

AMERICAN VOLUNTEER.

JOHN B. BRATTON, Editor & Proprietor.

CARLISLE, PA., JAN. 17, 1861.

OUR columns are again crowded with articles on our national difficulties, which prevents us giving the variety of news we generally do. As this is the only subject now occupying the public mind, we shall endeavor to keep our readers posted, and hope they will excuse us for a lack of variety for the present.

Our Payments to the State.

We extract from the Annual Report of the Auditor General, just issued, the following statement of the several sums of money paid by Cumberland county to the Commonwealth, in the shape of taxes, &c., during the year ending November 30, 1860; and also, the amount received from the Commonwealth by this county during the same period:

PAID TO THE STATE.	
Tax on Real Estate	\$28,658 17
Tavern Licenses	255 26
Retailers License	1,957 86
Brokers License	197 89
Distillery and Brewery License	112 50
Billiard Rooms & Ten Pin Alley	16 25
Cellars License	1,701 50
Eating House License	230 75
Paupers Laws	5 23
Militia Tax	37 23
Millers Tax	204 30
Tax on Wills, Deeds, &c.	651 83
Collateral Inheritance Tax	1,791 68
Theatre, Circus, &c.	42 50
Cum'd Valley Rail Road Co.	3,340 35
Carriage Gas and Water Co.	40 08
Mechanicsburg Water Co.	24 99
Accrued Interest	2 16
Total	\$37,550 53

RECEIVED FROM THE STATE.	
Common School Appropriation	\$4,064 67
Pensions and Gratuities	40 00
Abatement of State Tax	1,138 89
Mercantile Appraiser	12 00
Total	\$5,254 56

VALUATION OF REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE.
By a tabular statement appended to the Auditor General's Report for the year 1860, we learn that the total valuation of Real and Personal Property in the several counties of this Commonwealth amounts to \$569,040,876; upon which a State tax of \$1,479,377 81, has been assessed. The total population of the State, by the Census of 1860, is 2,921,040; and the number of taxable inhabitants, is 640,176. The aggregate State tax on watches amounts to \$13,865 23.

According to this table, the total valuation of Real and Personal Property in Cumberland County, amounts to \$11,960,224, upon which a State tax of \$30,943 33 is assessed. The population of the county, by the Census of 1860, is 40,402, and the number of taxable inhabitants 10,426. The State tax on Watches amounts to \$207 00.

There are only eight counties in the State that exceed Cumberland in the valuation of their Real and Personal Property, to wit: Alleghany, Berks, Bucks, Chester, Montgomery, Lancaster, Philadelphia and York.

It is evident from the above that the assessors of Cumberland county assess our real estate at a higher rate than any other county in the State.

SENATOR SEWARD'S SPEECH.—The mountain has labored and brought forth a mouse. On Saturday last Senator SEWARD (Mr. LINCOLN'S Secretary of State) made the speech which previous announcement said was forthcoming from him. As Mr. SEWARD is to be the principal man in the new administration, and as he is, beyond question, a man of mind, the whole country looked for his speech with deep anxiety. A hope pervaded all sections and all classes of our people, that he would say something to allay our present difficulties, and propose some measure worthy his national reputation. But, alas! Mr. SEWARD is still an Abolitionist. His speech reads well, and shows evidence of mind, but it is full of "ifs" and "buts," and proposes nothing! It is, indeed, a disgraceful speech to come from Mr. SEWARD at this time. It is cold, calculating, evasive, and non-committal, and really amounts to nothing. Poor SEWARD—what a field he had before him, had not his "irrepressible conflict" ideas blinded him.

THE CRITTENDEN PROPOSITION.—The popular sentiment in this and other States is rapidly concentrating in favor of some such adjustment of the slavery question as that proposed by Senator Crittenden, which would extend and establish the Missouri Compromise line to California, by an amendment of the Constitution, prohibiting slavery north of that line, and recognizing it south. This would certainly bring peace to our troubled country, and in a short time make the North and the South again one people, as they were in the days of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison.

