washington during the fall and winter of 1860-1; but the truth is, I had not the requisite time and strength to do it, so onerous were the official duties then devolving upon me. I did, however, find time to make some brief notes, and these, with some of my private letters hastily thrown off in connection with my official correspondence, serve to refresh my recollection of many of the startling occurrences of that appalling epoch. Many of these private notes were addressed to General Dix and Mr. Capen, the postmasters of New York and Boston, through whose kindness I obtained copies of them—those from General Dix having been received about a year before his death. Of others of my letters I fortunately retained copies; and all, together with the answers to some of them, have been shown to a few friends, who have earnestly advised me to allow them to be published. To this I have consented, hesitatingly, with the assurance that any seeming egotism will be pardoned, if not overlooked, since it is apparent that I am not actuated by any selfish motive.

I have put the letters as nearly in their order of date as practicable, introducing only such explanatory remarks as may seem necessary to their correct understanding. That of ex-President Pierce, of November 26, 1860, and the Hon. Edward Everett's, were published in "Lippincott's Magazine" of April, 1872.

"P. O. DEPT., WASHINGTON, D. C., Oct. 16, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * Politically the signs look dark. It is painful to hear so many sound and conservative men give it as their decided opinion that there will certainly be resistance to Lincoln's administration of the government. Property holders in this district are greatly concerned.

"Very respectfully and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, P. M., New York."

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"P. O. DEPT., Nov. 7, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * I write this [on the business of the Dept.] early in the morning, before seeing hardly any one. The bright sun is shining into my office window, and everything is quiet, but a weight presses on my heart, which I never felt so sensibly before—all foreboding 'breakers ahead!'

"Very resp'ly and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Nov. 7, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: As indicating how I feel to-day, I take the liberty of inclosing a copy of a letter I sent to the President this forenoon.

"The article in the 'Constitution' referred to will do infinite mischief, and I am not certain that the writer of it ought not to be stretched up. * * * I presume, however, it is the result only of bad judgment.

"Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 7, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: The die is cast, and Lincoln is elected.

"Shall we now fan the flame of disunion, or shall we exert our influence toward calming the already excited sentiment of the South?

"What course should we, here in the District of Columbia, pursue? Should we join hands with the disunionists and help on the storm, or should we not rather pour oil on the troubled waters? * * *

"My own will illustrate the condition of thousands in this district. With us everything depends on the Union being preserved.

"What, then, was my indignation on learning that men holding office here under your administration were parading the streets here this morning with disunion cockades on their hats! and the leading article of the 'Constitution' to-day can have no other effect than to encourage and fan the flame of disunion, both here and at the South.

"You will bear me witness that I have never intruded myself upon your counsels. But may I not, in the most respectful, yet in the most earnest manner, now appeal to you—for if you are silent your enemies will, I am sure, attempt to hold you responsible for these things—to use your power in at once checking this dread spirit of disunion here in our midst?

"With great respect,

"Very sincerely your friend,

"HORATIO KING.

"His Excellency, James Buchanan."

The editorial article of the "Constitution" referred to in the preceding letter concludes as follows :

"We can understand the effect that will be produced in every Southern mind when he reads the news—that he is now called on to decide for himself, his children, and his children's children, whether he will submit tamely to the rule of one elected on account of his hostility to him and his, or whether he will make a struggle to defend his rights, his inheritance, and his honor."

"CONCORD, N. H., Nov. 7, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your note of the 5th inst. has just been received, and I must thank you for your prompt attention to my little request, in which I, of course, had no personal interest.

"So far as returns of the election have reached us, I can discern but one green spot, and that the Fifth Massachusetts District. Mr. Appleton's election is important in several aspects, but under the circumstances it could have been predicted with no confidence.

"Indeed, it is singular, considering the sweep of this foul current, that the only signal defeat should have met a man who has floated so long and securely upon its surface as Mr. Burlingame. As the overthrow of a party merely, the result [of the presidential election] is comparatively of little moment. As a distinct and unequivocal denial of the co-equal rights of these States, I cannot help regarding it as fearful.

"My apprehensions, I confess, are stronger than my hopes, but I will trust in that good Providence which has hitherto held together these confederated States. Will you present my very kindest regards to Mr. Holt? I shall never cease to prize his friendship.

"Yours truly,

"FRANKLIN PIERCE.

"Hon. Horatio King, 1st Asst. P. M. Gen'l, Washington, D. C."

"(Private.)

"NEW YORK, Nov. 22, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * We have divers reports of disagreements in the Cabinet in regard to the disunion movements in the South. I hear nothing from Cobb in reply to my letter.

"There is a great fallacy at the basis of all the secession movements. It is this, that the violation of a compact by one of the parties releases all, assuming our federal system to be identical with a contract between individuals for certain purposes. It is totally different, and is not subject to the same reasoning and conclusions. The States have organized a central government and ceded to it a part of their sovereignty. The violation of the compact, to warrant a release of the parties, must be on the part of the central government, and not of one of the associates. Mr. Cushing, in his late letter, loses sight of this distinction—a vital one, as I think, in all our reasonings concerning the present disunion movements. In haste, I am

"Truly yours,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"(Confidential.)