This proposition is understood to meet the bitter opposition of such men as Sumner, Grow, Wilson, Greeley, and Hickman, but the conservative, peace-loving citizens of the land look upon it with great favor. Its adoption would at once satisfy Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and the other border slave States, and soon bring into harmonious union with all sections the cotton States of the more remote South.

Our neighbors of the *Herald* and the *American* appear restless under our allegation that the Republicans are alone responsible for our national difficulties. We repeat, that that party is responsible, and it is worse than folly for any man to gainsay so palpable a fact. Suppose either DOUGLASS, BRACKENRIDGE or BRILL had been elected President, would we have had any trouble? Not a bit of it—our country would still be a unit, and our people prosperous and happy.

But, we do not know that we can mend matters by discussing this question, and we therefore feel inclined to drop the subject for the present. The Union is dissolved, and tens of thousands of American citizens are under arms, ready for a deadly conflict. For one we are willing, for the time being, to blot out divisions; we are willing to abandon all antagonisms. In times like these opinions must be foregone for the sake of the country. Cherished ideas are nothing in comparison with our own land's safety, and the perpetuity of its government.

DR. HAYNES will deliver his celebrated lecture, entitled "Mind your own business," at Rheem's Hall, on Thursday evening, Jan. 17. Let all attend.

PUBLIC MEETING.

In compliance with the published call, a very large meeting assembled in the Court House on Monday evening, to give expression on the subject of our National difficulties. The meeting had been called by those who favored the Crittenden and his compatriots in Congress. Mr. R. C. WOODWARD of Carlisle, was called to the chair, by who was assisted by a number of Vice Presidents and Secretaries. After being thus organized, Judge WATTS made a few very appropriate and patriotic remarks, and concluded by offering a series of resolutions, advocating compromise, and approving the plan of adjustment suggested by Mr. CRITTENDEN. After the resolutions had been read, it immediately became manifest that a number of Republicans had invaded the meeting for the purpose, if possible, of defeating its objects. Wm. M. WATTS, Esq., acted as spokesman, and in a short rambling speech, denounced the resolutions as read, and declared himself opposed to amending the Constitution, or of doing anything to appease the wrath of the South. He was followed by Messrs. SNARPE, TODD and HENDERSON, in the same strain, all of whom delivered strong Republican speeches, sneered at the South, at the President, and at the fears of the North, and announced themselves "opposed to any compromise with traitors." The resolutions were ably and successfully defended by Judge WATTS, Wm. M. PENROSE, Wm. H. MILLER, and Wm. J. SREARER, Esq., and were finally adopted by nearly unanimous vote, only about a dozen of vicious out of the two or three hundred present, answering in the negative. It was a complete triumph of the friends of our country—a triumph of patriotism over Lincoln-Abolitionism—a triumph of reason over fanaticism and hatred.

Old Mother Cumberland is right on this subject, and we are convinced that nineteen out of every twenty of her people would vote for the CRITTENDEN Amendment if an opportunity was afforded them. "Those who, at this juncture of affairs, cry out 'no compromise,' are doomed men for all time to come; the people are against such sentiments—against the men who utter them, whether they reside in the North or in the South. Stick a pin there.

The Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania.
It will be seen that Governor PACKER, in his message to the State Legislature, makes special and favorable mention of the Farmer's High School of Pennsylvania. He characterizes it as "an institution which proposes to accomplish an object which has never been attained in this country—the supply of a want which has ever been felt; by the agricultural community—the education of their sons, a science to scientific knowledge, habitual industry, and practical skill; to fit them for the associations of rural life, and the occupation chosen for them by their fathers." The design of accommodating four hundred students has not been carried out within two-thirds of the original intention, from the Trustees' inability to complete more than one-third of the required building.

On looking over the report lately published in pamphlet form, we were struck with the fact of the comparatively small interest taken in this Institution by the State at large.