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Nov. 23, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your private note of yesterday is received. I have shown it to the Postmaster-General. I am told both the President and Mr. Cobb are under a good deal of excitement. I have no doubt the friends of the President are determined to know whether there is secession in the Cabinet * * * and all you can do to this end will be a public benefit. * * *

"Things are looking a little better in Georgia today. Very respectfully and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 25, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I would call and report to you what I know of the feelings of your friends whom I met recently in a flying visit to my native State, but that I know you are much occupied. May I not, therefore, be allowed to say to you briefly, in writing, that their most anxious desire is that the President will cast the whole weight of his influence against the secession movements at the South, and in support of the Union? Among those whom I met was General Dix, who, of course, is greatly concerned with reference to the present excitement. He had written both to Mr. Cobb and Mr. Breckinridge, pressing them to come out boldly against secession. The inclosed note from him may be interesting to you. You need not trouble yourself to return it.

"I hope I shall not be deemed obtrusive. My great desire is that the Union may be preserved, and that, in your noble efforts to that end, you may know that all your *true friends* will stand by you to the last.

"I have the honor to be,

"Very sincerely, your friend,

"HORATIO KING.

"His Excellency, James Buchanan."

"(Confidential.)

"P. O. DEPT., Nov. 25, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have good reason to believe that the President is beset by secessionists, who are almost exclusively occupying his attention; and it is important that the *true friends* of the Union should do all in their power to strengthen his hands. Why will you not either write or come and see him, and get all the strong men of your city to do the same? I cannot call names; but rest assured what I tell you is true. The course of the 'Constitution' is infamous, but the President, I presume, has no means of controlling it. Pray let him hear from you all in the most decided manner on this subject. Let him know how much the paper and suspicions of disunion influences near him are injuring him.

"Stephens's speech is admirable; but you observe that you do not see it, or anything like it, in the 'Constitution.' Get the papers to come out and denounce the 'Constitution.' You may rely upon it, all its secession articles are directly against the feelings of the President.

"As the existence of the Department depends on the stability of the Union, I shall treat this as 'on official business.'

Yours truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"(Unofficial.)

"P. O., NEW YORK, Nov. 27, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: It is impossible for me to leave here at this moment, and I have an insuperable repugnance to a visit to Washington. On receipt of your letter, I sat down to write to the President, but constant interruptions prevented me from finishing it. Besides, I have some doubt whether it would do good. I have made some inquiry in regard to the editor of the 'Constitution,' and incline to the belief that he cannot be influenced from this quarter. At all events, those who might influence him think as he does. I am, in a quiet way, doing all I can to promote a better feeling at the South. I am sorry to say that nothing I have yet done has met with a response from any of our Southern friends. I believe we shall have to rely entirely on the efforts of our conservative friends there. They seem at the present to be overborne by the general excitement. I cannot think this will last. There must, at least, be an effort to prevent a dissolution. I trust events here may aid the conservative movement there. Vermont is moving to repeal her personal liberty bills, with what success remains to be seen.

Massachusetts will follow her lead, and, I think, will repeal.

"I shall send my letter to the President this evening or to-morrow.

"With sincere regards, yours,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Nov. 27, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * Our chief clerk, Mr. Clements, and myself had an hour with the President last evening, and our interview was most satisfactory. Mr. C. has just returned from Tennessee, and brings good news from that State, to the effect that nearly everybody there is opposed to the hasty action of South Carolina, and is in favor of one more effort to preserve their rights in the Union. The President appeared to be much gratified to be reassured of this. He is, as I supposed, a firm Union man. I told him about your writing to and not receiving any answer from Mr. Cobb, and he remarked that it would not do the slightest good to write to him. I expressed myself freely to him about the course of the 'Constitution' newspaper, and told him how much it had injured him, etc., etc. I have no doubt he will take strong ground in his message against secession, as well as the right of secession; but, were I allowed to guess, I would say that he will not be in favor of using force unless the property of the United States is interfered with, such as the taking of the forts, etc., when he would be obliged to act.

Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, P. M., New York."

"(Confidential.)

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Nov. 25, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am well assured that the President is beset by men who are for breaking up the Union,—secessionists, who strongly advocate the right of secession,—while the true friends of the Union seem, to a great extent, to keep aloof. Why they keep away I cannot comprehend, unless it be that they think the 'Constitution' newspaper speaks the sentiments of the President, which is certainly not the fact. Rest assured, the President will stand firmly for the Union; and what I think is now important is that his hands should be strengthened from every quarter. You can do much to this end by writing him briefly and pointedly on this subject, and you can get other strong men in Boston to do the same. You will know best whom to call on; but let this be strictly confidential so far as my name is concerned.

"Don't hesitate to denounce the disunion course of the 'Constitution,' and speak of the reports of secession feelings in the Cabinet as most unfortunate for the country, and highly injurious to the President's reputation.

"Act immediately. Things look worse and worse every day.