From about four-fifths of all the counties there has been no pecuniary support whatever. At Greencastle, in England, there has been an Agricultural College in full operation since 1843, and we have been told by practical, old school farmers in that part of the country, that they found it necessary, in the competition for a living by their land, to send their sons to this College, scientifically to learn how to make the most of their tillage and stock.—The necessity for having scientific farming taught to their sons arose from the fact, proved by experience, that those brought up at the Institution actually were better farmers, at starting in life, than their fathers were after long practice. Science did for the young men more than experience had done for the old.

GODER'S LADY'S BOOK.—After a long absence—for what reason we know not—GODER'S Lady's Book for January is again upon our table. Welcome, old friend! We need scarcely ask "how have you been?" for your bright pages, beautiful typography, exquisite fashion plates, and chaste reading, afford evidence of prosperity. The present number is a magnificent one, and affords evidence of great industry, tact and energy on the part of the proprietor. Every lady should take the Book, and thus book herself up in regard to fashions, needle-work, and other useful knowledge.

ANOTHER RESIGNATION.—The lately appointed Secretary of the Treasury, PHILIP P. THOMAS, has resigned. Good! The Cabinet is at last clear of spies and traitors, and the President will no longer be annoyed by men who have been doing all in their power to sell the Government. The Cabinet as at present composed, is one of the strongest the President has yet had.

Gov. Pickens, of South Carolina, having a balance of \$3000 due him as late Minister to Russia, sent to Washington for it. The Department adjusted his accounts by sending him a draft on the Charleston Sub Treasury, the moneys in which has been seized by the State.

Hon. Warren Winslow, of North Carolina, one of the committee of thirty-three has published an address to his constituents, in which he says; I feel constrained to say that I think there is no hope in Congressional action.

The wife of Major Anderson received six thousand calls on New Years day, in New York city, where she is now sojourning. This fact is truly significant of popular opinion there with reference to her husband's gallant transfer of his command from Fort Moultrie to Fort S'mter.

At West Chester, Pa., a meeting has been called to offer a regiment of volunteers to the president for the maintenance of the Constitution and enforcement of his laws.

Gov. Banks, of Massachusetts, in his valentuary address recommends the repeal of the Personal Liberty Bill. The city councils of Providence, R. I., have done the same thing.

COL. CEBTIN was inaugurated Governor of Pennsylvania on Tuesday.

Public Meeting.

In compliance with the published call, a meeting of the citizens of Cumberland county, who favor the Crittenden plan for the adjustment of our national difficulties, assembled at the Court House on Monday evening last. The meeting was organized as follows:

- President,**
R. C. WOODWARD.
- Vice Presidents,**
Wm. M. Penrose, Mills Glenn,
John W. Cooklin, James Quigley,
Peter Spahr, Ab'n. Lamberton,
Ab'm. Bosler, David Wherry,
John Miller, John Stuart, Jr.,
Wm. Hoagy, Wm. Gracey,
Ed Brant, Jas. McCartney,
R. P. Henderson, A. Cathcart,
Sam'l. Megaw, Jr., John Pilgrim,
Jos. Culver, G. N. Schuchman.

- Secretaries,**
Daniel S. Croft, E. Cornman,
Wm. M. Beeton, A. Dohuff,
Jacob Bowman, Martin Kunkio,
Wm. M. Porter, Jas. B. Bratton.

Hon. Frederick Watts offered the following preamble and resolutions, which after considerable discussion were adopted:

Resolved, We have assembled here to consider a subject which in its importance involves the best interests of our country, and the honor of the freest and best Government that ever blessed a happy people, but entailing the eternal disgrace upon the history of our own generation, that we have been unfaithful to the trust which our fathers placed in our hands, that we might waver, and, if need be, protect it from the hand of excess or violence, and hand it down to our posterity as an example to the world that a free people are capable of self-government; not only this, but we are equally ready to meet the approach of civil war, a course more damning than we have known to portray; one which breaks up the domestic comforts of home; the bond of relationship, the ties of friendship, and all the securities which we surround each other by—by which our children and friends are to be demoralized and impoverished, and their lives offered up as a bloody sacrifice upon the altar of fraternal hatred.

Is there cause for this? and if there be, may it be averted? are questions of such import that we are constrained to enter upon them to speak or an influence to exercise. Whist the bitter language of strife, the very clangor of arms almost resounding in our ears, it behoves us speedily and dispassionately to consider what shall we do to avert it.

As a conscientious citizen who feels the truth impels us to the conviction that the Constitution of the United States, as it is, fairly construed and honestly regarded, with a spirit of fraternal kindness towards each other, affords the most ample protection to the lives and property of our citizens residing in the North and South; and the political agitation which now convulses the country, has its origin in no principle which finds a place in the hearts of the American people.

But if it be true that the experience of seventy years has taught us, in some of its details, its influence has been to bring us to the very verge of a civil war, strong as our attachment may be to that sacred instrument, we desire to express our willingness so to amend it, as to make it equally acceptable to all sections of the country.

Our Republican Government has its foundation in the affections of the people; our Constitution is but the written evidence of the principles upon which that affection is based. Our love of country is but an expression of attachment to ourselves; and we feel that attachment is as widely spread as the Constitution itself we fall far short of that self-sacrificing spirit which influenced the hearts of its original framers.

As dissension, presents no question so grave and difficult as to be susceptible of just and Constitutional compromise; and that we have an abiding confidence that the people of Pennsylvania will sanction the proposed Constitutional amendments and Congressional guarantees which are known as the "Crittenden compromise"; and that we advise our Senators and Representatives in Congress to give it their hearty support.

Resolved, That we desire to extend to our brethren of the Southern Border States the same feeling of fellowship and kindness, and to assure them, that our feelings are not in any degree hostile to them or their institutions; and if the "fugitive slave law" be divested of its odious features as proposed by the "Crittenden compromise" we will heartily co-operate with them in its faithful execution.

COMMERCIAL COLLEGES.—A late article in the *Pennsylvanian* thus speaks of Commercial Colleges:

Among numerous Institutes in this country styled "Commercial Colleges," none have stood higher in the past, and we think we may say, none are doing so much to promote the cause of thorough and practical business education as "BYRANT, STRATTON & CO'S National Chain of Mercantile Colleges," located in Philadelphia, New York, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and St. Louis. They stand foremost in the advancement of practical business education. Last fall B. S. & Co. published a work on book-keeping, which elicited the highest encomiums from the press and business men. Now they have added a clear and ably written work of 560 pages on commercial law, by AMOS DEAY, LL.D. of Albany, and a commercial arithmetic of 332 pages, designed to be used as text books in their Colleges. The character of these works is alone an ample guarantee that the instruction afforded by them will meet the highest expectations of their patrons. We advise your men who do not to qualify themselves for the active duties of the counting-house and business pursuits generally, to spend a few weeks, or months, in one of these first-class institutions.

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Fort's Jackson and **Pulaski**, in Georgia, were seized last week by order of Governor Brown. The Savannah papers state that but for this action the forts would have been seized by a spontaneous uprising of the people.

Last Friday was generally observed as a day of fasting and prayer, for the preservation of the Union, all over the country, (excepting perhaps South Carolina) agreeable to the President's recommendation.

President Buchanan has declared his firm determination to collect the revenue, and that the property now in the occupancy of the troops of South Carolina must be restored. The seizure of the United States arsenal he deems a high handed outrage.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The President of the United States

COMMISSIONERS OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

The following correspondence was read in secret session: The injunction of secrecy was removed.

WASHINGTON, 28th December, 1860.

SIR:—We have the honor to transmit to you a copy of the full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are "authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States for the delivery of the forts, magazines, light-houses, and other forts, and generally to transact all business in the limits of South Carolina; and also for an apportionment of the public debt, and for a division of all other property held by the Government of the United States as agent of the Confederate States of which South Carolina was recently a member, and generally to negotiate as to all other measures and arrangements proper to be made and adopted in the existing relation of the parties, and for the continuance of peace and amity between this Commonwealth and the Government at Washington."