"Very truly yours,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

"BOSTON, Nov. 28, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have read your note to several gentlemen of note, and all agree as to the importance of your views and agree with you; but they have a delicacy about writing to the President unasked. I inclose a note which I received last evening from Mr. Everett, and though I do not exactly agree with him, yet I can understand how he and others may entertain such opinions and have such feelings.

"Of course, I did not mention your name, because you requested me not to do so. I simply stated that the

letter was from a distinguished person—one who was fully advised of what was going forward.

"The feeling here is decidedly that the New England States will repeal their nullification enactments. Vermont has the subject up, and I am told to-day that Connecticut will do it by a large majority. The same is expected of Massachusetts.

"Very sincerely,

"NAHUM CAPEN.

"Hon. Horatio King, Washington."

"BOSTON, 27th Nov., 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I share the opinion of your unknown correspondent as to the very critical state of public affairs, and I feel it to be the duty of every good citizen, by word and deed, to contribute his mite, however small, to rescue the country from the impending peril—by far the greatest that ever threatened it.

"The cause assigned by your correspondent as that which prevents Union men from affording their support and counsel, in this crisis, will not prevent my doing it; but ordinary self-respect, under the notorious circumstances of the case, requires that my views should not be obtruded upon him unasked. Whenever they are specifically invited by the President himself, or any one in his confidence, they shall be cheerful and respectfully given.

"I remain, dear sir, with much regard,

"Very truly yours,

"EDWARD EVERETT.

"Nahum Capen, Esq."

A word, further, of explanation here. I saw how the President was beset by the leading secessionists, and I was most anxious to have earnest Union men come to his relief. I felt sure, too, that the latter were kept away on account of the very fact that the former were known to occupy a large part of his time and attention. It was unquestionably owing in a great degree to the persistency of these determined disunionists, in this regard, that the President's health and strength were so nearly exhausted toward the last, that it was only with great and painful effort that he was enabled to perform the fearful duties devolving upon him. Some days, I remember, the Cabinet sessions were held in the library, because he was too unwell to come into his office. No sooner were the members of his Cabinet dismissed than one or more of these leaders stood ready to be ushered into his presence; and, one after another, often several together, they came, keeping him up until late in the night. No one can tell what torture he must have been thus subjected to by them in their efforts to attain their ends. Never before, I imagine, was a president more rejoiced to be relieved from the responsibilities of office than James Buchanan, on the 4th of March, 1861.

"ANDOVER, MASS., Nov. 28, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have received your kind, earnest letter, and participate strongly in your apprehensions. To my vision, the political horizon shuts down close and darkly. It may be that light is to break through somewhere, but I do not discern the quarter whence it is to come. I had occasion to write a friendly letter

to Secretary Thompson [of the Interior] a day or two since, and expressed to him briefly my convictions, and fears, and hopes in relation to the present state of public affairs. I did not expect that letter to be published, but the blackness of darkness is gathering so fast that, if anything can be done to save our glorious Union, it must be done speedily, and in my judgment at the North chiefly. If you call on the Secretary he will show you that letter, and if he thinks the publication of it would be useful, he can use it as he pleases. The truth must appear that it was written in the course of friendly correspondence and not with a view to publication. Among intelligent, reflecting men, alarm is evidently increasing here daily. One decisive step in the way of coercion will drive out all the slave-labor States. Of that I entertain no doubt. My suggestion about the tone and temper of Congress, and the importance of temperate words and action, might possibly have some degree of good influence, and there is, perhaps, more hope that the letter might be serviceable just at this juncture at the North; but it was hastily written, and my friend, the Secretary, must judge. If you call on him, show him this note.

"In haste, your friend,

"FRANKLIN PIERCE.

"Hon. Horatio King, 1st Asst. P. M. General, Washington, D. C."

I immediately called on Secretary Thompson, as suggested, and in the "Constitution" of the following morning General Pierce's letter appeared, prefaced as requested. Here it is:

"LOWELL, MASS., Nov. 26, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter was received at Concord on Saturday, and I should have answered it while there if I could have found a little interval of leisure. I am here to-day on business, and can therefore do scarcely more than to thank you; but let so much, at least, be said. The apprehensions which you so forcibly express did not increase mine. You know how sincerely and earnestly I have for years deprecated the causes which, if not removed, I foresaw must produce the fearful crisis which is now upon us; and I know how ineffectual, in this section, have been all warnings of patriotism and ordinary forecast. Now, for the first time, men are compelled to open their eyes, as if aroused from some strange delusion, upon a full view of the nearness and magnitude of impending calamities. It is worse than idle—it is foolhardy—to discuss the question of probable relative suffering and loss in different sections of the Union. In case of disruption we shall all be involved in common financial embarrassment and ruin, and I fear, in common destruction so much more appalling than any attendant upon mere sacrifice of property, that one involuntarily turns from its contemplation. To my mind one thing is clear—no wise man can, under existing circumstances, dream of coercion. The first blow struck in that direction will be a blow fatal even to hope.