When we have assembled here to consider a subject which in its importance involves the best interests of our country, and the honor of the freest and best Government that ever blessed a happy people, but entailing the eternal disgrace upon the history of our own generation, that we have been unfaithful to the trust which our fathers placed in our hands, that we might waver, and, if need be, protect it from the hand of excess or violence, and hand it down to our posterity as an example to the world that a free people are capable of self-government; not only this, but we are equally ready to meet the approach of civil war, a course more damning than we have known to portray; one which breaks up the domestic comforts of home; the bond of relationship, the ties of friendship, and all the securities which we surround each other by—by which our children and friends are to be demoralized and impoverished, and their lives offered up as a bloody sacrifice upon the altar of fraternal hatred.

In the execution of this trust it is our duty to furnish you, as we now do, with an official copy of the Ordinance of Secession by which the State of South Carolina has resumed the United States, and has declared her perfect sovereignty and independence.

It would also have been our duty to have informed you that we were ready to negotiate with you upon all such questions as were necessary to be raised by the adoption of this Ordinance, and that we were prepared to enter upon the negotiation, with the earnest desire to avoid all unnecessary and hostile collision, and so to inaugurate our new relations as to secure mutual respect, general advantage, and a future of peace and harmony, beneficial to all the parties concerned.

But the events of the last twenty-four hours render such an assurance impossible. We came here the representatives of an authority which could, at any time within the past sixty days, have taken possession of the forts in Charleston harbor, but which upon pledges given in a manner that you cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor, rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here as officers of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against, your orders, has disorganized the entire Government—thus adding to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which will remove all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations have been conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangements by which our mutual interests might be amicably adjusted.

And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you that the speedy withdrawal of our troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens specifically to bring to a bloody issue questions which should be settled with temperance and judgment.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. W. BARNWELL,
J. H. ADAMS,
Jas. L. Orr
Commissioners.

To the President of the United States.

The President's Reply.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 30, 1860.

GENTLEMEN: I have had the honor to receive your communication of the 28th inst., together with a copy of "your full powers from the Convention of the people of South Carolina, under which we are authorized and empowered to treat with the Government of the United States on various important subjects therein mentioned, and also a copy of the ordinance, bearing date on the 20th inst., declaring that 'the Union now existing between the United States and the State of South Carolina, and the Government of the United States, are hereby dissolved.'"

In answer to this communication, I have to say that my position as President of the United States was clearly defined in the message to Congress on the 3d inst. It was stated that I would not attempt to exercise any authority in the name of the Government, or to do anything in the name of the Government of the United States, or to do anything in the name of the Government, or to do anything in the name of the Government.

Resolved, That we desire to extend to our brethren of the Southern Border States the same feeling of fellowship and kindness, and to assure them, that our feelings are not in any degree hostile to them or their institutions; and if the "fugitive slave law" be divested of its odious features as proposed by the "Crittenden compromise" we will heartily co-operate with them in its faithful execution.

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preventing a collision between the parties, for the purpose of a peaceful adjustment of blood. I suggested, for prudential reasons, that it would be best to put in writing what they said to me verbally. They did so accordingly, and on Monday morning, the 10th instant, three of them presented to me a paper signed by all the Representatives from South Carolina, with a single exception, of which the following is a copy:

To His Excellency James Buchanan,
President of the United States.

In compliance with our statement to you yesterday, we now express to you our strong belief that neither the constituted authorities, nor any body of the people of the State of South Carolina, will either attack or molest the United States forts in the harbor of Charleston, previously to the action of the Convention, and we hope and believe not until an official communication shall be received from the Government of the United States, and Federal Government, provided that to our information, the forts in the harbor, and their relative military status shall remain as at present.

JOHN McQUEEN,
M. L. BONHAM,
W. W. BOYCE,
LAWRENCE M. KEITT,
Washington, 9th December, 1860.

And here I must, in justice to myself, remark that at the time the paper was presented to me, and it was "provided," as it might be construed into an agreement on my part, which I never would make. They said that nothing was farther from their intention—they did not so understand it, and I could not so consider it. It is evident they could not enter into an agreement with me on the subject. They did not profess to have authority to do this, and were acting in their individual character. I considered it as nothing more, in effect, than the promise of some gentlemen to exert their influence to procure the withdrawal of the troops from the harbor, but which, upon pledges given in a manner that you cannot doubt, determined to trust to your honor, rather than to its own power. Since our arrival here as officers of the United States, acting, as we are assured, not only without, but against, your orders, has disorganized the entire Government—thus adding to a most important extent, the condition of affairs under which we came.

Until these circumstances are explained in a manner which will remove all doubt as to the spirit in which these negotiations have been conducted, we are forced to suspend all discussion as to any arrangements by which our mutual interests might be amicably adjusted.

And, in conclusion, we would urge upon you that the speedy withdrawal of our troops from the harbor of Charleston. Under present circumstances, they are a standing menace which renders negotiation impossible, and, as our recent experience shows, threatens specifically to bring to a bloody issue questions which should be settled with temperance and judgment.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
R. W. BARNWELL,
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Commissioners.

To the President of the United States.

You are aware of the great anxiety of the Secretary of War that a collision of the troops with the people of this State shall be avoided, and of his studied determination to pursue a course with reference to the military force in this harbor, which shall guard against such a collision. He has therefore carefully abstained from increasing his force at this point, or taking any measures which might lead to the present excited state of the public mind, or which would throw any doubt on the safety of the troops in the harbor, which you do not attempt by violence to obtain possession of the public works or interfere with its occupancy.

But as the counsel and notes of rash and impetuous persons, and possibly the disappointed expectations of the Government, he deems it proper that you should be prepared with the instructions to meet so unhappy a contingency. He has, therefore, directed me verbally, to give you such instructions.

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

P. D. BRITTON,
Assistant Adjutant General.
FORT MOULTRIE, S. C., Dec. 14, 1860.

This is in conformity to my instructions to Major JOHN B. FLOYD, Secretary of War.

These were the last instructions transmitted to Major FLOYD, with a single exception, in regard to a particular which does not in any degree affect the present question. Under these circumstances, it is clear that Major Anderson acted upon his own responsibility, and with authority, unless, indeed, he had tangible evidence of a design to proceed to a hostile act on the part of the authorities of South Carolina, which has not yet been alleged. Still, he is a brave and honorable officer, and justice requires that he should not be contented with his fair hearing. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your Cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened.

You removed a veteran and distinguished officer from the command of Fort Moultrie because he attempted to increase his supply of ammunition. You refused to send Major Anderson to the same garrison, when applied for by the officer appointed to succeed him. You accepted the resignation of the oldest and most eminent member of your Cabinet, rather than allow the garrison to be strengthened.

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

At this point of writing, I have received information, by telegraph, from Gen. Humphreys, in command of the arsenal at Charleston, that "it has to-day, (Sunday, the 30th,) been taken by force of arms." It is stated that the munitions of war belonging to the United States in this arsenal are worth half a million of dollars.

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

With great personal regard, I remain yours very respectfully,
JAMES BUCHANAN,
President.

To Hon. Robert W. Barnwell, James H. Adams, J. L. Orr.

Second Letter of the Commissioners to the President.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan. 1st, 1861.

SIR:—We have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 30th of December, and to a note addressed by us to you, on the 28th of the same month, as Commissioners from South Carolina.

In reference to the declaration with which your reply commences, that your "position as President of the United States was already defined in your message to Congress of the 3d inst.," that you possess "no authority to change the relations heretofore existing between South Carolina and the United States," "much less to acknowledge the independence of that State," and that consequently you could meet us only as private gentlemen of the highest character, with an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make—we deem it only necessary to say that the State of South Carolina, having in the exercise of that great right of self-determination, which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us.

Satisfied that the State had simply exercised that right of self-determination, which is the highest character, we had an entire willingness to communicate to Congress any proposition we might have to make—we deem it only necessary to say that the State of South Carolina, having in the exercise of that great right of self-determination, which underlies all our political organizations, declared herself sovereign and independent, we, as her representatives, felt no special solicitude as to the character in which you might recognize us.

Satisfied that the State had simply exercised that right of self-determination, which is the highest character, we had an entire willingness to communicate