"You have observed, of course, how seriously commercial confidence, and consequently the price of stocks, etc., have already been shaken at the North, and yet there is in the public mind a very imperfect apprehension of the danger. Still, there are indications of a disposition to repeal laws directed against the constitutional rights of the Southern States,—such as 'personal liberty bills,' etc.,—and if we could gain a little time, there would seem to be ground of hope that these just causes of distrust and dissatisfaction may be removed. I trust the South will make a large draft on their devotion to the Union, and be guided by the wise moderation which the exigency so urgently calls for. Can it be that this flag, with all the stars in their places, is no longer to float, at home, abroad, and always, as an em-

blem of our united power, common freedom, and unchallenged security? Can it be that it is to go down in darkness, if not in blood, before we have completed a single century of our independent national existence? I agree with you that madness has ruled the hour in pushing forward a line of aggressions upon the South, but I will not despair of returning reason, and of a re-awakened sense of constitutional right and duty. I will still look with earnest hope for the full and speedy vindication of the co-equal rights and co-equal obligations of these States, and for restored fraternity under the present Constitution—fraternity secured by following the example of the fathers of the Republic—fraternity based upon admission and cheerful maintenance of all the provisions and requirements of the sacred instrument under which they and their children have been so signally blessed. When that hope shall perish, if perish it must, life itself, my friend, will lose its value for you and me. It is apparent that much will depend upon the views expressed, and the tone and temper manifested during the early days of the session of Congress now near at hand. May the God of our fathers guide the counsels of those who, in the different departments of Government, are invested in this critical epoch with responsibilities unknown since the sitting of the Convention which framed the Constitution.

"Your friend,

FRANKLIN PIERCE."

"CONCORD, N. H., Dec. 6, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of Nov. 30 I found here on my return from Hillsboro yesterday, and also several Northern papers containing my letter to Secretary Thompson.

"Since the action of the Vermont Legislature upon the report of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives, declaring the 'personal liberty bill' of that State to be clearly unconstitutional, I am in despair with regard to any amendment of errors at the North, so far as the question of slavery is concerned. Reason has surrendered its throne, all sense of patriotism, justice, and right seems to me to have departed forever * * * If the Legislature of this State were convened to-day, I do not believe that they would repeal their unconstitutional laws. When I say this, you will understand that I think the Union has already reached its termination.

"It seems to me that few men in this crisis suffer so keenly as I do. With regard to pecuniary loss, it is nothing. I do not take it into the account. It is not worth considering. We can all have bread, if we will work for it, but we shall never have again the glorious ensign of our country, which has been the object of our just admiration—the type of our power and the shield of our protection the world over.

"Your friend,

"FRANKLIN PIERCE.

"Hon. Horatio King, Washington, D. C."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 10, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * Madness still rules the hour. Would it not be well to call public meetings at the North to give expression to the conservative sentiment, and show the true men of the South the importance of standing by their Northern friends, *in the Union*?"

Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 10, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * Things look at present very dark; but some of the mad and drunken spirits from the South are acting so outrageously that the better disposed Southern men are becoming disgusted. * * *

"Cobb has resigned.

Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Gen. Dix, New York."

"NEW YORK, Dec. 11, 1860.

"DEAR SIR: * * * Alas for the Union! I fear its safety is hopeless, if it depends on such as your note describes. But I will not cease to hope.

"Very sincerely,
"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"(Private.)

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 12, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your note of yesterday is received.

"It is becoming every day more and more apparent that there is quite a large party at the South, who * * * are resolved on effecting a dissolution of the Union, even though the North were to yield to the utmost of their former demands; and these men are now in the lead. One of them kept his place in the Government till forced to resign from very shame, and there are others, of smaller calibre, who are still retained. * * *

"And we are to allow the best government in the world to be destroyed in the first hour of danger, without an effort to demonstrate that if statesmen, or those filling the places intended for statesmen, will but do their duty, it is capable of withstanding far more serious shocks than that with which it is now threatened. What mockery of statesmanship! What imbecility! What culpable wickedness! * * *

"It seems now to be pretty generally conceded that the cotton States will secede, and the next thing is to avoid a conflict on that account, or the whole country will be ablaze with civil war!

"Very resp'y and truly,
"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"(Private.)

"NEW YORK, 14 Dec., 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your note, received yesterday, is confirmed to-day in its worst anticipations. I did not answer, because I have been busy preparing an address to the people of the South, to be submitted this evening to a committee, and passed upon to-morrow at a larger, but not a public, meeting. I do not know that any appeal, in whatever fraternal feeling it may be made, will be of any avail. But I think we have the right to ask our Southern friends to pause and listen to us. If they refuse, I see no issue out of the present darkness but in darker strife.

"Yours cordially,
"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: It may seem presumptuous in me, a humble subordinate, to address you on great matters of state; but my apology, if any is necessary, must be that I am an American citizen, with all that ardent love for my country and its government which should ever animate the true patriot, and especially in times of danger like the present.

"I am amazed that some decided action is not taken by the Government to cut itself entirely loose from disunion and disunionists. Look at the 'Constitution' newspaper of to-day—and indeed, I may say, of every issue since the Presidential election. *Its whole bearing is for disunion*; and, say what you will, the Government is held, and will be held, in a great degree responsible for it. It was the organ to which the message was confidentially intrusted, and its columns are daily filled with advertisements which it receives, and can receive, *only by the favor of the President*, for its circulation would not secure them to it by law.

"I saw, as every person of observation must have seen, the very day after the election, that its influence was directed toward secession, and I felt myself compelled immediately to call the attention of the President to it, as I did in a letter, a copy of which I herewith inclose for your perusal.

"I know how the President is pressed by the secessionists, and I sympathize fully in all reasonable measures to be taken *within the Union* to secure the rights of the South and consign to infamy the leaders of * * * at the North; but, as his devoted friend and the friend of every member of his Cabinet, I cannot restrain myself from the expression of the deepest astonishment and mortification that the Government should for one moment allow itself to occupy such a position as to afford even its enemies a pretext to charge it with giving the slightest countenance, either directly or indirectly, to secession or secessionists.

"Is it not possible to relieve the administration from the *infamy* which must attach to it for all time, so far as it is made responsible for the course of the 'Constitution,' and for keeping men in responsible positions who are known and avowed disunionists? For God's sake, let us see the Government placed squarely and unequivocally on the side of the Union! With great respect,

"Very sincerely your friend,
"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. J. S. Black, Att'y-General U. S."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 15, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your letter to Jefferson Davis is excellent, and I have sent it forward through the P. O.

"You will see the President's proclamation and the address of the disunionists in the 'Constitution' (the secession organ) of to-day.

"I need hardly say that I am desponding to the last degree.

"Very truly,
"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

"P. O. DEPARTMENT, APPT. OFFICE,
"Dec. 17, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Your private letter of the 14th inst. came duly to hand. * * * I inclose, for your private eye and that of any of our friends, the copy of a letter I was addressing to General Cass at the very moment I heard of his resignation. I therefore sent it to Judge Black. You may think it injudicious; but I am determined to sustain the Union until not a hope for its continuance remains.

"The papers state the main reason of General Cass's resignation; but I *know* that he has long felt as I have about the course of the 'Constitution' newspaper.

"Very respectfully and truly,
"HORATIO KING.

"Gen. Dix, New York."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 18, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have read your address with great pleasure. It is cheering to read such a paper in the midst of the infamous articles and speeches * * * that have of late been so common. The 'Intelligencer' of to-day has a stinging article, which I wish you would read.

* * * * *
"Very respectfully and truly,
"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. J. A. Dix, New York."

"NEW YORK, 19 Dec., 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for your excellent letter to Judge Black. I am as much disgusted as you are at the encouragement given to the secessionists. I am for making all reasonable concessions * * * But the Government should quietly and firmly maintain the central authority.

"I am glad you like the address. I have written to leading Southern men—some of them secessionists—against the right of secession, and especially against an attempt to break up the Union on the grounds assumed by South Carolina. But in a fraternal appeal intended to gain time for re-adjusting existing differences, I thought it not wise to introduce any topic on which our Southern brethren are sensitive. * * *

"I am very truly yours,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 20, 1860.

"DEAR SIR: Yours of the 18th inst. is received. I have not had time to read the proceedings or address of the solid men of Boston, but have heard it spoken of with great satisfaction.

"I think the disunionists are not having everything quite so much their own way as at first. The true friends of the country are beginning more generally to denounce the disunion 'Constitution,' and to protest against disunionists being retained in office.

"To show you how I feel, I inclose the copy of a letter which I had nearly finished and intended to send to General Cass, when I heard of his resignation—so I addressed it to Judge Black. It is for the private eye of friends only, of course.

"Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq."

"(Confidential.)

"P. O. DEPT., Dec. 28, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I feel as though we were on the verge of civil war, and I should not be surprised if this city is under the military control of the disunionists in less than one month! There can be no doubt that the Cabinet is divided, and rumor has it that the sympathizers of the President, as well as of Mr. Toucey, are with the disunionists in reference to the question of sustaining Major Anderson! Holt, Black, and Stanton are firm for the Union, there can be no doubt.

"Is there no way to bring a healthful influence to bear on the President and Gov. Toucey? Northern men all seem to be dumb and paralyzed!

"In haste, yours truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq."

"(Private.)

"NEW YORK, 29 Dec., 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: Yours is received. I see fully, without any power to prevent it, the danger in which the country is placed. I have had little faith in the conciliatory action of the Republicans in Congress, though I know there are some who think rightly. It was for this reason that I moved, in conjunction with others here, in favor of a strong appeal to our Southern friends in the States on the Gulf of Mexico and the lower Mississippi to await the issue of the change which is going on in public opinion in the North. Our appeal is to go to the Southern conventions about to assemble in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. There seems but little prospect that any good will be accomplished. At Washington I fear I can do nothing. I have written to several leading Southern men, but I get no response. There is a determination on the part of leading Republicans here that a conciliatory course shall be pur-

sued, and that reasonable compromises shall be made. It remains to be seen whether they can influence the action of their friends in Congress.

"Maj. Anderson, who was my lieutenant when I was a captain in the army, I have no doubt acted as any military man, responsible for the lives of those under his command, would have done. His conduct is approved here by all parties—even by the warmest advocates of Southern rights.

"My great fear is that the masses, North and South, who have been indoctrinated into secession views on the one hand and abolitionism on the other, will not follow their leaders in a retrograde movement. But I have less anxiety for the North than the South. We can make things right here if we can have time. * * *

"I am, dear sir,

"Yours truly,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"WASHINGTON, Dec. 30, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I rejoice to learn that the disunionists failed yesterday in their impudent and insulting demand that the administration should remove Major Anderson or otherwise degrade him.

"It is every day becoming more and more apparent that they are determined, as far as lies in their power, to make use of the administration to strengthen themselves in their rebellious position, and, if necessary for their purpose, to break up the Government. Does it require any close discernment to see that it would be fatal to follow their counsels?

"They commenced, long before the election, by getting possession of the 'Constitution' newspaper, which, from the announcement of Lincoln's election, has been openly for a dissolution of the Union, and some of them have continued, and still continue, to hold office here in the Government, although known to be hostile to that very Government which feeds them!

"In a letter to the President on the 7th of November,—the day after election—I called attention to these startling facts; and, from that day to the present, my amazement has increased until I am, at times, almost paralyzed to see such things go unrebuked. It is all folly for the editor of that paper to issue his pronouncements that he alone is responsible * * * so long as it is supported and kept alive by Government advertisements which it receives solely through the favor of the Administration, for it is not entitled to them by law. Has not this fact been overlooked in the pressure of the great troubles now threatening our destruction?

"The question now is union or disunion. An article in that paper to-day advises that Lincoln's inauguration be prevented by armed force! Can the Government give such a paper patronage and escape the charge of treason? We must now take sides either for or against the continuance of the Union; and the sooner we know where we stand the better.

"I wrote you yesterday hastily what I regard as the clear duty of the Government in reference to Maj. Anderson, and I am confirmed in my opinions by everybody to whom I have spoken since, as well as by the press, several extracts of which I beg to inclose for your perusal.

"The duty of the Administration, it seems to me, is very plain. It is simply to see that the laws are executed, thus maintaining, with a firm hand, the integrity of the Union. In this, rest assured, every friend of the Union will sustain you.

"I have the honor to be

"Very truly your friend,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. I. Toucey, Sec'y Navy."

"(Private.)

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 31, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am rejoiced to hear you express yourself as you do in regard to sustaining Major Anderson. But I greatly fear the Cabinet now in session may take some action against him, although, if he is not sustained, you may expect to see the resignations of Black, Holt, and Stanton. The most intense excitement is felt here on the subject; and disunion men are raising heaven and earth to get the President to degrade Major Anderson. To-day we have a most unpleasant rumor that Floyd is to go back into the Cabinet. If this rumor is true, all is lost! It is known that he sent a most savage message of inquiry to Major Anderson; but the answer he got in return had the true ring to it of the *veni, vidi, vici* stamp.

"It is said there is a secret society forming here to prevent Lincoln's inauguration!

"Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix, New York."

"(Private.)

"P. O. DEPT., APPT. OFFICE, Dec. 31, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: In answer to your note of the 29th inst., I am sorry to say that I cannot give any assurance that 'the Jackson policy' in the present crisis will be pursued. Up to this time (12. M.), however, I believe no order has been made against Major Anderson, except that the Secretary of War (since resigned, thank God!) sent him a savage dispatch, inquiring why he removed his command. But this was not sustained by the majority of the Cabinet, and he got a regular soldier's answer back, full of the true mettle. The Cabinet is now in session on this subject, and the most intense interest is felt here for fear that Major Anderson will not be sustained.

"The President is borne down by the disunionists, and, as well as Governor Toucey, needs support from all true friends of the Union. Pray see that letters are poured in upon them. On Saturday, however, Governor Toucey was right, and I cannot think it possible that he will flinch. General Scott, I fear, does not have the influence he should in the counsel touching his command. * * *

"Very respect'ly and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., Boston, Mass."

"BINGHAMTON, Dec. 31, 1860.

"MY DEAR SIR: * * * I am filled with anxious solicitude for the fate of our country. May God avert the threatened evil!

"Sincerely yours,

"D. S. DICKINSON.

"Hon. H. King, 1st Asst. P. M. Gen'l."

"(Confidential.)

"P. O. DEPARTMENT, APPT. OFFICE, Jan. 3, 1861.

"MY DEAR GENERAL: * * * Things are being brought to a point here, I think. I understand the 'Commissioners' [from South Carolina] sent an insulting communication to the President, and that he sent it back to them. We shall soon know who is for and who against the Union. At present, we know not whom to trust.

"Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Gen. Dix, New York.

"P. S.—That was most infamous business of Floyd at Pittsburgh. One of the 'forts' for which the guns were intended is a bare sand-bar, and the other has been just commenced, having a wall about two or three feet high. * * * Floyd's orders will be countermanded."

"(Private.)

"NEW YORK, 3 Jan., 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have been so pressed with outside business during the last ten days (trying to save the Union) that I have been unable to write to you.

"The first time we began to breathe freely was when Mr. Holt took Gov. Floyd's place in the War Dept. The feeling here is strong and undivided in regard to sustaining the Administration in its determination to stand by Maj. Anderson, to protect the public property, and to enforce the revenue laws. On these points the people of the Northern States are as one man; and I am satisfied the President will have with him the conservative men of all sections of the country.

"I have been very busy corresponding with prominent men in and out of Congress. We *must* preserve the Union. Congress should do what is right, and the rest will be easy. Why cannot enabling acts be passed admitting Kansas and New Mexico, and like enabling acts dividing the residue of our territory by 36° 30', and admitting two more States at once, with no other restriction than that of 'a republican form of government,' which Congress under the Constitution is bound to guaranty. This will dispose of the whole territorial question; and all may support it without a surrender of principle. What if New Mexico has a very small population? This fact should weigh nothing against the restoration of harmony and the preservation of the Union.

"Do not things look better? Let me hear from you.

Yours very truly,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"(Private.)

"P. O. DEPT., Jan. 4, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: I am obliged for your favor of yesterday. I feel as though there is a slight improvement in the state of things here; but the disunionists—*conspirators*—are doing their utmost to head off the Government in its present efforts to right itself. Things will not go entirely satisfactory so long as Thompson and Thomas are retained in the Cabinet, and especially the latter * * * I am glad to hear that there is a committee here from your city to make a representation to the President in regard to him. For Thompson I have more compassion. He is not willingly a disunionist; and I *guess* he sustained the President in sending back their insulting communication to the S. C. 'Commissioners.'

"Let us press forward till we clear the Government of every disunionist.

"Very respect'ly and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Gen. Dix, New York."

"(Private.)

"NEW YORK, 5 Jan., 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: Facts that have come to my knowledge give me strong hopes that the Union will be preserved. I look for a speedy movement on the part of the Republicans in Congress, and an effective one.

"In the meantime the authority of the Gov't *must* be maintained. I have written to several members of Congress, among others Gov. Seward, urging the adoption of the plan I suggested to you yesterday, as one involving no sacrifice of principle or surrender of position. We can do nothing unless the Republicans act with us, and I have for the last week been pressing them here and in Congress.

"Yours sincerely,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"P. O. DEPT., Jan'y 7, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have yours of the 5th, and am glad to see that you are laboring in the right direction. The Republicans must yield, or all is lost.

"But the South must be reasonable * * * Many good Union men are disgusted with their arrogance.

"Very resp'ly and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Hon. John A. Dix."

"(Confidential.)

"NEW YORK, 8 Jan., 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: Why is money to very large amounts being transferred to Washington? It may be all right, but it is unusual. Nearly a million of dollars has been sent on in specie within the last week. I write you in confidence. Are these transfers made by order of the President? Is he aware of them? These questions have suggested themselves to me. There is a good deal of uneasiness in regard to the Treasury Dept. The Secretary and his Asst. are known to be secessionists; and our capitalists, who furnish the Government with money, naturally feel a solicitude in regard to the disposition made of it. The transfers in specie have attracted attention and produced a good deal of unpleasant speculation. The Asst. Treas. office is in Wall St., and any considerable quantity of gold cannot be moved without being known. I met, a few days ago, a large number of boxes going out, and on inquiry I found \$400,000 were going to Washington.

"In haste, very truly yours,

"JOHN A. DIX.

"Hon. Horatio King."

"P. O. DEPT., Jan'y 12, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 8th came duly to hand. I am glad to know that you have been active in your efforts to head off the conspirators here. We are progressing slowly, but surely, as I trust. The appointment of Gen. Dix to the Treasury, and the discarding of the 'Constitution' [newspaper] in the last two days, are two things most gratifying. What is doing now, however, should have been done two months ago, as you know I have been decided upon from the start.

"Who will be nominated for Sec'y of War and Sec'y of the Interior remains to be seen. You will have seen Slidell's attack on Mr. Holt. Nevertheless, I believe if his name is sent in they will not be able to reject him. One thing I hope there will be no mistake about, and that is, that none but Union men will be allowed to go into the Cabinet, even if they have all to be taken from the North.

"Matters at Charleston are bad enough; but it is gratifying to know that Maj. Anderson will not need any assistance, probably, for four months to come. This was not known to Gov't when the *Star of the West* was sent for his relief.

"Very truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

"P. O. DEPT., Jan'y 21, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: Yours of the 19th inst. is received.

"I presume I shall continue to act as P. M. G., as I have been doing since the first inst. I do not anticipate that any appointment will be sent to the Senate, at least for the present.

"I cannot see that there is much if any improvement in the state of things. Yet if the Republicans would only present some reasonable proposition, and vote upon it with anything like unanimity to show that they are willing to do *something*, it would at once take the wind out of the sails of secession in

all the border States, and this would dampen the ardor * * * further South.

"Very resp'ly and truly,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

"P. O. DEPT., March 5, 1861.

"MY DEAR SIR: I have only time in this, doubtless my last communication from the 'P. O. Department,' to thank you for your kind letter of the 2d inst., and in reply to your question, to say that I fear the proceedings of the Peace Convention will result in little, if any, good; yet it is quite possible that they may be of use at an early day before a called session of Congress. The aspect of affairs is gloomy, and it will not surprise me if we are engaged in a civil war before the end of this month, unless all the forts in the seceding States are peaceably given to the revolutionists.

Very sincerely your friend,

"HORATIO KING.

"Nahum Capen, Esq., P. M., Boston, Mass."

On the appointment of General Dix to the Treasury, January 11, 1861, our correspondence, of course, ceased. As the more important of his letters were read by Postmaster-General Holt, who in turn showed them to the President, I have always thought they led the way to that appointment. Eminent as a patriotic statesman, his selection for the position was hailed with marked satisfaction, and he filled it with distinguished ability. With none but kindly sentiments toward the South, he at the same time held it to be the imperative duty of the Government to "quietly and firmly maintain the central authority." This, it may as well be said here, is what President Buchanan endeavored to the utmost of his power to do, while at the same time he deemed it prudent, in the cause of peace and to avoid bloodshed, to pursue a conciliatory policy toward the South. It was this forbearance that for a time led even some of his best friends to harbor slight misgivings in respect to him as well as Secretary Toucey; and to this day we sometimes hear him censured because he did not at once come down on the secessionists as General Jackson did on the nullifiers of South Carolina in 1832. These critics seem to forget that, whereas President Jackson had but a solitary little State to deal with, in President Buchanan's case all the cotton States were united in the rebellion, and only anxious for the Government to strike the first blow, as in their view the surest and most speedy means of inducing all the border States to join them. Mr. Buchanan fully understood this, hence his extreme caution—with which it must, however, be admitted some of his nearest friends did not always sympathize, although it is now far from certain that his was not the wiser course. Said Joseph Holt, in 1865: "Looking at the glorious results of the war, and remembering how wondrously Providence has dealt with us in its progress, and how sublimely the firing

upon instead of from Fort Sumter seemed to arouse, instruct, and unite the nation, and to inflame its martial and patriotic spirit, we stand awe-struck and mute; and that man would be bold indeed who, in the presence of all that has occurred, should now venture to maintain that the policy of forbearance was not at the moment the true policy."

It is well known, and should be borne in mind when Mr. Buchanan's policy of forbearance is assailed, that, for several weeks after his inauguration, President Lincoln, still "hoping [we have the testimony of Gideon Welles, his Secretary of the Navy] for a peaceful solution of the pending questions," the greatest forbearance was observed, and "a calm and conciliatory policy" pursued toward the South.

President Buchanan stood on the defensive, and, true to his oath, strove by every means in his power to protect the rights and property of the Government. He held it to be his duty to see that the laws were obeyed; but this was impossible where the local authorities were all in rebellion, and officers could not be found to enforce the execution of the laws. For instance, there was no collector of customs at Charleston, and he sent to the Senate the name of a gentleman to fill

the place; but his nomination was not confirmed. In a letter to me of September 18, 1861, Mr. Buchanan said: "Had the Senate confirmed my nomination of the 2d January of a collector for the port of Charleston, the war would probably have commenced in January instead of May."

As a further indication of his true sentiments, and as due to his memory, I venture to infringe the salutary rule (which has been so often violated since Mr. Buchanan's time in revealing what takes place in Cabinet session), by relating a little incident that happened in Cabinet on the 19th of February, 1861. I copy from my diary made on that day:

"19 Feb. In Cabinet to-day the principal matter presented was an inquiry from Maj. Anderson, in charge of Fort Sumter, at Charleston, what he should do in the event of the floating battery understood to have been constructed at Charleston being towed toward the fort with the evident purpose of attack. The President wished time to consider. Mr. Holt asked what he would do, or rather what Maj. Anderson ought to do, in case he were in charge of a fort and the enemy should commence undermining it. The President answered that he should 'crack away at them.' The President, however, is very reluctant to fire the first gun. The Peace Convention, he said, was now in session in this city, and its president, ex-President Tyler, had this morning assured him that no attack would be made on the fort. The President expressed the opinion that the fort would eventually be taken."

 TO AMERICA.

Sept. 19, 1881.

Now the hard fight is done,
 Manfully striven,
 And the strong life is gone,
 Asked for of heaven:
 Droop all your banners low,
 Toll the bell sad and slow,
 All that your grief can show
 Let it be given.

One there is more than all
 Bids you have patience,—
 Sends at your sorrow's call
 Sad salutations,
 Comforts your grievous need:
 First-born of England's seed,
 England by fate decreed
 Mother of nations.

So to the little isle
 Fragrant of heather,
 Where the sweet roses smile
 'Mid the wild weather,
 Stretch out a constant hand,
 Linking, by God's command,
 Daughter and motherland
 Closer together.

OXFORD, ENGLAND.
